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Incorporating the Proceedings of
THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

JANUARY, 1939
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INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION
EXPLORATION IN ARMENIA
THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

[See complete list of Contents overleaf]

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INDIA'S PLACE IN EMPIRE FILMS

MALARIA AND QUININE IN THE EAST

ASIA AND BRITAIN'S WORLD AIR SYSTEM

[See complete list of Contents overleaf]

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THE ECONOMIC POTENTIALITIES OF KASHMIR
THE TURKO-BRITISH PACT
CHINESE WOMEN AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT WAR
THE FIGHT AGAINST MALARIA

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1939

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIAN WOMEN AND THE VILLAGE: THE TIME FOR ACTION

By Dame Edith Brown, D.B.E., M.A., M.D., M.C.O.G.

Great changes are going on in India, and the friends of that great land, among whom I believe that all present may be included, are watching her rapid development with interest, perhaps not altogether free from anxiety.

I ask your attention this afternoon to some of the problems which have arisen in connection with those branches of medical work which closely affect the women and children, and which, because the women have such great influence in their homes, must also vitally affect the well-being of the whole nation. I refer to questions of health, sanitation, rural uplift and medical aid, matters with which I have been closely in touch for forty-seven years, and matters which must largely be dealt with by women.

Women missionaries were the first to take medical aid to the women of India. Dr. Clara Swain from America began work in Bareilly in 1870, and Dr. Fanny Butler from England in Kashmir in 1880, while Dr. Scharlieb began her work in Madras in 1883. When I reached India in 1891 medical work for Indian women was carried on entirely by foreign doctors, but I found it extremely difficult to do major surgical operations without trained assistants and I met bright, intelligent, educated Indian Christian girls whom I coveted as helpers. This desire for their help grew more and more insistent, but there was no medical school for the training of Indian women in the whole land. What was to be done?

THE FIRST MEDICAL SCHOOL FOR WOMEN

A little group of medical missionaries met together to lay the need before the Lord, and to ask for guidance, and the result was that we decided to go forward and to train them ourselves. We felt it could be done. So, on January 4, 1894, the first medical school for women in India was opened in Ludhiana, with four bright students.

A gift of £50 came for initial expenses, and we were allowed to use a small hospital in the city, with thirty beds for clinical teaching, while we were able to hire an empty school building for residence and classes. A small beginning truly, but we believed we were following God's guidance and the vision given by Him; and we knew we might trust Him to carry the work through, and now, looking back, we can truly say that He has done far more than we asked or thought.

Government was asked to inspect our efforts, and to examine the students so that they might obtain a Government diploma, and I would express our sincere thanks to Government for their kind appreciation of our work, and for the help they have always been ready to give. A small group of interested friends was registered in India as a governing body, enabling us to acquire property, and small auxiliary committees were formed in England, Ireland and Canada to interest friends at home.

It is a source of satisfaction to parents to see their children grow, even if at times it is difficult to provide the needed clothing. We too rejoice at the steady growth of each department and at all the signs of life and energy constantly appearing, though these are also a continual call for the supply of urgent needs.

Now, after forty-four years of steady, hard, unremitting effort, we can look out on 360 Indian women doctors who have obtained a Government diploma in medicine, and over 1,200 trained nurses, compounders and midwives of various grades, who are doing medical work for the women of India, all trained in Ludhiana. That is a total of 1,600. Over 300 more are at present under training, of whom 130 are to be doctors. Instead of one full-time doctor on the staff, there are now twelve with home qualifications and four Indian assistants, besides a full staff of sisters, science

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lecturer, pharmacist, secretaries and others, making in all fifty-two workers.

Instead of a rented school building and a borrowed hospital, there are now fifteen acres of ground and buildings valued at £50,000, including a hospital with 260 beds, college hostels, class-rooms, museums and staff quarters. But we are still growing and need more. Applications for admission are very numerous—over 200 this year—and our usual admissions are thirty-six. True, all are not eligible. One of only fifteen years was much aggrieved at being refused. One gave as the reason for her desire to come that she was tired of studying in school! Many have an earnest desire, but write that they are very poor and hope that we will pay all their expenses. If these are specially good, we do provide part scholarships and part loan to help them through.

I have not spoken of the actual medical work done in Ludhiana and district. That is not inconsiderable. Last year there were 4,000 patients admitted to hospital and over 50,000 new out-patients, paying 113,000 visits. The maternity department attended over 1,200 cases. The surgical, medical, eye, X-ray and radium and pathological departments are all busy. You will be able to imagine most of this from your knowledge of other hospitals.

An All-India Influence

The Ludhiana College is a power-house for sending forth workers all over India. Each one sent out becomes a centre of help and blessing for the district to which she goes, and the doctor herself begins to train others, nurses and midwives, so that the area of influence spreads year by year. We expect to send out twenty-five doctors, fifteen nurses, four compounders and forty or more midwives of various grades each year. It is truly worth doing and means steady help for India.

The prospects of increased usefulness in the future are very bright. The Ludhiana Medical College has just been affiliated to the Punjab University, so that our students will now be able to train for the M.B., B.S. degrees, and this autumn session twelve students have been accepted who have passed the preliminary science which is required for the higher course of study. Having

taken the M.B., B.S., they will be entitled, when they have had the necessary experience, to take full charge of hospitals, and to take their full share in the organization of child welfare, rural uplift and the campaign against tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis

You all know that Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow has inaugurated a great campaign against tuberculosis. We have already begun in Ludhiana, and if it is to be a success the women must pull their full weight all over India, for so much depends on the sanitation of the homes. In Ludhiana the Municipal Committee send us word each week of all the deaths from tuberculosis which have occurred in the city. Then we visit the houses and get into friendly touch with the women, noting the sanitary and economic conditions and inviting any of the women and children who are not well to come to one of our tuberculosis clinics, which are held once a week in the afternoons at each of our three health centres. There they are seen by one of our assistant doctors, and if any suspicious symptoms are found they are then invited to attend the morning tuberculosis clinic in the X-ray department of the Memorial Hospital, where a full diagnosis is made and full treatment provided. This is under a specialist, and a nurse trained in tuberculosis work is joining us this year. Charts of the city are kept, on which records are made. We reckon that there are over 2,000 cases in the city itself, and the incidence is by far most heavy among Mohammedan women.

The work is not easy, for many families would rather the case remained undiagnosed. Medical inspection of one of the schools was stopped for two years because a case of tuberculosis found in a girl of fifteen prevented marriage arrangements from being concluded. It is not yet realized by the parents that cure is possible if treatment is begun in the early stage. Nor is the infectiousness of the disease believed.

Rural Uplift

With regard to rural uplift, its importance cannot be overestimated and the need is urgent now. This includes the supply

of medical aid to the women, as well as the preventive work carried on by centres for maternity and child welfare, where instruction is given in good hygiene, good sanitation and rules of health. Here again Indian medical women have a great part to play. Maternal mortality is very high in India. Many village cases are brought into hospital after four, five or even six days' suffering, and they often arrive *in extremis*, dying before any help can be given. Many could be saved by ante-natal care. Still the expectant mother is put in the darkest, dirtiest corner of the house, or in some out-house, for all touching her are defiled and things used for her have to be thrown away. We may have to work by the light of a little *diwa*, or a hurricane lantern, or may have to push the buffalo away to get to the patient. Should they not have the care and skill and comfort given to our English mothers?

Difficulties of travelling have also to be overcome. Not very long ago I was called to a village in the rains. I reached the nearest station and should have been met by a conveyance—but none came. The station-master sent a coolie to enquire and he came back with the report that the river was in flood and that no vehicle could get across. I asked what could be done, and was told that an elephant could swim across, so I asked for one to be brought. After about an hour one came—but to my dismay there was no howdah, and no ladder! Sitting down he was still over ten feet high! What should I do, for I am not very young! I walked round him considering. One suggestion was that I should step on his tail and the men would raise the tail to the level of his back and I could creep along. That sounded difficult. I saw he had a blanket on his back, tied on with a rope, and finally they made loops of the rope to serve as a ladder and I climbed up. But how could I keep on? Finally, I crawled on to his neck, where it was narrow enough for me to sit astride, and managed to hold on. The elephant swam across the flooded river and I reached the patient safely.

Outstanding Facts

I would like to help you to realize the almost insuperable difficulties, while reminding you that a difficulty is only some-

thing to be faced bravely in the Name of the Master and to be overcome in His strength. I can assure you that there is a real joy in overcoming a difficulty. Several facts must not be ignored:

(*a*) It is women who have the chief power inside their own homes. Many men returning from England have wished to alter things in their homes and have not been able to do so, because the mother-in-law did not approve.

(*b*) There are many weights which drag downwards and hinder uplift: customs, poverty, *purdah*, early marriages, etc., and perhaps most of all want of vision and the dead weight of *karma* and destiny.

(*c*) The necessity that this work should be undertaken by women, who alone can get that close personal contact with the women which is needed for patient explanations and persuasion.

(*d*) The difficulties encountered when one woman worker tries to live alone in a village. There is the loneliness, the want of protection and the ease with which, rightly or wrongly, her good name is lost.

I bring before you a scheme by which we propose to meet these difficulties. This scheme has been thought well of by the D.P.H., by the Governor, and by Mr. Brayne, Commissioner for Rural Uplift in the Punjab. The two and only objections made against it are (i) the expense, and (ii) the difficulty of finding the right women to carry it out.

Colonies of Women Workers

Our proposal is that in a central village a small colony of women workers should be established, consisting of a woman doctor, a health visitor, a tuberculosis nurse, and two or three nurse *dais*. They should live in one compound, in simply built village houses, with the arrangements for sanitation and hygiene which they wish the women to see and copy, with a garden in which they would grow their own vegetables. They would have a reliable *chowkidar* and their own *sais* and *tonga* (or, as someone suggested, their own car). There could also be a room for a teacher for the village girls' school. There would be a good room which would be used some days as a health centre, sometimes as a dispensary, and would always be available for lantern lectures, etc.

The plan of the work would be that the health centre should be open there two days a week, and the dispensary once a week,

and that on the other days the doctor or the health visitor should itinerate in the surrounding villages within a radius of five miles, if they had a *tonga*, or twelve if they had a car, taking with them one of the nurse *dais*, so that they never went alone. In these villages they would inspect the girls' schools (medically) and give health talks, and they would inspect the work of the indigenous *dais*.

Women from these villages would visit them in the central quarters. All would have a visual demonstration of what hygienic improvement is possible, with the minimum of cost. They would be attracted by the lantern lectures, and by the friendliness of the workers. Talks on the advantages of co-operative banks could also be given. The indigenous midwives from the surrounding villages could come in regularly for instruction, and weekly classes could be held in some of the large villages where itineration was done. The workers would also attend midwifery cases with the *dais* in surrounding villages, giving them practical instruction. They would also tackle the problem of adult illiteracy among women.

This scheme would overcome many of the difficulties mentioned before. The women workers would have companionship in the evenings, and their good name would be protected. Their contact with the village women would be far more effective than simple talking could be; they would be recognized as friends. Now for the only two objections raised. I draw up an estimate of cost. The salaries would be:

Doctor, Rs. 75-126; health visitor, Rs. 65-100; tuberculosis nurse, Rs. 50-90; nurse *dais* (3), Rs. 75-105; *chowkidar* and wife, Rs. 20; *sais* and *tonga*, Rs. 60; menials, Rs. 25; medicines, Rs. 60; contingencies, Rs. 20; total, Rs. 450 rising to Rs. 590, or, per annum, Rs. 5,400 to Rs. 7,980.

I estimate that the cost of the buildings would be approximately Rs. 6,000, or if land had to be bought, possibly Rs. 8,000. Given in pounds, it would be approximately £400 to £500 a year and for initial expenses £600.

With a *tonga* an area of 100 square miles would be cared for, and in the Punjab this would mean a population of some 15,000 would receive medical care for the women and children, school

inspection for the girls, training of the indigenous midwives and have maternity and child welfare centres. The work against tuberculosis, and for co-operative banks, would be done, and the illiteracy among the women would be overcome. In our opinion these results are worth the cost.

The Workers

Regarding the second objection, that it would be difficult to find the suitable workers, we in Ludhiana exist to train them, and we believe that they can be provided. It is not easy work, but there are those who, filled with the spirit of love, and of loyalty to Christ, will be ready for hardship and self-sacrifice for His sake. There is a special joy in the service of a medical missionary, and, for myself, if I had life to begin again, there is nothing else I should choose. It is truly more blessed to give than to receive.

Before closing, may I emphasize the urgency of the work. As in all Government departments power is passing into the hands of the Indians, so it should be in the department of medicine, including that of medical missions to women. There is an increasing dislike to beneficial work being done by foreigners, and this is not likely to become less. India's women should be ready to take over the work themselves, and as I have shown, it is quite possible. Will you help us to give them the necessary preparation? Further, from the missionary point of view, it is India's right to hear the Christian message, not as something Western and foreign, but as something which is precious to thousands of her own people and has brought light and peace to them. There were followers of Christ in India long years before England had even heard the Gospel.

In closing, may I lay before you the question of special financial difficulties of this present time, for your help would be greatly appreciated. Owing to the provincialization of funds, some objection is being raised to the continuation of the grant-in-aid given to us from the Punjab funds, owing to the fact that fifty per cent. of our students come from other Provinces than the Punjab. We need to have more contributions from England and from other Provinces.

Over 360 trained doctors are working, about half of them in the Punjab and the rest all over India, and are caring for well over three million patients each year. The raising of the standards to those of the University degree means extra expenditure, and as the course of study will be longer, more hostel accommodation will be needed. Some £6,000 is needed for this. To meet future needs, we should have an income of £8,000 a year from home and a non-recurring sum of £10,000 for extra hostel accommodation, for additional quarters for the staff, and for the building of village quarters for the village colonies.

May we look to you for help?

Will you ask for us:

> "Strength for the daily task,
> Courage to face the road,
> Good cheer to help us bear the traveller's load,
> And for the hours of rest that come between
> An inward joy" in things unheard, unseen?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A SOCIAL meeting was held at the Hotel Rubens, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 11, 1938. After tea a Paper entitled "Indian Women and the Village: the Time for Action" was read by Dame Edith Brown, D.B.E., M.A., M.D., M.C.O.G. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is very refreshing to see such a good attendance today. I wonder whether those present have the same experience as myself when the India Bill was before Parliament some years ago. The eyes of the whole nation were centred upon India, and those of us who had specially interested ourselves in the fate of that great country talked India and dreamed India, day and night. Now other preoccupations have come between us and India; questions which offer no such hopeful promise of solution preoccupy our thoughts. India for most people has receded into the background. But for those devoted to her service, whether Indian or British, India still goes on.

We sometimes have to remind ourselves of that. She is working out her own problems in the light of those changes which have come about in her form of constitution. And I think to many of us who are looking from the outside—whether our optimism is justified or not—it seems as if India was to some extent a bright exception in a world of gloom, a place where progress is really being made, a place where faith in democracy seems absolutely to be justifying itself. I think we find ourselves wondering whether the time is not coming when we shall see the East being called in to redress the balance of the West, and India reminding us of what democracy means.

But we all realize, I think, that if democracy is the success in India which we all hope it may be, it will depend very largely upon those quiet, persistent, steady movements for the improvement of the education and health of the people and of the status of its women, to one of which our meeting today is devoted.

We are all very familiar with the names of Ludhiana College and Dame Edith Brown, but for some of us it is the first time we shall have had the pleasure of meeting her. When I was in India six or seven years ago, I did not have that pleasure, but I heard much of her work, and we know now that the work of the College is going on spreading its students wider and wider over India, there to bring their message of health and cure of disease, coupled with the message which India seems above all countries to need most—the physical message, the spiritual message, the message that is centred round the teaching of religion.

I think you would like me to assure Dame Edith with what deep interest we watch her work and the work of the College to which she has devoted

so many years, and how much we hope that it is going to have a long and a successful future.

Dame EDITH BROWN then read her paper.

Sir ABDUL QADIR: It gives me very great pleasure to pay a tribute to the good work which Dame Edith Brown has done in the Punjab, at Ludhiana. Everybody who belongs to the Punjab, or who has worked there, has learnt of Dr. Brown's work, but it so happens that I have peculiar reasons to be beholden to her great skill as a doctor, because she treated my wife before we had our first child, and my first child was born in her hands and in her hospital. It was a very difficult occasion in the life of the family, and we owed to her careful treatment the safety of my wife and son. The child, who was delicate when he first came, was under her treatment in the early days of his life, and she will be interested to hear that he has grown into a fine young fellow. He was the first of the cadets who went for military training to the Indian Sandhurst at Debra Dun, and is now serving in the Indian Army.

This is just one of the numerous cases which have passed through Dame Edith Brown's skilful hands. While my wife was under her treatment I had occasion to go to Ludhiana and to see something of the great institution which she has created there. It is an institution for women only, and the doctors, nurses and staff are all women. I was told that the members of the staff, when they have their hours of freedom, not only have the inward and spiritual joy of helping those in need of medical aid, of which Dame Edith Brown has spoken, but they also find means of amusing themselves and have great fun; but, of course, from that men visitors are excluded.

Apart from the work which Dame Edith Brown has been doing for the women who went to her for treatment, her wonderful energy was demonstrated in other forms of work. While her other helpers rested, she was doing administrative work in her office. When on her rounds in the hospital, she had a word of sympathy, hope and inspiration for every patient and for her workers a word of encouragement. She has also been teaching in her medical school, which has now attained the status of a college.

I have had the pleasure of being associated with Dame Edith Brown in another capacity, as a Fellow of the Punjab University. She, as a Fellow, managed to spare time to run over to Lahore frequently, to attend meetings of the medical faculty. Her energy is really amazing.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have seen in her this afternoon one of the pioneers in the cause of women, who has done great service to India. Her work will never be forgotten there. Whatever may be the politics of any person in India, nobody can forget what women like Dame Edith Brown have done for India. It is gratifying to see her full of vigour and hope, with new schemes for carrying on and improving the work that she has been doing. I am sure she will get all the sympathy and support that her work deserves. (Applause.)

Colonel REINHOLD: I was very pleased indeed to be asked to say a few words, because for four years I was placed in a position by the Punjab

Government to oversee the grants that the Government gave towards the Women's Christian Medical College, and see that they were properly applied. I had no difficulty on that score. Dame Edith Brown is no longer in her blushing teens, so she will forgive me if I disclose the fact that she is older than myself. When I first went to India, nearly thirty-three years ago, she had already an established reputation, and was known up and down the country for her wonderful work.

The Subordinate Women's Medical Service in India, as you know, is synonymous with the Ludhiana Medical School. Until very recent years it was the only school which produced Indian women doctors who supplied the needs of Indian women from, as she has told us, the north to the south throughout the country. She arrived in India only three years after the Countess of Dufferin inaugurated the Dufferin Fund for medical aid to women by women, and three years later she started her school, which has grown from strength to strength; and I am delighted to hear that now it is recognized as a degree college instead of a licentiate school.

But that means money. You cannot simply make a degree college by a wave of the hand. It requires additional staff, additional accommodation, additional laboratories; and—the funds are not available. She has told you how, under the new Constitution, the Punjab Government are threatening to reduce the grants, because they feel, and possibly rightly, that their slender resources should be limited to their own Province. The work is undoubtedly increasing, and the needs for more money are greater.

Lord Knutsford was very proud of his title as "the Prince of Beggars" when he was Treasurer of the London Hospital. I think, from my experience of Dame Edith Brown, that she might well be known as "the Princess." Viceroys have not been able to barricade themselves from her. Governors have quailed; and Ministers, I know, have paraphrased the historians and said, "Who will rid us of this turbulent woman?"—and they have come to me to protect them from her importunity. Their arguments, of course, have not been of any avail. The only one which they have been able to advance is one that carries no weight, that of proselytization. Whatever else is done at Ludhiana, no attempt is ever made to affect the religious beliefs of the students there, and sometimes I have been able to give the lie to that in official places.

I will not say more except that I am wholeheartedly an admirer—as she knows—of Dame Edith and her work, and I hope that the funds, which I fear will not be available in the Punjab, may be found elsewhere for her to carry on this wonderful work. (Applause.)

Miss Norah Hill: Dr. Brown in her paper has touched on several practical points about rural work from her very large experience. One is that rural workers should live in the village. This is a very important point, and unfortunately a great deal of the so-called rural uplift work has had to be done from towns. I do not much care for the expression "rural uplift" myself. I think Mr. Brayne invented it, but, being a villager, I like to look at townspeople from the same level. This rural work cannot really be done from towns. The workers go back to the town in the even-

ing; the villagers heave a sigh of relief and relapse. This plan for women in colonies in villages meets that objection.

There is a second difficulty—namely, that of women workers living isolated in rural districts. We have met that difficulty in the Indian Red Cross. We employ a large number of health visitors, and we have been trying more and more to get them out into the rural districts, but we are always up against that difficulty. Dr. Brown's plan for colonies of rural workers would meet that difficulty in a most practical way.

Unfortunately I think the financial difficulty is a very serious one. To ask any rural district to support a doctor, a tuberculosis nurse, a health visitor and a group of midwives means putting a great burden on it. It would be a burden for an English rural district; it would be a far greater burden for an Indian rural district.

So I do not think we can call this plan the solution of all India's rural problems, but I do think that such a plan would be immensely valuable as a demonstration. We have had health demonstrations in other countries, in America, Belgium, and in England, where we concentrate workers in an area to show the value of a certain piece of work, and in order to collect statistics. Such a demonstration in the Ludhiana district under Dr. Brown would be extremely valuable not only to Ludhiana but to the whole of India. I sincerely hope that Dr. Brown will be able to find the funds for such a demonstration. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane: I did not expect to have to speak tonight; in fact, I told Sir Frank Brown that as I had presided over a meeting only four days ago for Ludhiana, I was sure everybody would be tired of me. So I will not say more about Ludhiana except that I was one of the early supporters of Dame Edith Brown, and I am still a strong supporter of her. I realized that she was a woman who could get things to go. My advisers in the Punjab Government were very doubtful about the policy of starting her medical school. They did not think it could work. There were not sufficient funds. But I thought she had the mind and will to make it go.

Now she has started an idea for village uplift. I quite agree with Miss Norah Hill that it would be a very great thing to get these cells in the villages. We hear a great deal about the propagation of political ideas by planting cells out amongst communities. We also know that bacteriological cells can multiply by myriads in a very short time, and I do not see why Dame Edith Brown's idea of uplift cells should not be a very great success.

You certainly will not do it by preaching at them from outside, and I would like just to mention another case of another lady, not so well known as Dame Edith, but who did wonderful work in the Punjab—*i.e.*, Miss Fletcher, of the Baptist Mission at Salampur in Palwal, Gurgaon. Everybody here knows a great deal of Mr. Brayne's work for village uplift, but it started with work in Gurgaon, where she prepared the ground and sowed the seed. I cannot help thinking that he learnt by seeing what Miss Fletcher and her helpers were doing there, in the way of improving the well-heads and looking after the manure heaps and so laying the foundation of village sanitation. That is the reason why Mr. Brayne was able to make such a

great success of his work in the Gurgaon district. I see no reason why similar cells planted in suitable places elsewhere should not be equally successful. And I do not believe the expense will be so great as is thought. At any rate it is a work for which, no matter what happens in other departments, money must necessarily be found. I wish her all success in her new departure.

Mr. S. H. Wood: When I had the privilege about a year ago of addressing this Society and when I had the pleasure of presiding over a meeting in this room a few months ago, I pleaded, and a great many other people pleaded, for two things: one, that the education of little children in India should be placed in the hands of trained women, and the other, that adult education in India should begin with the education of village women.

Dame Edith Brown has, anyhow on paper, solved both these problems. The real difficulty about trained Indian women being responsible for the education of little children in the villages is that they cannot live alone. If the Punjab Government would only undertake to train a sufficient number of women, and would add one such woman to each of Dame Edith Brown's communities, you would have not only a doctor, nurse and midwife, but school-teacher as well, living together as a community. Then you could have the education of little children in the hands of women, which is really fundamental. Further, if Dame Edith Brown, with her very sound ideas, would admit that her little community was really the beginning of what is broadly called "adult education," then again she would be attacking the real problem of India, which is not primarily the education of boys or of men, but securing a reasonable basis for the educational system—namely, the proper education and medical treatment of little children, and creating in every village some kind of community where the women of the village are welcome, and to which they want to come because there they get sympathy, reasonable treatment and some enlightenment about their own specific problems.

These are the prime needs of India, and Dame Edith's plan meets them, if Governments provide the money and have the intelligence to see that it is the education and training of women which is the fundamental problem in India.

Captain Binstead: May I ask whether the £500 per centre is a yearly cost? Have you taken into account all the expenditure in regard to equipment and stores and the necessary buildings and depreciation?

Dame Edith Brown, in reply, said: The question of having a room for the teacher is down here in my printed paper, but I forgot to mention it just now. That certainly would add to the value of the colony. Salaries would be for the doctor, Rs. 75-126; health visitor, Rs. 65-100; tuberculosis nurse, Rs. 50-90; nurse, Rs. 75-105, and so on. That does not include the salary of the teacher, but Rs. 6,000 is a rough estimate of what the annually recurring expenditure would be. Then I have put down about Rs. 8,000 for starting it, for building the village houses and so on.

I did not emphasize the excellent staff which we have now. We began

with very few, but now we have twelve doctors with home qualifications, a pharmacist, a science teacher, and two pharmacists and eight hospital sisters with home qualifications, and we are all busy. I do not do nearly as much as I used to, but it is a great joy to see the work growing, and we are still needing two more doctors.

Colonel Reinhold referred to the question of proselytizing. We do not do that. No pressure is brought to bear at all. It is just the witness of the Christian lives and the spirit of the work, the love and sympathy and giving of the Gospel message. The complaint has been made against the hospital that the women and children are so happy that they do not want to go home; this, however, is rare. We do not want that to be so, but it is not a very bad accusation to be brought against us.

We have over 50,000 out-patients. We have an X-ray and radium department, through Lady Willingdon's Thanksgiving Fund. We have a surgical department, and there is all the work of a hospital. We find the patients are sometimes proud of having had an operation. It is quite an excitement, and all their friends gather round them and want to hear just what was done, and they have a lovely scar to show. Then their friends get jealous and want to have an operation also. In one case we had a woman who was operated on. Her sister, a little jealous, asked to be seen, and it was found she also had a small tumour and needed an operation. They sent for an older sister, and she wept tears of disappointment when it was found she needed no operation.

Thank you very much for your interest, and I do trust the scheme I have suggested will be carried out.

Lord LAMINGTON: Let me first of all express my pleasure at meeting again so many friendly faces at the opening meeting of the East India Association for the autumn. I am particularly happy that it should be marked by the presence of the two ladies who have played the most prominent part in the afternoon's proceedings.

In addition to the little description Dame Edith gave of the strength and growth of this marvellous Ludhiana College, there are two features strikingly illustrated in this lecture. First of all, she attributed the success of the Ludhiana enterprise to the power of God. We are told now by the best in the land that unless people have reliance on that Power, nothing probably will save our civilization from absolute disaster. It is the only way of reconciling the conflicting forces and ideas in the world.

The other feature was where Dame Edith Brown speaks of her great happiness in having had this life of unselfish devotion to try and remedy the miseries of the Indian poor. To people like myself it is a great encouragement to believe we can do better by doing more for the benefit of others.

We are very grateful to Dame Edith for her admirable lecture, and also to Miss Rathbone for having, in her busy life as an M.P., given an afternoon to come here. I will ask you all to show your appreciation of the presence of these two ladies by loud acclamation.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: You owe me no thanks, but we all owe Dame Edith a great deal. It has been a great pleasure to us all to listen to her today.

There has been no direct appeal for funds, but I think Dame Edith Brown's whole speech showed how badly her College needs more funds, if it is to carry out all those plans that she described to us. Dame Edith's friend and colleague, Miss Craske, is at the door and will be very glad to receive donations, promises or enquiries, and to act as a liaison officer between the college and future helpers of it.

Thank you very much for your attendance, and I thank on behalf of Dame Edith and myself Lord Lamington for his kind words. I always feel at the end of these meetings that I would like to throw in a vote of thanks to Sir Frank Brown, to whose organizing ability it is all due. (Applause.)

INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION: THE NEW COCHIN CONSTITUTION

By Sir Shanmukham Chetty, K.C.I.E.
(Diwan of Cochin.)

Of late the internal administration of Indian States has become a matter of considerable interest to people both inside and outside the States. This is due to the emergence within the realm of practical politics of an All-Indian Federation, and the reaction in the States themselves to the establishment of a democratic form of government in the provinces of British India. A more subtle but more powerful factor that has contributed to this is the growing spirit of Indian nationalism with its emphasis on the essential unity of India. All these factors have not only created an interest in the administrative system of the Indian States, but have given rise to a demand by the people of the States for an effective voice in the administration. As can be expected, the demand is for the establishment of some form of responsible government. It must be remembered that this demand is not in all cases the outcome of maladministration by an autocratic ruler as is usually supposed by many people. Though the rulers of Indian States have absolute powers, it is nevertheless a fact that in the great majority of the States a well-ordered machinery of government on modern lines exists. To name only a few cases—Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, and many other Indian States have systems of government which in their efficiency can compare with the governments of British Indian provinces.

The demand of the people for responsible government is therefore not the result of oppression by an autocrat, but the outcome of the spirit of nationalism in India. The people of the Cochin State have given expression to this demand for at least fifteen years, and, in response to this demand, His Highness the Maharajah has taken a far-reaching step and established a form of government which is at least partially responsible to the people.

A Progressive State

It may be of interest to people in England to know some details about the experiment that has been launched for the first time in an Indian State.

The State of Cochin comprises a very small area of 1,500 square miles on the south-west coast of India. Though the area is small, it has a population of over one and a quarter millions. The density of the population in the habitable area of the State works out to about 1,400 per square mile, which makes this State one of the most densely populated areas in the world. The income of the State is about ten million rupees per year. About a quarter of the revenue is derived from the share which the State gets in the Customs revenue collected at the port of Cochin. This port, the construction of which is now nearing completion, will be one of the finest ports in the East when all the contemplated works are finished. The main feature about this State is that, unlike the rest of India with the exception of Travancore, it is very advanced in education. It may be said that about 80 per cent. of the grown male population and 70 per cent. of the female population of the State are literate. With the progress that is being made in education, it can be safely anticipated that within another decade there will be universal literacy in the State.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century the State has had a well-ordered system of government. The chief executive officer of the State is the Prime Minister, called the Diwan. The rulers of the State have for many decades been guided solely by the advice of the Prime Minister and have not actually interfered in the administration of the State. Fifteen years ago a Legislative Council was established. The Council from its inception was entrusted with large powers. It had the power of voting the Budget, except certain items which were marked as non-votable. The members had the right of asking questions and moving resolutions; all legislation was normally put through the Legislative Council; only in exceptional cases did the Maharaja exercise his prerogative of passing laws. With this background it was easy for the ruler of the State to go a stage forward and establish a form of responsible government. This step was taken in January

this year, when His Highness announced, on his seventy-sixth birthday, that he had resolved to associate his people more directly in the government of the State, and entrust the administration of certain departments to a minister chosen from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council. It was further announced that the minister will be responsible to the Council for his actions. The subjects that were entrusted to the minister were: Agriculture, Co-operation, Development of Cottage Industries, Public Health, the Administration of Panchayats, and the Uplift of the Depressed Classes.

In accordance with this announcement, the new Constitution was inaugurated on June 17 this year. In drafting the Constitution great care was taken, not merely to give effect to the ruler's intentions, but to make the Constitution as simple as possible. The Constitution that finally took shape is contained in the Government of Cochin Act, 1938.

The New Constitution

Under this Constitution all power is vested in His Highness the Maharaja and the executive authority of the State is exercised through the Diwan in relation to reserved subjects and through the Minister in relation to transferred subjects. The legislative authority of the State vests in His Highness and a single chamber known as the Cochin Legislative Council. The Legislative Council consists of 58 members: 38 of these are elected by the people in territorial constituencies; 8 are nominated by the ruler to represent the minority communities; and 12 are officials and heads of departments. The Diwan of the State is the ex-officio President of the Legislative Council. The Council, therefore, has a strong non-official majority. The members are elected on a fairly wide franchise. Every person who pays any tax to the State or to any local authority and every person who has passed the school final examination, or its equivalent, has a vote. The constituencies are mostly territorial, except in the case of two communities, the Latin Christians and the Thiyas, who have been given at their own request communal electorates. Women have the vote on the same basis as men and are eligible to stand as

candidates for any constituency. In addition to this, two seats are specially reserved for women to ensure the return of a minimum number.

The life of the Council normally is for three years, unless sooner dissolved by the ruler. The members have the right of electing a Deputy President, who has to preside in the absence of the ex-officio President. The members are given by statute freedom of speech in the Council, and it is provided that no member entitled to take part in the proceedings at the Council shall be liable to any proceedings in any court in respect of anything said or any vote given by him in the Council or any committee. All matters relating to the administration of the State come within the purview of the Legislative Council except a few specified matters—those are—

(*a*) The relations of the Ruler with the Crown or with foreign princes or States.
(*b*) Matters governed by treaties made with the Crown.
(*c*) The military forces of the State.
(*d*) The conduct of the judges of the High Court in discharging their official duties.
(*e*) Matters relating to the management of temples in the control of His Highness, and a few other minor matters.

Except for these excluded subjects the Council is at liberty to discuss every aspect of the administration. It is further provided that the previous sanction of the Ruler has to be obtained for any measure which affects the public revenues of the State, or religion, or religious rights of any of the subjects of the State, or which affects any proclamation or order passed by the Ruler in the exercise of his prerogative.

The Council has the right of moving resolutions or introducing Bills on any matters except the few subjects mentioned above. Any Bill passed by the Council becomes law when it is assented to by the Ruler. It is provided that every Bill which has been passed by the Council shall be submitted to His Highness, unless the Bill is returned to the Council for reconsideration if the Diwan thinks that the measure requires amendment in any particular. The Ruler has the right to withhold his assent from a Bill. Apart from the power possessed by the Council of initiating legislation, the normal procedure adopted for passing laws is to

introduce a Bill in the Council for the purpose. Though the Ruler has the prerogative of making laws this prerogative is very seldom exercised.

Finance

The annual Budget of the State is presented to the Council in detail, and the Council has the right to vote on the Budget, except a few specified items which are kept as non-votable. The non-votable items comprise practically expenditure of an obligatory character like pensions and gratuities, interests on loans and sinking funds, etc. Besides these the salaries of such of the officers as are specified by the ruler and also contributions for charities and other purposes made by the ruler are removed from the cognizance of the Council. It will thus be seen that the Legislative Council has very wide powers over the finance of the State. The Constitution no doubt provides that the ruler may decide that any expenditure is essential for the administration of the State notwithstanding an adverse vote of the Council. This power of certification has been very sparingly used.

The administration of the transferred subjects is carried on by the Minister appointed by His Highness from amongst the elected members of the Council. The salary and allowances of the Minister are within the control of the Council. In relation to the subjects under his control, the Minister occupies almost the same position as the Diwan has in relation to his own subjects. It is provided that in case of a difference of opinion between the Diwan and the Minister the decision shall be given by the Ruler. In the administration of the transferred subjects His Highness has to be guided by the advice offered by the Minister, unless in certain cases His Highness sees cause to dissent from the Minister's opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with such advice.

Diarchy

I have given in broad outline the salient features of the new Constitution established in the Cochin State. Those who are familiar with the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1919 will at once recognize in the new Cochin Constitution the

familiar diarchy which has come in for so much criticism and condemnation. In fact, when the outlines of the new Constitution for the State were announced, many condemned it as the revival of the diarchic system, which is supposed to have failed miserably in the government of the provinces of British India. It is not necessary for my purpose to discuss in detail whether or not in practice diarchy in the provinces was a success. As one who was associated with the working of diarchy in its early stages, I have no hesitation in saying that, far from being a failure, diarchy has paved the way for the successful working of provincial autonomy which we see in India today. For the purpose of studying the merits of the Cochin Constitution it is not necessary, as I said, to go into details about the way in which diarchy was worked in the provinces. Even assuming that the diarchic form of government proved unsuitable in the provinces, it does not necessarily follow that it must be unsuitable for an Indian State. In an Indian State the conditions are in some respects vitally different from those in the provinces. In a State there is a personal ruler to whom the people are greatly attached; the government therefore is more personal and intimate than in a province governed by a bureaucracy. Apart from this personal factor, there is one other difference which is of great importance: the real antipathy of the Indian politicians to a diarchic form of government was largely due to the fact that the control of the administrative system was in the hands of a bureaucracy composed largely of foreigners.

Indian public men have had the feeling that with this element in the government of the province it would be difficult for the minister and the representatives of the people to exercise any effective control in the administration of provincial affairs. This, however, is not the case generally in Indian States. The civil servants in most of the Indian States are men of the soil, whose interest in the welfare of the State is as deep and abiding as that of any politician. These civil servants in the State are not birds of passage, but men who even after retirement have to live in the midst of the people whom they serve for the time being. There is therefore a bond of unity between the public and the civil servants which was to a large extent absent in the provinces.

These two factors—the personal attachment to the ruler and the identity of interest between the civil servants and the public—create in an Indian State an atmosphere which is very different from what prevailed in the provinces when the Act of 1919 was put into operation.

In my opinion, therefore, there is no justification to condemn the diarchical Constitution introduced in Cochin on the basis of what happened in some of the provinces.

Before advising His Highness the Maharaja about the details of the Constitution, I applied my mind seriously to the problem of evolving an alternative form of government to diarchy. I must frankly confess that in the field of responsible government I have not been able to discover an alternative to diarchy, where it is considered that the granting of full responsibility is not possible for some reason or other. In some quarters it has of late become the fashion to condemn not merely diarchy but responsible government as well. In Europe the only alternative to responsible government has been dictatorship. Anyone who suggests a democratic type of government for the Indian States which will be free from the faults of democracy and the perils of dictatorship would be doing a real service. I must confess that I have not been able to devise such an alternative.

Constitutional Rule

A detailed study of the Cochin Constitution will no doubt reveal considerable limitations on the powers of the Legislative Council and the Minister. To get a proper appreciation of the new Constitution in the State, reference must be made, not merely to the clauses of the Act, but to the terms of an announcement which His Highness the Maharaja made when inaugurating the Constitution. One significant sentiment in that announcement gives the real clue to the spirit underlying the new Constitution. In speaking about the loss of power involved in the granting of responsible government to his people, His Highness pointed to the example of the British Sovereign, who has gained in the devotion and loyalty of his people what he lost in former powers over the details of administration. This is a significant comparison; it shows that

the Ruler of the Cochin State has decided to copy the example of the British Sovereign in making himself a constitutional ruler. This noble attitude of the Ruler is a guarantee to the people of the State that the transfer of power into their hands is intended to be real and effective.

I am happy to say that all sections of the State and all the political parties have welcomed the new Constitution in a spirit of good-will and co-operation. No one spoke of creating deadlocks or wrecking the Constitution. The election under the new Constitution was conducted on approved lines, and the Cochin Congress party, which was the largest single party in the Council, has undertaken the responsibility of administering the transferred subjects through their Minister. The first session of the Council under the new Constitution was conducted on well-organized parliamentary models, and the popular minister has entered upon his duties with the good-will of all sections of the people.

Before I tendered my advice to His Highness about the new Constitution, I had some doubts in my mind as to what would be the attitude of the Paramount Power to such radical changes in the internal administration of the State. This doubt was expressed more forcibly by other Indian statesmen, who went to the extent of saying that the obligations of an Indian ruler to the British Crown have created serious obstacles in the way of the ruler giving responsible government to his people. Fortunately for everyone concerned the position has been made clear beyond doubt by a statement made in the House of Commons on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

The Federal Plan

The constitutional change effected in the Cochin State has been considered by some as an essential preparation in the process of the State's entry into an All-Indian Federation. I do not pretend to have any inside knowledge of what the intentions of the authorities are regarding the inauguration of the Federal Constitution in India. If what has been done in Cochin facilitates the starting of the Federal Constitution I shall feel proud that it has fallen to my lot to do something to expedite this process. I am a firm believer

in the theory that the only basis for self-government in India is an All-India Federation which will comprise the provinces and Indian States. There are those who glibly talk of granting self-government to British India alone without any reference to the Indian States. Whether we take into consideration the geographical conditions or the political problems or the economic position of India, it is impossible to conceive of a really self-governing India which does not comprise the Indian States as well. To my mind it is clear beyond doubt that in any scheme of real self-government it is impossible to ignore the States. Not long ago such an All-India Federation was considered to be a dream of the distant future. The Act of 1935 has converted this dream into a reality of the present. With all its obvious defects the Government of India Act, 1935, can be used as an instrument for the speedy and effective realization of this goal.

Everyone is aware of the fact that the inauguration of the Federal Constitution under this Act is being stoutly opposed in certain quarters. One of the reasons given for the opposition with which alone I shall deal at present is the place given to the Indian States in the Federal scheme. It is suggested that the presence of the nominees of the rulers in the Federal Legislature would be a sort of dead weight on the political progress of the country. It is thought that the States' members will form a sort of block to carry out the behests of the Political Department of the Government of India. I must frankly state at the very outset that I do not find any cause for such apprehension. The fear is based on the assumption that all the rulers will act as one block in the Federal Legislature. In practice this is never likely to happen. It will be found that the interests of British India and Indian India are essentially economic, and in any conflict of economical interests the alignment of parties is likely to be on a territorial basis. It is likely that in the Federal Legislature, when vital economic conflicts arise, the representatives of an industrial area, whether they come from the provinces or the States, will act together, as against the representatives of an agricultural area. Any assumption that all the States' members will act in a block ignores the realities of the situation. As for acting under the dictation of the Political De-

partment, everyone who is cognizant of the affairs of Indian States knows full well that there is no basis for this fear. In fact, it has been freely suggested in quarters that ought to know the facts that what prompted the Indian Princes at the Round-Table Conference to throw in their lot with British India was their desire to cut away from the influence and control of the political department. Those who have made this suggestion are nearer the truth.

One other objection advanced by the opponents of the Federal scheme is to the provision under which the representatives of the States are nominated by the rulers themselves. The Act, of course, does not provide the method to be followed by a ruler in choosing his representatives. Under the provisions of the Act there is nothing to prevent a ruler from creating a machinery in his State for electing the representatives. It would, however, be unwise to force the hands of the rulers in this matter and make it a condition to their admittance to the Federation. It must not be forgotten that in agreeing to accept the Federation the rulers will be taking a momentous step, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen. Such a momentous step must naturally create apprehension in the minds of the rulers. The wisest course would be to allow time to work out its own destiny in this case. It may be that in the earlier years of Federation the rulers may like to feel their positions safe by nominating their own representatives. The time, however, will not be far distant when of their own accord they will allow their representatives to be elected by the people of the State. To my mind it would be a quicker way of achieving the result which we all desire, to allow freedom to the rulers in this matter rather than make any attempt to force their hands. Any such attempt would necessarily impede the establishment of the Federal Constitution. After all, it should not be forgotten that the Indian rulers are themselves great patriots. It should not be forgotten that it was their declaration of their readiness to join the Federal scheme that made responsible government in the centre a reality.

Confidence and trust in these great rulers, most of whom are as ready to serve the Motherland as any of the most ardent politicians, is the surest way of realizing our ambitions.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, October 18, 1938, when a paper entitled "Indian States and Federation: The New Cochin Constitution" was read by Sir Shanmukham Chetty, K.C.I.E., Diwan of Cochin. Sir Hopetoun Stokes, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: My first duty is to introduce the lecturer, and it is with great pleasure that I undertake it.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty is a distinguished alumnus of a very distinguished college in Southern India, the Madras Christian College, which has sent forth very many prominent men, both in public affairs and in private and professional life. He had a business career and training in Coimbatore, which is the rising industrial centre of the Madras Presidency, and there he served for a time as Vice-President of the Municipality. He was early selected as a legislator, both in the Madras Council for three years, and for nearly ten years in the Central Legislative Assembly, in which he rose to be Deputy-President, and finally to the dignity of President.

He represented India, or rather the Indian employers, in 1928, 1929, and 1932 at the International Labour Conference at Geneva. He represented India at the Ottawa Conference and at the Empire Parliamentary Delegation. He was created, in consideration of his distinguished services, a K.C.I.E. in 1933. The last time I met him we knelt together in front of the Viceroy to be touched with a sword. Now, since 1935, he has been Diwan of Cochin, a most interesting State on the Malabar coast.

Such is his career in brief outline. I suppose that the nature of his duties as Diwan needs scarcely an explanation to this audience. Under the ruler, in short, he is the mainspring of the administration of the State, and this he has carried on most successfully for the past three years. Considering his past training and experience, both in the Provincial and the Central Legislatures, it is not surprising that it should be in his time that the great advance has been made in the Cochin State of introducing the step towards responsible government of which he is to tell us in his paper.

We in this Association feel that its usefulness is enhanced when men like Sir Shanmukham Chetty, possessing such administrative experience and bearing such responsibilities, are kind enough to lecture to us on these topics, on which they can speak with special authority.

Sir SHANMUKHAM CHETTY, K.C.I.E. (Diwan of Cochin): I consider it a very great privilege to have this opportunity of addressing such a distinguished audience here in London under the auspices of the East India Association. It gives me particular pleasure to speak on this occasion, as I see before me a great many friends with whom it was my privilege to work in public life in India, and I am particularly glad when I am speaking about the Constitution

of the Cochin State to see present a very distinguished predecessor of mine, Sir Albion Banerji, because it was in his time that a very great step was taken in modernizing the administration of the State. I am sure he will be glad to hear that the progress he initiated has been maintained, till at last we have started on the experiment of introducing some element of responsibility in the administration of the State.

(Sir Shanmukham Chetty then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: Having spent something like fifteen years under the rule of diarchy, and having heard it abused day and night for fifteen years, I confess it is a great relief to me to find that it is now coming into its own. At the same time there are one or two remarks in the paper with which I do not entirely agree, or on which I have some comment to offer.

In part of his paper Sir Shanmukham Chetty has contrasted the working of diarchy in the Indian Provinces with its working in the Indian States, and has drawn attention to one reason why diarchy came in for such unpopularity—namely, the fact that the control of the administrative system was in the hands of a bureaucracy composed largely of foreigners.

In making that remark no doubt he is referring to the state of things in 1919, when the diarchic system was introduced, and it may have been to some extent true of that time. But I do not like to leave the point to go, as it were, by default, for even in 1919, in Madras, at any rate—for which I can speak—the number of men in the Indian Civil Service was under two hundred in a population of forty-odd million; and of those two hundred, which includes all the juniors right down to the bottom of the Service, I suppose only two or three were in a position to exercise any kind of material influence upon the policy of the State. That is one point I should like to emphasize, and this state of things continued relatively as regards the numbers and influence of the Civil Service up to the time when Provincial Autonomy was introduced in 1935. I think that is a point that ought to be brought out when that old argument is alluded to.

Again, in the same connection he observes that in an Indian State the bureaucracy, such as it is, consists of a Civil Service who are not birds of passage and who have, even after retirement, to live in the midst of the people whom they serve, the suggestion being that in the British Provinces the horrible foreign bureaucrats all flee off with their pensions and leave India to stew in her own juice. I do not think that was true even in 1919, but it certainly has been increasingly untrue ever since. If I remember rightly, we have still only about two hundred men in the Madras I.C.S., of whom, by the time I left India in 1935, nearly 50 per cent. were natives, men of the soil, of the Presidency itself. The same applied to the Police, whereas in the other Departments, such as the Public Works and Education Departments, and to a less extent in the Forests, nearly all the so-called Imperial Departments, the recruitment of Europeans had ceased for a number of years prior to 1935. So that, whatever may have been the justification for that objection in 1919, it certainly had been reduced almost to a negligible point by the end of the period of diarchy.

I do not think it is quite fair to argue, either, that with this element, this

exiguous element, in the Government, the Ministers were unable to exercise any effective control in the administration of the affairs of the State. It would take too long to argue in detail upon that point, but I do not think, in Madras, at any rate, it could be fairly said that they exercised no such control. It seems to me that the real objection to diarchy, which was inherent in it from the outset to the end, was that it was, after all, only a compromise; it was only intended as an intermediate stage on the road to wider provincial autonomy. It was certainly a very bold experiment, or it seemed so when it was introduced.

I remember when the late Mr. Montagu in one of his peregrinations, before the appearance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, visited Madras. He invited me to breakfast, which I attended in some trepidation, and he propounded a rough outline of his ideas. I nearly fell backwards. I said: "You cannot possibly divide the administration by watertight compartments like that." Mr. Montagu was not pleased, and, as his diary showed, did not think much of Madras at all.

It was certainly a bold experiment. I should think that, if I were to try and mention any particular point in which it was specially defective, I should say that it did not tend to engender a sense of financial responsibility among the Ministers. It must be remembered that when they first came into office they were comparatively inexperienced. They were not responsible for raising their own taxes or financing their own schemes. I think I remember that when the discussions were going on, before it was introduced, there was a great discussion about the joint *versus* the separate purse, and ultimately the joint purse was adopted. If they had had a system of a separate purse, in which the Ministers had certain portions of the revenues at their complete disposal and were only able to carry out their schemes within the limits of those revenues, or supplement them by taxation, I have often thought that they would have had a greater sense of financial responsibility than they ever acquired. Actually what happened was a sort of dog-fight over every Budget as to how the available money should be divided.

There is no doubt that diarchy was open to many objections, both in theory and practice, as, indeed, such compromises usually are; but, as I said just now, it was never intended as more than a stage in India's advance, and as such it served its purpose. I am pleased to hear that Sir Shanmukham Chetty holds the same view. It should be remembered also, in fairness to our old friend diarchy, that its full success was undoubtedly marred almost from the commencement by the refusal of the Congress to co-operate in it, and, secondly, that during the last six years of its existence it was greatly handicapped by the effect of the great economic depression which ensued about 1929, and which effectually disabled the Ministers from undertaking any far-reaching schemes of reform. I speak feelingly because I spent five years in trying to make both ends meet, and I have rather bitter recollections of that struggle.

But at any rate diarchy did give the Ministers experience of administration, and it familiarized them with the practical science of government. It brought them into closer touch with the men who had to work the machine, and, whether these were birds of passage or not, they gave—as Ministers

have gladly admitted—the most loyal service to their chiefs. The Services, on the other hand, learnt a great deal, and both sides came to see that the other fellow was not so black as he had been painted. I cannot but feel, therefore, that our old friend diarchy scarcely deserves all the condemnation that in some quarters it has received. I should like to congratulate Sir Shanmukham Chetty upon the welcome it has received in Cochin and the excellent start that has been made.

In the last part of his paper the lecturer has touched all too briefly on the federal plan. This raises a most interesting theme, but one upon which I feel I cannot speak with assurance or authority. I will only say that I cordially agree with the lecturer that in any scheme for real self-government for India as a whole it is impossible to ignore the Indian States. I can also, for myself, endorse his very realistic and sensible reply to the objection that Indian rulers or their representatives must form a sort of quasi-official block in the Federal Legislature, whether to carry out the behests of the Political Department or to oppose democratic progress. I think with him that to argue thus is to ignore the realities of the case.

The Indian States are so numerous and their conditions so varied that it is difficult to generalize about them, and equally difficult to generalize about their rulers. Some rulers there may be who see in federation a danger to their position, their authority, or the maintenance of their dynasty. I believe that those who are influenced solely or mainly by such considerations are few. Whether they come into the Federation or stay out of it, they cannot stem the tide. The political consciousness of India is awake, and sooner or later its tide must invade the territories of even the most conservative Indian States. The wisest of the rulers have already—especially in South India—as Cochin has done, provided constitutions which in varying degree ensure that the wishes of the people or their representatives are heard and respected.

It seems to me inevitable that, as time goes on and as education spreads, these constitutions must tend to be further liberalized and to be introduced elsewhere. The old autocratic Raja will tend to disappear, and the task of the ruler will be the infinitely more difficult one of retaining the leadership of his people by demonstrating his devotion to their interests and welfare rather than emphasizing a ruler's prerogatives. As Sir Shanmukham Chetty has observed, that is fully realized by His Highness of Cochin, and I cannot suppose that his brother Princes do not share his conviction. For I believe there can be few, if any, Indian rulers who are not patriots first and dynasts a long way second.

Sir Albion Banerji: In the first place, I should like to congratulate the author of the paper, who holds a position of great responsibility as Diwan in one of the most progressive and enlightened Indian States, and who fills it with honour and distinction, for his interesting account of the new Constitution of Cochin, and for the very cautious and guarded manner in which he dealt with the question of Federation. The latter, unfortunately, has been dealt with rather briefly in the concluding section of the paper, although it is a burning question of the day, and is closely connected with the problem of the future status of over 80,000,000 subjects of the Princes, who are now

clamouring for the establishment, as the lecturer admits, of some form of responsible government.

I have nothing but praise to offer to the Diwan of Cochin for the courage with which he has introduced partial responsibility—in other words, diarchy—in the government of the Cochin State. But how far this has paved the way to Cochin entering the All-India Federation we have not been told.

I do not quite agree that diarchy has greater chances of success in an Indian State than in British provinces, on the grounds stated—namely, that there is a personal ruler, to whom the people are greatly attached; and, secondly, the control of the administration is not in the hands of a bureaucracy composed largely of foreigners. It stands to reason that the Indian Princes will have to give up to a large extent the personal element of their sovereignty as time goes on. In Cochin, the lecturer tells us, the ruler has for many decades been guided solely by the advice of the Prime Minister, and has not actually interfered in the administration. I can testify to that fact as Diwan from 1907 to 1914. But that is not the usual state of affairs. Conditions in Cochin, no doubt, are favourable to the introduction of partial responsibility, but elsewhere I doubt if that will be the case. As regards the other argument, all I wish to say is that the Diwans in most States are selected by the rulers, sometimes with the advice of the British Government, sometimes without, when they are not lent or retired British officers. They are not as a rule sons of the soil. Our distinguished lecturer is a brilliant example of this kind. We thus see that Diwans, Administrators, and Presidents of Councils, many of the heads of Departments likewise, are recruited from British India on the active or the retired list as head, or to administer special Departments, such as finance, industry, commerce, etc. We find this the case in Kashmir, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Baroda, Pudukota, and several other States. Diarchy in these circumstances can have no special chance of success in Indian States, and is not the only present solution.

In dealing with the new Constitution the lecturer gives us interesting information. The Cochin Congress Party, which is the largest single party in the Council, has, he says, undertaken the responsibility of administering the transferred subjects through their Minister. This shows that the Government have recognized the Congress Party in the State. Much credit naturally falls to the Diwan, who has forestalled the State Congress movement which has caused so much stir and is still giving anxiety in such advanced States as Mysore and Travancore.

One point of interest which arises from the paper is the attitude of the Paramount Power to such radical changes in the internal administration of the State. A few months ago there was some discussion in the London *Times* on the subject. In a letter Mr. Heath, Chairman of the Indian Conciliation Group, said that it was increasingly evident that the disparity between democratic British provinces and the conservative Indian States was such as to make the present scheme unworkable. In a letter to *The Times* I tried to bring into prominence the consideration that the Princes should do all that they can to appreciate the spirit of the day. I made a reference to Earl Winterton's statement in Parliament on behalf of the Secretary of State

that the consent of the Paramount Power is not required before any proposals for constitutional advance are approved by the Princes. This was a helpful declaration, but as the treaties stand the position is somewhat different, unless the declaration referred, not to the past, but to the future.

Take the Cochin Treaty of 1809, for example. Clause 9 of this treaty of perpetual friendship certainly restricts the power of the Princes to introduce material changes in the administration without the advice of the British Government. Even in the Mysore Treaty, revised in 1913, there is a clause that no material change in the administration in force should be introduced without the consent of the Governor-General-in-Council. This was the case when the present Constitution took effect in 1932.

It may be of interest to many present here to know that so far back as 1912 I submitted to the British Government, as Diwan of Cochin, a scheme for the establishment of an Advisory Council under the direction of his then Highness Sir Ramavurmah, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. The British Government certainly did not view with favour the proposal, and advised the ruler to go slow. The scheme was for a Council comprising a majority of nearly two to one of elected members, and at that time no doubt it was considered too radical a change, as the idea was far in advance of what was prevailing in British Indian Provinces. The ruler who had administered the State for twenty-five years with great success and credit to himself surely knew the needs of his country more than anybody else, but unfortunately he had to listen to the advice of the Paramount Power, couched in the following terms:

> "My Government are unable to think that His Highness has fully realized to what extent the powers of the Darbar (with which those of the Diwan are inseparably identified) will suffer by this very definite detraction from them, or how far the integrity of those powers, which His Highness holds in trust for his successors, and which is the very basis of his treaty obligations to the Paramount Power, will thereby be endangered."

At this distance of time, in disclosing this fact, I am sure I am not guilty of any breach of confidence. At all events, it took Cochin ten years from the inception of the first reform scheme to have a Legislative Council.

Turn now to the Federal Plan. The lecturer has brought to our notice only two objections which have to be put forward, not only by the Congress, but also by the leaders of liberal political thought in the country. One is that the nominees of rulers would be a sort of dead-weight on the political progress of the country, and the other that the representatives of the States will be nominated by the rulers themselves. It is difficult to judge which is the cause and which the effect. I personally think that the second is really the cause of the apprehension expressed in the first. Even such distinguished British statesmen as Lord Samuel and Lord Lothian have suggested that some measure of selection acceptable to the people of the State should be introduced before the Federation can ever come into being, and that the rulers have to transfer some of their sovereign authority to the representatives of their people, and also allow freedom and liberty of person and of speech.

It is significant that a few days hence there is to be a meeting at the Friends' House, Euston Road, in which Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru will take part. It is stated that he will take up the leadership of the Indian States People's Movement next year. The Congress movements which have sprung up very rapidly in many of the States, as well as the agitation for responsible government, even in such States as Kashmir and Hyderabad, are definite signs of the times, and it would be too optimistic to take the view of the lecturer that it is unwise to force the hands of the rulers as to the method of selection of their representatives, and to allow them full freedom in the matter, and then only the Federal scheme will become a reality. Our learned lecturer as Diwan of Cochin has made a notable gesture to the people of Cochin—the first of its kind—but it is a question whether that will satisfy the British Indian politicians and the Congress.

I have an ominous feeling that if things do not advance generally towards a harmonious understanding between the three partners, the Princes, the British Indian politicians, and the State subjects, the present tendency to a totalitarian form of government in British India will be aggravated. The Indian State subjects will veer to the extreme left, and possibly the Princes themselves, for the most part, will continue to lean on mediæval autocracy. There will thus be a triangular struggle, and all I can say is: God help India if she does not have a strong central all-India Federal Constitution, in which the Indian Princes, through their democratically chosen representatives, will take an honourable part.

Sir William Barton: We are interested in Federation, the question of the hour in India. The present Central Government is very much up in the air, almost in limbo. What we really want is a strong Central Government—and to be strong it must be Federal—to exercise some restraining and steadying influence on Indian politics generally. We would all like to know what the position is as regards Federation, and we hope perhaps Sir Reginald Glancy will tell us something about it. We all know that the Congress strongly objects to Federation. The Princes are hesitating, naturally, to join a Federation in face of the hostility of a strong party like the Congress, whose prestige has been so much enhanced by their successes in the Provinces.

Another deterrent is the activities of Congress in the States. As Sir Albion Banerji has told us, there is a great deal of subversive work going on in Mysore and other States. I noticed the other day that Sir Akbar Hydari had found it necessary to refuse to allow the formation of a Congress Committee in Hyderabad, which evoked a plaintive protest from Mr. Gandhi.

A change seems to be coming over the scene. One hears that members of the Congress right wing would be prepared to come into Federation if Government would meet them half-way. In some circles, both in Britain and in India, the idea of a gesture of the kind is favoured. It is thought that if Government would bring some influence to bear on the Princes, and would tone down the diarchic element and the safeguards, possibly Federation might come into being.

The two main points on which the opponents of Federation take their

stand are the strong representation of the Princes in the Federal Constitution and this question of diarchy and the safeguards, which they think has been introduced mainly in order to calm the apprehensions of the Princes.

I quite agree with Sir Shanmukham Chetty, and I think we all would agree with him, that the idea of a solid block representative of the Princes, acting against the interests of India, is quite unlikely to mature. It is as unlikely as that members of a Political Department should attempt to influence the Princes' representatives in their activities in the Legislature. I think possibly there might be divisions on the lines suggested by Sir Shanmukham Chetty among the representatives of the States, but I should think it equally possible that the divisions would be on racial lines. You might find the Rajputs combining, or the Mahrattas, possibly the representatives of the Dravidian States of the south, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, where political progress is much greater than in any other part of India. The Moslems would undoubtedly combine if their interests were threatened. Some of these groups might be attracted to Congress, which would steady Congress policy if it should be able to form a Government.

As regards diarchy, I think it is inevitable in the Federal Constitution. I am sure we all admire the candour and courage of Sir Shanmukham Chetty in expressing a favourable opinion on that particular form of government. If diarchy can be successful in a State like Cochin, which is certainly as politically progressive as any part of India, and has a much higher standard of education, it perhaps is not absurd to expect it might work in the early stages in a Federal Government.

Democracy, where it is an exotic, where it is not embedded in the psychology of a people, is all the better for some sort of restraining influence in the background. Take, for example, the republics of South America, which for a hundred years have been trying to evolve some form of stable government out of democracy. If there had been some restraining influence in the background, like the influence of an Indian Prince, they would probably have made very much greater progress. I do not wish to compare democracy in India with democracy in South America, but a great many of us realize that there must be some form of restraining influence at the outset. It may be in the background; it may never be used; but it should be there and it should be available.

The world is not safe for democracy; India is not safe for democracy at the moment. The Indian politician would be well advised if he would now take the opportunity of unifying India by encouraging the Princes to come into a Federation. He cannot have it all his own way. There are two sides to the question, and the Princes must be made to feel that they can safely play their part in the India of the future.

Mr. A. P. Pattani: I would like to say a word on behalf of my masters, the Princes, with regard to a passing observation that fell from the learned lecturer, that it was because we wished to keep away from the Political Department that we agreed to Federation. I think that the delay that has been caused so far by the States in hesitating to say "Yes" too quickly on the methods of Federation is due to the fact that they would prefer to stay

where they are rather than leap into something they know not of. I can only speak in that matter from my own small experience.

I recall that at the time of the first Round-Table Conference, when the Princes agreed to enter a Federation—or it is better to say accepted the principle of Federation—it was in response to the request of British Indian delegates, whom they desired to help in working out a scheme which would make for the progress of India, as they themselves desired, and I think it was as H.M.'s Government desired. We have only been trying to help the Government. We have done our best to help British India in saying "Yes" to the principle of Federation, but not at any price, and I think the learned lecturer will also agree with that.

Some speakers have felt it desirable to criticize the new Cochin Constitution. After all, democratic ideas cannot be entirely excluded from Indian States who have a Federal Constitution for all India before them and British India around them. If in Cochin, with its dense population and much wider literacy, those ideas are more widely spread, it is no occasion for surprise or apprehension that the State has felt it necessary to enact the new Constitution in its own interests. I feel that the East India Association should wish the Maharaja, the Diwan, and the people all good luck.

Sir Shanmukham has given us a very interesting account of his State such as we rarely, if at all, have from other States, and I wish particularly to say that I am one of many in those territories who wish that more States had Diwans of his ability and integrity.

Mr. K. K. Lalkaka: It is indeed very comforting to find an eminent gentleman who occupies such an important position in the political life of India at long last discovering some good in diarchy. Sir Shanmukham Chetty certainly deserves to be congratulated very heartily upon his lucid and able exposition of the subject. However, there is one question that does occur to me, and it is this: If diarchy is good enough for a State where at the present time over 70 to 80 per cent. of the people are literate, why should it not have been good enough in British India, where not more than perhaps 16 per cent. are literate?

Just a word of criticism, if I might make it, and which even you, sir—perhaps because you came into the category of what is wrongly termed "a foreigner"—did not sufficiently emphasize. Moreover, I do hold that to characterize the British in India as foreigners is a fallacy. Every Indian, and more so an Indian politician, knows this very well in his heart. It is one of those things which the British people did not seem to realize, and they have come to believe in it, particularly of the British element in the Indian Civil Service. I have said it very often and I will keep on repeating it without fear of any criticism, that, looking back on history, looking at Indian political conditions as they are today, and considering the glorious achievement of Great Britain in India, the British have undoubtedly a much better right to rule and govern India than any Indian politician. (Laughter.) You are welcome to laugh, but your laughter leaves me unshaken in my conviction. For some years now I am used to being laughed at. I was ridiculed and called an Imperialistic Jingo whenever I attacked that sinister form of

pacifism which led this country into unilateral disarmament before mankind had thought seriously of going in for moral and ethical rearmament. I was also sneered at when I criticized this country's over-dependence upon that futile, broken reed—the League of Nations. But I find today that my critics are both silent and scarce. So may it not be that in time to come once again the good old adage will assert itself, that he laughs best who laughs last?

Sir Shanmukham Chetty has tried to explain away the question by stating that diarchy in an Indian State would work better than in British India for two reasons: first, because of the personal attachment of the people for the ruler of the State, and, secondly, by characterizing the British element in the administration of British India as "birds of passage"—an expression which in itself carries a somewhat odious implication. But what about the profound devotion which binds the Indian people, Princes as well as peasants, to the head of the British Empire—namely, the King-Emperor? Whenever the people of India have had an opportunity to come in direct contact with our beloved Sovereign their impulses have been so quickened that they have worshipped him like God. Has Sir Shanmukham forgotten how when the Heir-Apparent to the British Throne visited India in 1921 the hollowness of Mr. Gandhi's mischievous movement to boycott the royal visit was soon exposed? Am I also to understand that Sir Shanmukham does not realize that if he goes over a hundred miles away from his own home-town he is looked upon in India as a much greater foreigner than even an Englishman? That is one of the reasons, as Sir Albion Banerji pointed out, why most of the Indian rulers have as their Diwans men from parts of India far removed from their own States. I have known of cases when an English civilian judge has been able to translate the local language and interpret Indian documents in court much more accurately than the Indian pleader appearing before him. Is not that a test, if anything, of the much greater affinity of the British people to India?

It is absurd, sir, to call the British, who serve India so well and faithfully, "birds of passage." It went unchallenged in the past; but at the present time, when the Indian people can see for themselves that the very man who, as an agitator, condemned the Criminal Amendment Act, enforces it with all the greater rigour now that he is a Premier, what are they to think of his consistency of purpose? My submission is that the game is up; the veil is torn asunder and the fallacies stand revealed in their stark nakedness.

We are paying today the price of our folly in the past few years, and this folly of introducing self-government in India when the people there, on the whole, are not yet ready for it is the crowning madness of our time. A so-called responsible Government has come into the hands of irresponsible people, and it is heart-breaking to bear witness that in the ill-conceived pursuit of the goal of democracy we find ourselves face to face in eight out of the eleven British Provinces with something which resembles Soviet dictatorship. I dread to think of what the future holds for us in India, but I do know this, that in time to come Sir Shanmukham Chetty, along with all those who wish India well, will have reason to be proud of the new Constitution for the Cochin State, in the making of which he has played so

important a part, and thus will it come to pass that the wisdom and orthodoxy of the East triumphed, if for once, over the wild progressiveness of the West.

Sir HENRY GIDNEY: I feel myself in rather a fortunate position to talk with some knowledge on the subject-matter before us, because it was but a few months ago I paid a visit to Cochin as a guest of our distinguished speaker today. I was very pleased to hear what he told us and congratulate him very heartily on his achievement. I believe in the slogan "Advance, India"; yes, advance, India, on all lines, but particularly on constitutional lines.

Sir Shanmukham's paper, apart from the details he has elaborated of the new Constitution, has proved one thing—viz., that whereas in every other Province and State in India Congress, as a body, has refused to have anything to do with diarchy, Cochin has not only accepted, but is operating diarchy. It is a very healthy sign and augurs well for the future. Whether this is due to the lecturer's personality or power I know not, but it is a notable fact that supporters of the Congress in Cochin have consented to operate diarchy.

In this connection I remind myself of a remark I made at the Round-Table Conference. I had the temerity then to say, "When you try to mix autocracy and democracy in unequal proportions the precipitate is often hypocrisy" (laughter); and it seems to me that unless the rein is held tight the precipitous advance that one is witnessing in other States in India today may lead to chaos and ruin. Let us get out of our minds once and for all the idea that the Britisher is a foreign element in India. He is sometimes called a bird of passage, and he certainly is that. I once called him a "bird of prey," but I did not mean that in the literal sense. I meant that he made his money in India and spent it in England.

There has been very little effort on the part of the present Congress Governments and Indian statesmen to give any credit to the Britisher for his great administration in India for so many generations. The lecturer has deserved great credit for having had the courage to introduce into his State this partial form of diarchy. I call it "partial" because, though the distinguished Diwan claims that the Ruler of Cochin has tried to emulate the position of a constitutional monarch, he still retains omnipotent powers which he can exercise at will. Moreover, the Diwan is the ex-officio President of the Assembly, and, though the Deputy-President is elected, this is subject to the Ruler's approval. Again, no Act can be passed and become law if the Ruler or even the Diwan considers it inadvisable. Surely this is not diarchy? To my mind it is monarchy in the guise of "multarchy"; and yet there is no doubt that it is a step forward to the goal of democracy in Feudatory India, without which India can never become a nation.

The Constitution operating today in Cochin, if properly controlled, is worthy of emulation by many other States in India. The wave of democracy as we see it surging all over the world today cannot be stemmed, but it can and must be controlled; and democracy must be introduced gradually into Feudatory India, otherwise the Rulers will rebel against it. People in this country are not familiar with what goes on behind the curtain in Indian

States. I have had the pleasure of visiting five States within the last few months and was given opportunities of seeing what was happening. It is with that knowledge, together with the exceptional ability and wisdom of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, one of India's foremost Diwans, that I welcome the guarded and controlled advance that has been introduced in Cochin. A danger still remains, and it is this: when an Indian State is selecting its representatives for the Federal Legislature, and if Congress is going to advance on the position it occupies today in Cochin State (and this it certainly will do), he would be a very bold ruler who would go against the wishes of the strongest political party in his Constitution and refuse to accept the nominations of the Congress Party—a state of affairs which, in the end, will not only deprive the ruler of his power and sovereign rights, but will render him a mere puppet in his State.

I have nothing to say against the Congress Party as a party. I do not agree with many of their principles, but I do submit that, in the unprepared state of India today for democratic government, it would be an unwise step if, in each State, free and unbridled liberty were given to all subjects or constituencies to elect members to the Federal Councils. It would lead to a party Government being established in the Centre as we see it today in the majority of the Provinces, and not a National Government, which the Congress caucus has yet to learn is the only Government the future India will tolerate and accept if it is ever going to be a nation. I congratulate the distinguished Diwan of Cochin on the bold step he has taken, and I have sufficient confidence in his political sagacity and wisdom to feel that he will make a success of his experiment, and so add further lustre to his already brilliant record of public service for India.

Mr. Rushbrook Williams: The paper and the discussion have covered so wide a field this afternoon that all I can do is to mention two or three points which have perhaps not been stressed by other speakers.

May I say, in the first place, what a refreshing experience it has been to hear from Sir Shanmukham Chetty of something which has gone on in an Indian State which is both good and of news value? I entirely agree with Sir Henry Gidney when he talked about a veil or curtain which interposes itself between what goes on in the Indian States and public opinion here. That veil is, as a rule, only penetrated when something bad occurs which is taken up by the sensational Press. The number of occasions on which that veil is penetrated by a benevolent act is comparatively small. Benevolent acts have news value, and for that reason such a paper as this is likely to do us good, for here is a time when we see the veil drawn aside for us to observe a State doing the work which we in England expect it to do.

And may I say that that is, in actual fact, what the majority of States are doing today? We hear very little of this because good administration is not, as a rule, news. Only bad administration is news, and it is bad administration we hear about. Therefore I say that I hope that Sir Frank Brown—to whom this Association owes so much—will take care, in the course of the programmes he arranges, that we do get a series of papers from authorities who are entitled to say by their own experience what is going on inside the

States. Unless we get that kind of illumination it is very hard for us to follow what is actually happening.

Several people have alluded to diarchy, but I should like to bring up one aspect which has not been sufficiently stressed—that is, its instructional function. I had the privilege of going round a large portion of India with what was called the "Montagu circus." What Mr. E. S. Montagu hoped to do, and what I think, viewing matters in retrospect, he did, was to educate both sides. Parliamentary procedure has been, as it were, made part of the life of the administrator, and at the same time administration becomes brought in infinitely closer contact with members of the Legislature.

The second point is that stressed by Sir Albion Banerji when he talked about the difficulty which has existed in the past in regard to the paramountcy aspect of constitutional reforms in an Indian State. There is no good blinking the fact. It is an extremely difficult and delicate question. We are all very relieved by the statement made in the House of Commons, which we hope will clear the air in the future; but I think he would be an optimist who thought even that statement had robbed this question of all its difficulty.

The question as to how far constitutional reforms inside a State may make it difficult for the State to discharge its treaty obligations is a question which will have to be faced at some time or other in the future.

There is one further point, and that is in regard to the part the Indian Princes played in the final shaping of the Federal scheme. The lecturer says in his paper: "It should not be forgotten that it was their declaration of their readiness to join the Federal scheme that made responsible government in the Centre a reality." I should like to go much further. As one who was adviser to the Indian States at the two first sessions, and a delegate at the third session of the Conference, I should like to say quite frankly that central responsibility was really made possible because the rulers of the Indian States said that they could not consider associating themselves with any Government at the Centre which was not a responsible Government. It cannot be denied, I think, that this declaration finally determined the attitude of many British statesmen who had been in doubt as to whether central responsibility could or could not be granted.

Mr. H. V. Lanchester: I am not going to speak on the political side tonight. I have myself worked on sociological questions in more than half the Provinces and an equal number of Indian States, and I have worked mostly with Indians as ministers and chiefs. This work has been of such immense value and the gain in mutual knowledge and understanding has been so great that I should regard it as most regrettable if the political organization, while not excluding Indians from official positions, tended to eliminate the employment of such methods in which European and Indian co-operate in dealing with those things that make for good living and an improved life for the people in general.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am not going to inflict a speech on you tonight. I have been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the learned lecturer and the Chairman. You will agree with me that tonight's meeting

has been predominantly a Madras function. The lecturer, the Chairman, and most of the speakers have been Madrasis, and now Sir Frank Brown, with a humour all his own, has called upon another Madrasi to propose a vote of thanks.

Before I do so there is an observation of my friend Sir Albion Banerji to which I would like to make a brief reference. Sir Albion, in suggesting that the Paramount Power has always stood in the way of constitutional reform in Indian States, has quoted from a despatch from the Government of India to the Cochin Durbar in 1912. I felt at the time that he had made a very telling point against the Paramount Power. I cannot, for obvious reasons, enter into a controversy over questions of policy of that kind. But it seems to be necessary, in appreciating the relevance of that quotation, to remember the circumstances in which the despatch of the Government of India was issued. If I had the reference I think I could quote equally effectively passages from the despatches of the Government of India of that date regarding the undesirability of granting self-government to British Indian Provinces. I could certainly refer you to the statement of a Liberal Secretary of State, the late Lord Morley, who said about that time that, so far as he could look ahead, there was no possibility of self-government being introduced in Indian Provinces. Today we have no doubt whatever as to the views of the Government of India or the Secretary of State on such questions.

To complete the picture of 1912, I would like to refer to the views of another party, the Indian politician of those days. The late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer was a Congressman and took a very leading part in the Indian National Congress of that period. When he was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Government of Madras, he was confronted with a demand from non-official Indians that the presidents of small local bodies called taluq boards may be elected by the members of the board instead of being Government officials. Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer stated that there were very few men of the talents of Gokhale to fill such places, and turned down the request. I think we have to take into consideration the whole atmosphere that prevailed at that time, the state of political consciousness of the people, in pronouncing a judgment upon a despatch of the Government of India such as the one referred to. I would like very seriously to suggest to those who are interesting themselves in the affairs of Indian States that things have changed very much since 1912, and particularly that when Lord Winterton gave his reply in the House of Commons regarding the relations of the Paramount Power with the administration of Indian States he was making a carefully prepared official statement on behalf of the Secretary of State for India. I personally believe that he was referring to conditions, not merely in the future, but also to a past—perhaps not to 1912, but certainly to a more recent past.

And now if you will excuse me I should like to come to my legitimate duty and propose a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer of this evening, Sir Shanmukham Chetty. It was my privilege to have been present at Ernakulam and at the Durbar when His Highness inaugurated the reforms. There has been a certain amount of criticism, the echoes of which have been heard here tonight, that the scheme of reform has not given sufficient power

to the people. I can only suggest that the people of Cochin, who are more directly concerned, are the best judges of the value of the reforms that they have got. And from the enthusiasm that I personally witnessed throughout the State, and the overwhelming sense of gratitude to the Maharaja which was freely given expression to by the people, I am convinced that the scheme of reform has given satisfaction to them. That keen sense of satisfaction and gratitude of the people must form the reward of the Maharaja and those advising him.

The Chairman of the meeting laboured long in the service of the Madras Government, and in recent years as Finance Member found not a little difficulty in observing that rule of arithmetic which Mr. Micawber found so difficult to follow. I tried to undo what he did, and while he was attempting to make both ends meet I was one of the critics of this "bird of passage." But I am sure that everyone in Madras realized that Sir Hopetoun laboured conscientiously and according to his lights in the best interests of the Province. We are all very grateful to him for presiding over this meeting and conducting its deliberations, and to Sir Shanmukham Chetty for the very instructive paper he read this evening. (Applause.)

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

On September 28, when the international crisis was at its height, the following message was sent to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister:

In the name of the many thousand Fellows and Members of the Empire organizations in all parts of the world, we pledge their support and co-operation to those on whom rests the responsibility for the welfare of our Empire at this critical hour.

LAMINGTON,
President, East India Association.

FREDERICK SYKES,
Chairman of Council, the Royal Empire Society.

STRADBROKE,
Chairman, British Empire League.

BEATRICE HARLECH,
Chairman, Victoria League.

ATHLONE,
President, Royal African Society.

M. J. RENDALL,
Chairman, School Empire Tour Committee.

The reply stated that the Prime Minister would have liked to write personally to thank the Fellows and Members of the Empire organizations in all parts of the world for the message. "As, however, will be appreciated, the extreme pressure upon his time at the moment makes that impossible, but he expresses his warm appreciation of the encouraging message which he is glad to receive at this time."

THE INDIAN MEDICAL PROFESSION

By Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, C.I.E., M.D., M.R.C.P., I.M.S. (retd.)

The medical profession of India has had peculiar origins, has peculiar conditions affecting it, and would seem to require peculiar consideration for its future. It would be bold to style this address "The Future of the Indian Medical Profession," for no one knows what the future may hold, but it is mostly of the present and the future I wish to speak and to consider the forces acting thereto, and we can at least say how we should like the future of the profession to develop and how we think it may best do so. To state that last objective first, we may say briefly that we should like to see in India a medical profession numerous enough and skilled enough to convey relief on scientific lines to the sick in every part of India, and we should like to see a united profession able to speak with one voice, and that an influential voice, on matters affecting the health of the Indian people. Neither of these desirable aims is at present near realization.

There have always been medical men in India, but the genesis of the modern profession may be said to date from the establishment by the various provincial Governments in the country of medical schools and colleges to train Indian students in the accepted medical science of the time. The teachers were officers of the Indian Medical Service, and the training was developed on the lines of the British medical schools. The senior medical college is little more than a hundred years old, and we may conclude that the work of training was well done, because of the present high standard attained by these colleges, by the fact that they are now able in a large measure to train their own teaching staff, and by the success of their graduates in after-life.

It makes one of the peculiarities of the profession in India that there was formerly a preponderance of officers of Government among the leading practitioners of medicine, and except in the case of the largest cities it is still the case that the majority of the

leading medical men are officials. Of recent years, however, the independent practitioners have so largely increased in numbers as to become a weighty influence. It is only about thirty years since Lord Morley expressed a wish to see the growth of an independent medical profession in India, and already among its members the independent profession includes men of eminence, and even research workers, who have contributed to the world's fight against disease. It may be anticipated that before long the independent element will assume a preponderating influence in the profession, which might be considered the logical position in a democratic country.

Graduates and Licentiates

Another peculiarity of the profession in India, wherein it differs from nearly all other countries, is what I may call the disunity of the profession. I have referred to the establishment of medical schools as contrasted with medical colleges. The colleges train students for a university degree—graduates who can bear comparison with those of any country; the schools admit students of lower basic education, and give them generally a shorter training, ending with a licentiateship. It is unnecessary to ask why these two divisions were made—there were good reasons at the time—but we are faced now with two classes so separate as almost to amount to a caste distinction. It is very difficult, almost impossible, for a licentiate to become a graduate.

That by itself is not peculiar, for it is difficult for a licentiate in Britain to become a graduate unless he has previously been through all the examinations beginning with the preliminary arts test. But in India the separation is more compartmental and the distinction more emphatic. If the graduate and the licentiate enter Government service, as the best of both classes usually do, they enter different grades of that service on different rates of pay and with different functions and privileges; they receive different designations: one is called an assistant-surgeon and the other a sub-assistant-surgeon. In the registers of most provincial medical councils their names are entered in different parts of the register, and the licentiate cannot register with the Medical Council of

India. The licentiate cannot join some of the local medical associations, which are reserved for graduates alone: similarly there are associations for licentiates only.

I do not adversely criticize this state of affairs; it has developed naturally according to the needs of the time. But it obviously gives rise not only to separation of the profession, but to antagonism; often not to a healthy rivalry, but to opposition and sometimes rancour. This is most undesirable; the energies of the profession should not be dissipated in internal strife, but devoted to awakening the mind of the people to matters of health and to leading them on to better things, and I believe it will be for the good of the profession, and therefore for the good of India as a whole, when the profession in India can speak with one voice.

Very recently I visited Russia, and I found that there also were two grades of medical practitioner. They have the graduates who after ten years of school training receive a medical education for five years, and then in smaller numbers they have a class called "feldshers," who have only seven years at school and then a medical course of three years. The feldshers are therefore probably less well trained than the Indian licentiates. This dual standard is a legacy from Czarist times, and the Soviet Government at first had a tendency to abolish the feldsher class; but owing to a great shortage of medical personnel they are now retaining them in increased numbers; but presumably as a temporary expedient only until they have enough doctors throughout all their areas. I shall have more to say about Russian analogies later.

Other Ranks

The position in India is further complicated by the existence of at least two other classes—in small numbers it is true; but a few words may be said about each of them. In some medical colleges there was formerly a class called "apothecaries," who were educated side by side with the undergraduates, but passed examinations of a lower standard. This diploma is no longer given, but several holders of it are still in practice. There is also the military branch of assistant-surgeons, who are educated at some medical

colleges and receive a diploma, but no degree. There are several hundreds of this class still practising; but since the last four years all fresh entrants to this service are compelled to do the full graduate course and take the degree, so that after a year or so their numbers will gradually lessen and eventually disappear.

The distinction between the two main classes holds also throughout the independent profession as it does among those in Government service. The average graduate is of course a much better-educated man than the average licentiate; but there are many more licentiates than graduates. I have found it impossible to arrive at accurate figures of the numbers of either class. The provincial medical registers do not always classify them in this way, and the registers of the provinces of Assam, Behar, and Orissa register all men in one undifferentiated list. More confusing still is that while nearly all graduates register, a very large number of licentiates do not. Further, the information could not be obtained from the licensing bodies as they have no knowledge whether the men who have obtained diplomas from them are still alive. To make, however, a rough computation, I should say that while there are 12,000 graduates of Indian medical colleges, there are probably well over 30,000 licentiates.

Having detected what I consider to be an unhealthy spot, I feel I should propose a remedy. The remedy proposed is gradually to raise the standard of licentiate teaching until it approximates to that of the graduate, and then the acute differences should disappear. This is quite a different thing from proposing the abolition of medical schools or their conversion into medical colleges forthwith. The improvement would take a long time. It is not only a matter of lengthening the medical course and improving instruction: the preliminary culture must be higher, and both equipment and instructors must be better.

Improved Standards Needed

Three years ago I took advantage of the official position I then held to collect statistics from all the twenty-eight medical schools in India and to visit many of them. The Government of India published the results in a booklet, which shows my conclusion

that none of the schools entirely attains the standard I think they should attain, although some of them are quite good. There is an appreciable difference, though not a very great one, between the best of the medical schools and an average medical college; but there is a great gulf between the best and the worst of the medical schools. In the booklet also remedies to meet the deficiencies noted are suggested. The roads to union in the profession and to improvement in its education are therefore much in the same direction—that is, to make the medical schools more efficient. The way is long and perhaps hard, but I see no other.

The Government of Madras, perhaps the most advanced of the local Governments in medical matters, apparently sees things in much the same light, for they have transformed their two medical schools into colleges. I sympathize entirely with that object, but am surprised that even in Madras the change-over could be made so rapidly. The schools in many other parts are far below this possibility. Another thing that aids professional unity in some degree is the formation of local medical associations that admit all kinds of registered practitioners. These associations have mainly social and clinical meetings: the introduction of medico-politics to their discussions may lead to difficulty because of the diverse interests of the various classes that compose their membership.

So much for the production of a profession sufficiently skilled and for its union; we have now to consider how it can become numerous enough, or at least accessible enough, to give relief to all the sick in the country.

When I say that the profession should be numerous enough, I am aware that there are some who think their numbers are already too great for the country in its present state, and that they would place some restriction on the entry of students to the medical course. For myself, I think it wiser to rely on the natural demand and supply for medical men, and, provided we could both educate and distribute them properly, I would welcome still larger numbers. I cannot regard the present numbers as excessive when we know that in Great Britain there is one registered doctor to about every 1,048 of population, whereas in India, counting all the grades, there is only one recognized medical man

to about every 9,300 of the people. I will speak later of the poor economical state of many of the profession; but in any case everyone will agree that we should make medical attendance as accessible as possible to all.

The Sick Poor

Here we come to the primary question whether India should consider it her duty or her aim to provide free medical attendance for all her sick poor. In Great Britain that has long been the case, and apart from all health-insurance schemes the Poor Law of England allows, and I believe now efficiently provides, free attendance for all who cannot afford a doctor. I have never heard it authoritatively stated whether India assumes a similar responsibility or not; presumably she does not, though it may be admitted that the aim is a desirable one. But in any case it is impracticable in the near future, except in a very partial degree. The majority of the population probably never see a doctor at all, and that is chiefly owing to the inaccessibility of proper medical aid.

There is, however, a large number of qualified medical men of all grades in India who find it difficult to earn a living of the standard they have a right to expect after their long period of training. I have never heard of any one of them starving, but very often of financial difficulties and of unworthy circumstances.

There is an over-keen professional rivalry and more crowding than in England, and this competition helps to produce a low standard of medical ethics. The crowding is confined to the towns; in the rural areas there is a demand for more medical men. Practitioners will not readily, even when junior and even when partially subsidized, go to practise in villages and the smallest towns. They say they cannot earn a living there; but the reasons seem to be more the social disadvantages of rural life for an educated man—he feels isolated—and still more the difficulty of educating his children properly in a village school.

These are real difficulties; though I cannot but think that the recent advent to India of the ubiquitous motor omnibus has done something to relieve the former complaint, and, as regards the children, that the subsidizing authority might make for the

children over ten years of age of their practitioners an arrangement of special terms for their education in boarding schools. The best method of inducing practitioners to work in villages seems to be that of subsidy. A living wage and free drugs are provided for one who will see at least twenty-five patients a day free of charge. The rest of the day he has to himself, for private practice if he can get it, and some get a good deal. The system works well enough in the Madras Presidency, where there are about 500 such subsidized practitioners, and I fail to see why it should not work in other parts. The subsidized practitioner is not regarded as a Government servant: he is an independent practitioner who receives a subsidy, and I consider the increase of this class should provide in time means of medical relief for millions of agricultural labourers and their families. At the same time it is necessary to regard this class as somewhat elastic and not to make rules too rigid: different areas may require special modification and sympathy must be given to the peculiar difficulties of individual cases.

A Comparison with Russia

Probably the country that most resembles India in its medical problem is Russia. Here, again, there is a vast area mainly agricultural that has hitherto been inadequately staffed by health and medical services, though now this is being rapidly remedied. In the Russia of 1913 there were 25,000 doctors, a number that was sadly reduced by subsequent disturbances and typhus epidemics. There are now 107,000 doctors for a population of 170 millions, allowing one doctor for 1,700 people; but this is considered insufficient, they aim at one doctor per 1,000 inhabitants, and so in addition to the retention of the feldsher class, to which I have already referred, very large numbers of new graduates are produced yearly. The actual numbers of medical students now in the Russian schools are about 96,000 undergraduates and nearly 45,000 feldshers. At least half the numbers are women. This is mass production, and the quality of much of the finished product may be questioned; but the position is regarded as a temporary

expedient, and once the numbers are up more attention will be paid to quality.

Such a policy may be correct for the Soviet, but I am convinced it would not suit India. It has, however, been proposed in India that we should multiply the number of inferior practitioners, who would demand small fees, and so supply medical aid to the country. In some places a partial attempt has even been made to carry out such a proposal. In my opinion it is a failure: the product of such partial education is hardly better than the indigenous void.

Now the need of India for more extensive medical attendance is at least as great as that of Russia, and yet we do not seem able to accommodate even the comparatively small number of medical men we have, nor to distribute them where they are most wanted. I asked the medical educationists in the Soviet how they got their doctors to remote rural areas or to undesirable places. They said that every young graduate or feldsher was bound to go for the first year, or sometimes for three years, where he was sent, and that thereafter he could go where he liked. He received a living wage. Rural areas were said to be popular, and in undesirable places the young graduate would be given more pay, or privileges such as a motor-car or a cow. I suggest to the provincial Governments of India that they well consider the feasibility of similar concessions to subsidized practitioners in certain areas. In my opinion the provision of medical aid to remote parts has never been undertaken with sufficient resolution by local governments in India.

State Doctors

There are others, however, who think that in India medical aid should be extended to village areas so far as possible by an increase in the number of those who are whole-time Government servants, and not by the employment of honorary aid or the use of a subsidy. They cite the greater reliance it is possible to place on a disciplined servant of Government, and point to the fact that the tendency in Great Britain now is more to a scheme of State aid. That is indeed so; but two important points may be indicated:

firstly, although the British Medical Association is now recommending for adoption in Britain an extension of State-arranged attendance that would bring about two-thirds of the population of Britain into the scheme, yet this scheme does not propose the employment of a large number of whole-time Government medical officers, but the allotment of cases to independent practitioners who will be paid by subsidy. It is in fact a more elaborate system of subsidized practitioners and consultants. Secondly, strict comparison between India and Britain in this respect is impossible, and whatever scheme for relief of the sick poor of India may ultimately be adopted there must in my opinion be first a stage of independent or subsidized attendance. A sort of health insurance may well be introduced in India by large industrial undertakings for their employees, but I cannot see how a similar scheme would be possible in the near future for the whole country.

The New Medical Councils

The establishment of Medical Councils, comparable to the General Medical Council of Great Britain, has had an influence on the development of the Indian profession. Provincial medical councils, which have been working for about twenty-five years more or less according to the province, have registered many, but not all, practitioners of scientific medicine in their areas; but these provincial councils have not got through the amount of work that might have been expected of them. The Medical Council of India has been in existence for less than five years, but has done a great deal in that time. This Council keeps no register of graduates, but has been instrumental in securing recognition of the degrees of Indian Universities by the General Medical Council. All the medical colleges of British India except one are now so recognized.

The Medical Council of India has further been responsible for directing the attention of local Governments and Universities to defects which have been remedied, and can claim that their representations have induced the spending on colleges and hospitals of very large sums of money which would not otherwise have been

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available. The Council is now engaged in negotiations for mutual recognition with dominions and foreign countries. This Council is of great use to graduates who wish to study in Britain or elsewhere abroad; it is of no use to licentiates. But this should not be regarded as such a hardship to the licentiate as has been represented. The licentiate rarely requires to study abroad; it is very difficult for him to do so in any case, because the General Medical Council would not recognize his grade of qualification. The licentiateship is intended more for practice in India itself, and registration with a provincial medical council is sufficient. If the licentiate wishes to practise in another province of India than that in which he registered, there are reciprocal arrangements between the various provincial councils by which he can do so.

The Ancient Systems

It is impossible to speak of the medical profession in India without saying something of the vaids and hakims who still attend perhaps the majority of the sick who have any treatment at all. It is surprising how long have lasted these unscientific arts of treatment and how popular they still are with many, and that to such an extent that provincial Governments provide large sums of money to foster them and to impart their instruction to others. Some years ago a distinguished Japanese physician, Dr. Hata, visited Lucknow, and I took the opportunity to invite him to address the students of the Lucknow Medical College, asking him to speak on the change that Japan had made from her former antique methods of medicine to her modern scientific efficiency; for I knew that in Japan the change-over had been much more rapid and more complete than it was in India. Dr. Hata said the change-over in Japan was now complete, and this seems to have taken only about fifty years from the days when a few Japanese studied German medical books, then translated German books into Japanese and provided them for all students and in time crowded out the former Oriental empirics. Dr. Hata gave one reason why the common people could not so readily understand the advantages of scientific medicine. He said that out of every

100 patients who consulted a doctor 80 were going to recover whatever was done to them, that about 10 were going to die in spite of any treatment they might receive, and that this left only the remaining 10 per cent. who might be influenced for good or evil by the treatment given.

There is some truth in this: it certainly does take a discriminating judgement to decide to whom to entrust the care of one's body, but one would not have thought that the change in India would have lagged so far behind a similar change in Japan. There are, I believe, two main reasons why the ancient and unscientific methods are still so popular in India. Among the better classes, the educated and partially educated, the feeling is one of national sentiment. Here, they say, is something of our own and therefore more suited to our bodies: we do not wish to be entirely dependent on novelties from a foreign world. I think the most satisfactory reply to these people is to point to the large amount of research work on Indian drugs that has already been done by Colonel Chopra and several other workers. If there is anything of value in these preparations of time-honoured reputation it will be discovered by the modern methods of pharmacology and then embodied in our materia medica. The fact that the research workers in this department are themselves nearly all Indian should comfort the national pride of all classes and assuage any idea that India's contribution is being neglected. It is only a matter of time before knowledge of the truth in this matter becomes more general, but if the facts were more widely and more frequently explained to the people the progress of understanding of medical science in India might be accelerated.

The other reason for the continued popularity of ancient systems is among the poorer classes still more potent: it is that of cost. The peasant is ready to accept the treatment offered by scientific surgery and welcomes the evident relief obtained by the removal of a cataract or a stone, but his acceptance of our medical treatment is usually less enthusiastic. The ingredients of a modern prescription are expensive for a man on small pay: the drug ordered by an hakim or vaid is usually adapted to the pocket as much as to the body of the patient. He may order gold and

crushed pearls to the wealthy, while the poor man is prescribed something that may be nasty, but is certainly cheap. It may be some herb he can pick in the jungle or a preparation he can purchase in the bazaar. The bazaar medicine is probably impure and frequently adulterated; but at least it is usually cheap, and so the poor man buys it, if he buys anything. Here, again, I think the ultimate remedy will lie in the measures that are proposed by the recent Pharmacy Committee. The growth in India of those medicinal plants that are mostly required, and the cultivation of varieties already in India or found to be suited to the country, are among the things recommended, and this should enable us to place cheaper and yet pure preparations of active drugs on the Indian market.

Medical Ethics

I have referred already to the overcrowding of medical men in towns and the keen competition tending to produce a low standard of ethics; this important matter of the relation of doctors to their patients and to one another requires further notice. Medical ethics is now rightly made a subject of instruction to undergraduates during the concluding years of their course, and as a rule the young graduates go out into the world with a pride in their profession and a determination to maintain the good standards that they have seen by example and have been taught. I have several times had my old students come back to see me after a few years of practice telling me that things are very different from what they expected and that some of their professional brethren are given to various mean practices by which they hope to entice their colleagues' patients away from them.

As a general rule it is the older members of the profession who are the worst in this respect, and there is this bright spot about it: that though the standard of medical ethics in India does not yet attain to the standard of Britain, yet it is, I believe, getting better and better, and as the present product of the medical colleges, who are as fine a set of young fellows as one could desire, make their presence felt, so will the standard improve further. It is certainly by my own observation better now than it was thirty

years ago. After all, the high standard that obtains now in Britain is of comparatively recent growth. If works of fiction give a true picture of their times we have only to refer to the pages of *Pickwick* to see the standard of Dr. Bob Sawyer a hundred years ago. If we go back a little further to nearly two hundred years ago we can study the quackeries of Ferdinand Count Fathom in Smollett's classical novel and realize that the Indian bazaar would have nothing to teach him. Doubtless these two characters are exaggerations of their times; but I have full confidence that the young Indian graduates of today will raise the ethical standard to the best of their ability, and with a higher education for the licentiates that their ethical standard will also be improved.

So far I have said nothing about that part of the profession engaged solely in preventive medicine; yet it is more important that the methods of science for the prevention of epidemics and infectious diseases generally should be understood and accepted by the people than that the advantages of modern medicine and surgery be appreciated. The adoption of methods of cure, however, is usually a necessary preliminary to gain the confidence of a people before the introduction of preventive measures. The acceptance of preventive methods therefore will depend upon the understanding and trust that are placed by the people on the curative methods, so that it becomes doubly important that they should accept the latter, as indeed they mostly do. Briefly, the public health side of the profession is increasing in numbers and in influence, and is well trained to afford local Governments and other bodies the advice and executive ability to carry out improvements in the cleanliness of towns and healthiness of the countryside.

General Conclusions

From what I have said it may be understood that the medical profession in India, including all branches of it and both official and private sides, is on the whole a competent body containing many able physicians and surgeons, some of them possessing the highest qualifications obtainable; but it would be still more competent as a body were it not for the peculiar divisions into which

parts of it are too widely separated and for the too urban distribution of its members. I have already suggested remedies to deal with these defects. Of the measures I have proposed I consider the most important is to devote more attention to the medical schools than they have had in the past. The medical colleges have of recent years had a good deal of attention paid to them, partly as a result of the formation of the Medical Council of India, and before that time due to a general desire to bring the Indian degrees on a par with those in Britain.

The colleges have had considerable sums of money spent on their improvement, and it is now due to the schools, which after all educate the great majority of the medical profession in India, that they also should be properly equipped and staffed—two things that very few of them at present can claim to be. Of almost equal importance to this I regard the enlargement of the number of subsidized practitioners in rural areas and further enquiry as to the possibility of introducing this or a similar system in parts where it has not hitherto been known.

I have great confidence in the future of the Indian medical profession. I believe that in time it will not only fulfil all the functions that are demanded of it, but will initiate many improvements in the health of the Indian people: perhaps some thought and action on the points I have mentioned may help its progress to that goal.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 8, 1938, when a paper entitled "The Indian Medical Profession" was read by Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, C.I.E., M.D., M.R.C.P., I.M.S. (retd.). Sir Firozkhan Noon, K.C.I.E. (High Commissioner for India), was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Cuthbert Sprawson needs very little introduction, because most of you probably know him personally already. Those of you who do not know him will perhaps allow me to say just a word or two.

He has just retired from the Government of India, where he served as the Director-General of Indian Medical Services, a post which is reached by very few even in the I.M.S. It is the most responsible medical post that any man in India can hold. Not only had he control over the Indian Medical Services, but he was also the chairman of the Indian Medical Council, which includes representatives of the independent medical profession, with the result that he has a knowledge of the medical profession, official and independent, which very few other people can have. He has rendered excellent service, and I am glad to say that some of his relations still continue to give us of their best in India.

I am sure that there is a real treat in store for us, because there is nobody who is better qualified to talk on the subject than General Sprawson. (Applause.)

Sir CUTHBERT SPRAWSON then read his paper.

Sir FRANK NOYCE: I had left the Education Department of the Government of India before Sir Cuthbert Sprawson became Director-General of the Indian Medical Service. During my time as Secretary in that Department I had always found the medical work the most interesting work with which I had to deal, and I kept in as close touch as I could with what was going on during the remainder of my time with the Government of India. I have no hesitation in saying, from what I know of Sir Cuthbert as Director-General of the I.M.S., that there have been few, if any, of the distinguished occupants of that post who had the confidence of the Indian medical profession, both official and non-official, to a greater extent than he had.

I was hoping that such remarks as I had to make this afternoon on Sir Cuthbert's deeply interesting paper would come at a later stage of the proceedings, so that I should have the benefit of the views of many of those present who are able to speak with greater authority on the subject of the paper than I am. But as that is not my happy fate, I may say at once that there are two points in the paper on which I should like to offer some comment.

I entirely agree with Sir Cuthbert that the disunity of the medical profession, of which I myself was a victim (as I received the full brunt of it

when the Bill for the establishment of the Medical Council was under preparation), can only be cured by raising the standard of the licentiate until it approximates to that of the graduate. Then it will obviously disappear.

But I would ask Sir Cuthbert whether it will not be the case, if you do that, that you are accentuating the seriousness of the other part of the problem. If you raise the standard of the licentiates to that of the graduates, they will regard themselves as so highly qualified that they will want to stay in the towns.

I am glad to hear that the system of subsidizing doctors to go out to the villages has prospered in Madras, for I was in the Madras Secretariat at its inception. I can see no other immediate way of providing the villages with the medical attention that they so badly need.

But that problem is after all only one part of the much greater problem of raising the standard of living of the Indian countryside generally. What you want throughout the villages is not only more doctors and better doctors, but more schoolmasters and better schoolmasters, more industrialists and better educated ones, more shopkeepers and better educated ones. You want to make the Indian village a healthier and more prosperous place altogether, even if that does accentuate the seriousness of the great problem which lies before all the Governments of India now and in the future—the tremendous increase of population which, we are told, will reach 400,000,000 at the next census.

If you have a happier and healthier countryside, then you will not have the present difficulty in getting your doctors to the villages and getting them to stay there.

Colonel A. H. Proctor, I.M.S. retd. (Dean of the British Post-Graduate Medical School, University of London): I intend to be a little provocative in this discussion, because I find myself at variance with my old friend Sir Cuthbert in the remedies he would apply to improve the medical profession in India. Perhaps it is the different outlook of a physician and a surgeon that leads me to advocate more drastic remedies.

The first question I ask myself is, "Why has faith in scientific medicine progressed so slowly in India?" I should reply, mainly because the masses have never come in contact with it. To the masses the sub-assistant surgeon is the representative of scientific medicine, and he is not a scientific practitioner. Even if he were, he only rarely has the tools and material to practise his craft. And that applies also to a large extent to the well-trained doctor.

Japan has been mentioned. I was in Kioto in 1908 to study the medical school there. I discovered that the Japanese school in Kioto was a better institution than the medical college in which I had been trained in England. It was better equipped, better staffed, and the students themselves had to be more highly educated.

Our colleges and hospitals lack many essentials for the practice of scientific medicine. How many hospitals have a fully equipped radiology department complete with a specialist and an adequately trained staff of radiographers? Perhaps one in each province. I doubt even that. Considering

the prevalence of eye disease and stone in the kidney and bladder, a visitor would expect to find every hospital of reasonable size with a fully equipped and staffed ophthalmic and urological department. He would find it very rare, at any rate outside our large teaching schools.

And what about that first essential of any hospital: an adequate nursing staff, trained to observe symptoms and to carry out the orders and instructions of the scientific staff? Your practising doctor in India today has neither the means nor the assistants to observe and examine his patients or to treat them. Even our college hospitals have inadequate nursing staffs, and the other hospitals none at all. I do not call one or two nurses per hundred beds a nursing staff.

The encouragement of educated Indian women to take up nursing has never been resolutely tackled. It is, I am convinced, only a matter of money, propaganda, and proper treatment of nurses. House, feed, and pay them well, and recruits will be forthcoming if your doctors treat them as professional colleagues and not as menials. Love of money is the root of all evil. In this case, it is the lack of it that is responsible for the troubles of the profession. In the medical profession we have preferred quantity to quality. We cannot retrace our steps, but we can change direction.

We can begin by closing the medical school and abolishing the licentiate qualification. This, in time, will eliminate the badly trained representative of scientific medicine and bring about the unity of the profession. It would cost a large sum to raise any school to a college standard, and we require every penny we can raise to bring our college hospitals up to standards far beyond the present one. Have we any college or hospital in India that can provide the same standard of staffing, nursing, cleanliness, and comfort that we see in a London teaching hospital?

Perhaps someone will say that the Indian patient does not expect these standards, that he is content with much less. To that I reply that a sick man, if he is to appreciate the benefits of scientific medicine, must be given these standards. He needs them. Your Western standard is not what a patient is content with but what he needs.

We must also bear in mind that the standard of a doctor's training school is as a rule his standard throughout his professional career. Therefore it must be the highest possible, not just good enough.

The education of a practitioner does not consist solely of drilling sufficient facts into his head to pass an examination. He must be given ideals to work to, standards to work to, a code of ethics that puts his patient first, and a scientific approach to the problem each patient presents. These can only be taught by example and in a suitable environment. Therefore, I would advocate putting our medical colleges and their associated hospitals on a much higher level, and at the same time reducing the number of students. This would finally result in a united highly trained profession, for which there would be a steadily increasing demand in excess of the supply.

Having raised our teaching hospitals to these standards, I should next endeavour to improve our *sadr* hospitals so that at the headquarters of each district there would be a modern, well-equipped and staffed hospital where the best of the local profession would find opportunities to practise scientific

medicine. Its standard should not fall far short of teaching institutions and its staff would be mainly on an honorary basis. We are far from this stage yet, but with encouragement and the improvement of our teaching schools the day is not far distant when all the beds could be entrusted to the honorary staff. At present our Indian hospitals only cost a fraction of what a voluntary hospital of the same size costs in England. The day should come when they should cost at least as much.

Scientific medicine gets more expensive every year, but if only a few of our *sadr* hospitals were established to this standard, I believe their popularity would lead to a demand for further extension and the provision of more money. With this object all *sadr* hospitals should be provincialized. Unless something in this direction is done, I fear scientific medicine will go down before the inroads of indigenous medicine and various forms of quackery.

What about rural medical relief? At the present stage I can see little that can be usefully done. Our rural dispensaries are in my opinion doing no more for the peasantry than is being done by the indigenous practitioner. My experience is that a compounder officiating for a sub-assistant surgeon does just as well. Any good that is done is largely psychological, and the indigenous practitioner does this as well or better than the sub-assistant surgeon and more cheaply. I should encourage the indigenous practitioner to settle in rural areas. The provision of medical relief in rural areas will eventually come through better roads, motor transport, and the provision of district nurses.

We shall see better returns for expenditure by measures directed to improving economic conditions, the spread of education, and Public Health measures directed to prevent epidemic and deficiency diseases. (Applause.)

Dame Edith Brown: In what has been said, I feel that the women's side of the work has perhaps hardly been sufficiently stressed. No nation can rise more quickly than the women rise, and so far the women of the villages know very little about Western medicine.

When you think of the number of women, I suppose roughly forty million in zenanas and over a hundred million women and children to be treated in the villages, and if you think of the number of women required to treat them—1 to 10,000!—you would want 14,000 women doctors, and I do not suppose there are 2,000: I do not think there are many more than 1,000. So that one of the greatest necessities is to train more women who will teach the women of the villages and of the towns.

Then it is very difficult for the women to have the preliminary education up to the F.S.C. There are very few places where they can get this, and my suggestion would be that, at least for the women, the licentiate course should not be abolished, but that after matriculation the women should have one year of pre-medical study in physics, chemistry, and biology, and then have four or even possibly five years of study, and that the licentiate should then be able to study together with the M.B. degrees, and that they should not be a separate part of the medical profession but should be on the joint register as they are in England.

If they have the degree, I think it will be harder for them to be willing to work in the villages. They need really practical work, because in the villages they will not have the amount of scientific apparatus and all the appliances which are needed, and the serious cases would probably in any case have to be sent to the central hospital. So I should say that as regards the women the number of licentiates needs increasing very, very largely.

We should aim at increasing the number of women doctors, but I think the course of training should be raised sufficiently to bring them on to the General Indian Register. That is important, and as the women reach into the zenana part of the homes I believe Western medicine will be more used. When the ladies of the house want to have the vaids and the hakims, the men cannot persuade them to have the Western doctor. That is my practical experience.

Major-General Sir JOHN MEGAW: I have been asked to be brief, and I shall find that easy because in all essentials I am in very close agreement with the views that have been expressed by Sir Cuthbert Sprawson. His account of the profession is the fair-minded and judicious review that one would have expected from him.

I should like to emphasize what he said about the need for raising the standards of the licentiate practitioners. I think there is still a considerable period before us in which we must have the licentiates. Some years ago I expressed the view that we ought to get rid of the licentiates altogether and have only one standard in the profession, but I am afraid that is an impracticable ideal. We have to deal with India as we find it, and I am inclined to agree with what Dame Edith Brown has just said, that there is still a need for the licentiates in order to spread the advantage of scientific medicine, not only curative medicine but also preventive medicine, into the villages.

There is no reason why it should not be possible to take a young man of good education and in the course or four or five years teach him how to deal with all the everyday ailments with which he meets. The trouble about medical education in the schools is that it aims at giving the student a smattering of everything. The curriculum is too comprehensive; if it were only limited to the common diseases which the village doctor will be called upon to treat he would probably be much more competent. The difficulty is that the men who have undergone an expensive education refuse to go out into the villages. Everybody agrees that India needs many more doctors. But why is it that at the present time something like 250 or 300 young Indian doctors are practising in this country? They are not doing it because they prefer to live abroad, away from their friends and families; they are doing it because it is easier for them to gain a livelihood. In fact, it is in some cases the only hope they have of gaining a livelihood.

As regards how to persuade the doctors to go out into the villages, Sir Cuthbert referred to the experience of Russia, where they give them a cow. That brought into my mind the old election catchword, "three acres and a cow." If that offer were made to the doctors probably practices in the villages would become much more popular.

There is only one point on which I want to cross swords with General Sprawson. He said the only Province in India in which there was a real effort to spread medical aid to the villages was Madras. When that statement was made I could see the Chairman writhing with indignation (laughter), and quite justifiably, because the Punjab can point to a wonderful programme of provision of medical aid for the villages, though this follows different lines from those which prevail in Madras. I am sure that Sir Cuthbert will make amends for his omission of reference to the Punjab.

Dr. H. N. Bhatt: I greatly welcome the opportunity given to me to put forth my views on the subject of the paper, read by my teacher and former chief, Sir Cuthbert Sprawson. At the present time the whole of the subject of medical education and medical aid to the masses in India is in a melting pot.

The first problem is that of medical education in India. Doctors belonging to the scientific system of medicine at present belong to two separate water-tight compartments—one group being graduates and the other licentiates. Nothing need be said about the graduates, whose training and qualification satisfy all the standards laid down by the medical educationists of India and of this country.

Regarding the education of the licentiates, it was pointed out by Sir Cuthbert in his report as Director-General of Indian Medical Services that there are twenty-eight medical schools in India. To assess the efficiency of each, he laid down certain rules to judge the equipment in the schools, the efficiency of the teaching staff, the availability of the clinical material, and the standard of examination, and it is very regrettable to note that not even a quarter of the schools satisfy all the conditions laid down by him.

Looked at from this point of view and generally, it has been agreed on all hands that the education of the licentiates is far from satisfactory. Two courses are now open to improve this state of affairs. One is to abolish all the schools and to convert some of them into colleges, and the second is to improve the standard of education in all the existing schools. The improvements suggested by some of the authorities is to raise the standard of admission qualification from matriculation to intermediate and to increase the length of the course of medical studies from four to five years.

This will not be sufficient. The equipment in the school will have to be greatly improved, adequate clinical material provided, and the teaching staff made more efficient. When all these conditions have been satisfied, then alone will the education of the licentiates satisfy the Indian Medical Council and the General Medical Council of this country, and then alone the diploma will become a registrable qualification. The admission qualification to the medical colleges in India is intermediate with science, and the length of medical studies is five years. Both of these are as proposed for the improved licentiate qualifications.

When this is done, I do not see any good reason why the licentiateship should be retained. As regards the equipment of the schools and the size of the attached hospitals, both will need a great deal of improvement in order to bring them up to any reasonable standard of efficiency for a good school

that just a little more improvement will satisfy the needs of a college. In the present state of unemployment amongst the educated classes, it should not be difficult to get any number of candidates for admission to the increased number of colleges with intermediate qualification. As regards the staff, it has been pointed out in the report by Sir Cuthbert I have mentioned that honorary doctors of adequate qualifications to staff the medical schools are not available except in two or three provincial capitals, and that the establishment of schools and colleges is an expensive proposition. I agree with this view, but submit that if medical men with higher qualifications are attracted to these places by giving them teaching allowances there should be no difficulty in fulfilling this deficiency.

I am of opinion that it is in the interest both of the country and the medical profession that the class distinction, which has done much harm to our profession in India, should be abandoned. Only one competent class of medical men should be turned out, even if it be at the cost of the numbers to be retained. Any such fall in output from the reduced number of medical institutions in India will not be any handicap, seeing how much unemployment or poor employment among the medical profession exists today.

This unemployment is closely linked up with the question of provision of medical aid to the masses. Although the number of medical men in proportion to the population of India falls far short of that for this or any other civilized country, still it has been found that there is a good deal of unemployment in the profession. Colonel A. H. Mochta in an article on "Unemployment in the Medical Profession in India," in a recent number of the *British Medical Journal*, pointed out that some time ago eleven posts of sub-assistant surgeons in Aden when advertised in India attracted no less than 1,465 applications, out of which twenty were from persons holding British qualifications. The remuneration which the posts carried was only £170 per year. This shows the extent of unemployment which exists among the medical profession in India.

To combat this unemployment and provide medical aid to the masses, the scheme of employing subsidized doctors to settle down in rural areas was evolved. In the Presidency of Madras it seems to have succeeded to a certain extent, there being about 500 such doctors in practice. But in the United Provinces, with which I am more conversant, this system has failed. In a Province with a population of 45 millions, they could not secure more than twenty-five doctors to settle down in rural areas under such a scheme. The failure does not seem to be due to inadequacy of subsidy or inadequacy of medical practitioners, but is due to the reluctance of doctors to settle down in rural areas. This reluctance, to my mind, is due to two reasons. Firstly, their standard of living is raised so high during their medical education that they simply cannot put up with the simple rural life; and, secondly, there is serious competition from the practitioners of Vaidic, Unani, homeopathic, and quack systems of medicine. The remedy for the first would be to inculcate the habits of simple living in the students of medical colleges, and for the second to change the belief in the minds of the masses of India in favour of scientific systems of medicine.

The subsidized doctor at present is only equipped for and is expected to

treat such maladies as are being treated by hosts of practitioners of non-scientific systems. In order to create confidence in scientific systems, the subsidized doctor should be well equipped and well trained to deal with all sorts of diseases and to establish the superiority of this system of medicine over others.

I would sum up my suggestions as follows:

1. A certain number of candidates for medical education should be selected while at school and given scholarships for medical studies on condition that they will work for a stipulated number of years in any rural area to which they may be sent.

2. The district hospital should be made a well-equipped and efficiently staffed institution to act as a headquarters for imparting practical training to the doctors who would be subsequently sent to the rural subsidized dispensaries. It should be the nucleus for guiding all the medical activities of the district.

3. The scheme of subsidy should not end with appointing a number of subsidized doctors who are provided with a lump sum for medical stores, but they should be given an adequately equipped dispensary where they can carry out efficient treatment on modern scientific lines.

Sir Richard Needham: I am sure you will all appreciate that the problems of the medical profession in India are extremely complex. But if you look at them in a very broad way, they seem to begin with the basic poverty of India as a whole, and they run through from that to the extent Government aid can be provided to assist those that are sick, so far as Western scientific medicine is concerned. The medical profession began in India as a Government service, and it so continued till comparatively recent times. Today the vast majority of the medical profession are private practitioners or Government servants. It is the large number of the private practitioners, who have settled mostly in the towns, that is one source of trouble and disunity in the medical profession owing to excessive competition, a fault in distribution.

Another source of trouble and disunity arises from the two separated systems of medical education. Two grades of training are provided in Government institutions, one for licentiates in the schools, and one for graduates in the University colleges. Two grades of practitioners result, unequal in training and status. There is not one medical profession, but two, which is extremely unfortunate. There is no doubt in my mind that there should only be one medical profession. That is the position so far as education is concerned, which, in my opinion, is a side which should be tackled first.

It is going to be a serious problem to solve, because the schools, colleges, and hospitals, where all are trained, whether licentiates or graduates, broadly speaking are Government controlled and the finances are provided by Government.

It would seem that a Government decision in Madras has closed some of the schools for licentiates and converted others to colleges, with the object ultimately of providing medical education in Madras of a graduate standard. Some schools have been changed to colleges. That raises another problem,

because you cannot change a licentiate school into a college overnight. The colleges and college hospitals are complex and highly expensive institutions with highly qualified staffs. A school does not become a college just by waving a wand.

It is quite clear, therefore, in my view, that the change-over should be gradual, and should proceed at the rate at which the Governments can find the money for the equipment and staffs for teaching so that medical standards of education are maintained.

I think personally the authorities have in the past been very much at fault—provincial Governments and the Government of India—for not seeing to it that all institutions for training medical students are fully up to date in every way. Some colleges and schools are, of course, much better off than others. It is not beyond financial resources to see that all training institutions are of the highest standard.

But it is difficult to get a Government to allot the requisite funds where there are many claims on them. This is, however, a vital claim.

The only other point which I would desire to mention is that in questions of medical provision by the medical profession we are faced in India with the apathy as well as the poverty of the mass of the population. I am quite sure that should be the subject of some form of propaganda on the Government's side.

I was reading in a report of the Public Health Commissioner of 1933 a paragraph wherein it was said that there were 12½ million cases of malaria which were diagnosed and came to hospitals and dispensaries for treatment. And there were one million people died of it. It made one think how extensive this problem of providing doctors was. A disunited medical profession in India is not in a position to deal with figures like that in a manner which it otherwise would be if the faults of distribution were remedied and the education system was adequately reorganized. Then I think we should progress.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most interesting discussion on a very useful subject from the Indian point of view. When talking of India and its medical profession, there is one fact which we must never lose sight of, and that is the poverty of India. You have no idea in this country how poor the Indian people are. Ninety per cent. of them live in the villages and depend on the prices of the agricultural produce. Somebody mentioned once in a legislative council meeting that the cost of feeding a prisoner in an Indian jail was about sixpence a day. I feel that if people living in our villages today were guaranteed eightpence a day per head, including the children of the family, India would be a much happier country than she is today and perhaps more able to support a medical profession than is the case at present. It is her poverty which really leads one to despair of the success of any medical profession independent of the Government services in India.

Some Jewish gentlemen talked to me of the prospects of Jewish doctors in India. I said, "Welcome. If you are willing to go and share the poverty, nobody will be more delighted than we." I think a great number of them have already gone. I am sure the Indians will welcome them; the more

the merrier. But as far as an independent profession is concerned, there is not much prospect for them.

All the hospitals in India are manned by Government servants, and all the people receive their medical treatment free. I think it is a thing which stands to the credit of the Government of India that all over the country we have hospitals, manned by doctors who are Government servants, and these institutions are free to everybody. People can walk in, get treatment, and walk out without paying a penny. That is not a thing that you can do here. I see notices of hospitals saying they will have to close for want of money. I saw many in Canada. That is not the case in India.

Apart from this poverty, the second point to remember is that the vast majority of the people in the villages depend for the medical treatment on the quacks, *hakims*. There was a system, the "Yunani" system, which may have been a very good one at one time, but it is not up to much today. I know how much struggle there was in the Punjab Legislative Council, some members wanting more money from Government to support this system. I succeeded in getting a grant of Rs. 8,000 a year for this system in order to quiet the people. The more you support officially these systems, the more will be demanded, till all allopathy is merged into our indigenous systems. That is where I was not able to agree with Colonel Proctor. What will happen? They will only translate the English books into Urdu and Hindustani and teach them in a much worse manner than is the case today.

I asked the Ayurvedic teacher in the Tibbia College in Delhi, "What book are you teaching?" He replied, "It is a book about medicine." I said, "What does it say on this page?" He answered, "It says that the blood system in the human body starts at the navel." I asked him, "Do you believe that?" "That does not matter," was his reply; "the book says so and I am teaching them like that." There are some excellent remedies in these systems, but these are kept as guarded secrets by certain men and families.

Then you come to the sub-assistant surgeons. I agree that there ought to be one medical service in the whole of India, but you must remember that the sub-assistant surgeon class has been put in there to replace the quack in the village, and because the sub-assistant surgeons are cheaper provincial Governments are able to afford to put them out into the villages. If you remove them, you will throw the whole population into the hands of these quacks, men who boil the leaves of the trees and sell the liquid for a few pence as medicine for the plague. If people can't call a sub-assistant surgeon to their homes because of his fees, then how will they afford the more expensive assistant surgeons? Our effort should be to have many doctors so that these fees cannot be high.

If Sir Cuthbert, when he was Director-General of the I.M.S., had abolished the low-grade medical service in the Indian Army, I would have felt there was some force in the criticism against the provincial Government not abolishing the sub-assistant surgeon class. But if the great and mighty Government of India with all their resources continue this low-paid and second-rate grade—for I understand it still exists—then my criticism is not

out of date. In the Punjab during the last twenty years we have put up 375 rural dispensaries in the villages. So that today there is no village more than ten miles away from a well-equipped hospital. It is usually the Madras people who really pull down our Punjab standards. (Laughter.) I remember once a member moved a motion in the House that we abolish these rural dispensaries and replace them by subsidized doctors as is the case in Madras. I said, "If you must come down to the standards of Madras, we will try it." I abolished the rural dispensary near the home of the member who had made the suggestion. As a result the whole countryside was out for his blood, and he himself said that he did not want the trial to be made in his district.

There is no time to say more, but I do feel that when you are judging India, you must not forget the limited means that are at our disposal. You must not compare things in India with things in England. In London alone you waste enough food to feed two or three European nations, and then you want to compare Indian things with English. It is not right. But I do feel that with the money we do spend we get full value, and there is no country in the world that can boast of a better system of staffing their hospitals than India. I met many Canadian doctors who said, "We wish we could have a permanent medical service as supplied by Government instead of the medical profession roaming about."

I feel the I.M.S. has rendered wonderful service to the medical profession of India. They have set up standards which will for long remain the ideal for our doctors to achieve. I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging through Sir Cuthbert Sprawson the great service that the I.M.S. has rendered to my people. They are today with some exceptions the best qualified doctors for treatment available to our people.

Sir Cuthbert Sprawson: I thank all those who have spoken for the interest they have shown in this subject and for the light they have thrown upon the matters I was discussing. As our Chairman has said, all administration in India is carried on under the shadow of poverty because the country is certainly poor. I was not, however, recommending the abolition of the licentiate class, but their retention, because I think they are decidedly necessary at the present stage of India.

I also noticed, when I mentioned the deficiency in organizing rural relief, that our Chairman was busy taking a note, and I was aware that I had made an unjustifiable mistake in omitting to mention the Punjab. I apologize for that omission. My reason for the mistake was that my mind was not on rural dispensaries, but purely on the subsidized practitioner, whose virtues I was more particularly recommending at the time.

Sir Frank Noyce asked whether raising the standard of the licentiate would not hinder him the more from going out to the villages. I do not think so. I think we must raise his standard, and at the same time we must get these doctors out to the villages. I do not think the system will deter, provided we can get those other amenities for him that I was advocating. As he has always made the great objection, "I cannot live there because I cannot get my children educated," so the subsidizing authority should

arrange in boarding-schools special terms for the children of these practitioners living in remote areas. That seems to be their chief difficulty.

I was particularly glad Colonel Proctor spoke, because I know his views are different from mine, and I like both sides of any question to be considered. First, let me say I agree entirely with two points he made. I am entirely with him when he says that local authorities or local Governments have not yet resolutely taken up the matter of getting ladies of good class to enter the nursing profession. In the south of India, in Bombay and Calcutta, we get nurses of a class, but even there the majority of them are not of the class we want, and in the north of India you get very few ladies. The class we get is not the class we get in this country. That matter should be taken up more resolutely.

The other point I agree with Colonel Proctor about is the advantage of having a gradual increase in the honorary staff of our hospitals. Where I do differ from him is when he says that we should close the medical schools and abolish licentiates. If we close the medical schools, we are closing the means of education of nearly three-fifths of the doctors who are put forward every year into the medical world: that means to say the numbers of new doctors coming up would be not much more than one-fourth. If you close the medical schools, you might say, "Let us have more medical graduates," but you cannot get them. The colleges are already more than full to capacity. Possibly Colonel Proctor would welcome for India medical colleges . . .

(Colonel A. H. Proctor: I meant over the next thirty years we could extend our medical colleges.)

I quite agree. After perhaps forty or fifty years you might by that time be able to contemplate the conversion of all schools into colleges. But I was not speaking of so remote a future as that. I cannot undertake to say what the state of India—either economically or its state of general culture—will be in fifty years from now. Things change so quickly. For the immediate present, if you simply close the medical schools, you will have fewer doctors. Colonel Proctor's immediate remedy for that is to let the indigenous practitioner run wild in the country. That we could not do. That is a policy of despair.

I do agree with what Dame Edith Brown said. I have not dwelt sufficiently on the women's side of the question. I did not do so simply because my paper is a very brief one and I could not cover all aspects in it. But what I said about men is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to women. I do agree that there should be more women entirely. I agree with what Sir Richard Needham said and Dr. Bhatt, and I must thank you all for your patient listening to everything I have had to say, contentious or otherwise. (Applause.)

Sir Ernest Hotson: As we come to the end of a most interesting evening, I am sure I am expressing the wishes of all of you in thanking most cordially the reader of the paper, General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, and our Chairman, Sir Firozkhan Noon. Perhaps it would not be amiss to add our thanks to those who have so materially contributed to our enlightenment in

the subsequent discussion. Among the many merits of Sir Cuthbert's paper was this, that not only did he explain to us the various problems before the diffusion of Western medicine in India, but he did so in such a way as to encourage, indeed to provoke, the expression of their views by other people. For that we are most grateful to him.

Sir Firozkhan Noon, we know, is a busy man. He is always a good friend of the East India Association, and we are very grateful to him. More than ever, since he has just returned from Canada, we are sure he is very busy at this moment. Sir Firoz made some references this afternon to his experiences there, and we hope he may be able to tell us more about them on another occasion.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Lt.-Col. S. Nag, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon, Bengal (on leave), writes: In the world of today India stands very much in the background; she is deficient in factors which contribute a modern international standard of national existence. Such a backward state is dangerous for India itself and, being in close association, equally dangerous for England. This backward state is due largely to lack of an international standard of education that prevails in the world today.

Insanitation, chronic epidemic or endemic diseases, and malnutrition have lowered the vital index of India to such an extent that, for more reasons than one, immediate application of the most modern and ideal measures of educational reform is not applicable. We must beware of pouring water into a broken pitcher, and this has been happening in India actually. It follows, therefore, that intensive medical and sanitary measures are of greater urgency than other changes. How to work out this colossal task is the subject which has been engaging the attention of many in recent years throughout India.

Various experiments have been made; some with partial success, others with failure chiefly through lack of funds.

A recent Malaria Commission in India declared that the most efficient anti-malaria measure is the provision of treatment centres throughout the country. Now, how are we to broadcast so many qualified medical men to staff these medical centres? And where is the largest amount of ill-health? In rural areas, of course. How can the expenses be met?

I have had the opportunity of working out a practical plan for the Province of Bengal which would meet these difficulties. Briefly, it is a plan to provide a dispensary, or rather a medical and public health centre, for each union board (*i.e.*, a group of four to five villages which at present constitutes the unit of local self-government), plus a co-operative health centre in each such area, plus an itinerant bullock cart or boat dispensary for each subdivision of a district. This plan involves an expenditure which is within the capacity of union board resources and of the State funds available for medical and sanitary aid. Such a plan has a direct bearing on the question of licensing medical schools in India. It follows that for years to come these medical schools must form the backbone of medical and sanitary relief of an acutely poverty-stricken Indian which we all know.

Medical colleges and research departments would function, among other things, as guides and teachers to these medical schools training this vast army of medical men dotted all over the country. Naturally, the training of such medical men is a matter of utmost concern. Unless the medical colleges and the research institutions are up to the mark, the medical schools and therefore the medical school licentiates deteriorate. Remember that these much under-rated and humble licentiates are the standard-bearers of scientific medicine in India to the masses. Their training must therefore be sound. Such a sound training is grossly lacking at present, because the equipment, the teaching staff, and the attached training hospitals are below the mark even to the minimum accepted standards which at times are deplorable.

We thus realize how the medical profession in India is involved and what its burden is. A handful of city practitioners engaged in busy practice does not constitute the medical profession that is needed in India. More and more women doctors are needed, and such women doctors would be found in medical schools, not in medical colleges. The schools, therefore, must remain, but undergo thorough reformation—not only to turn out efficient practical medical men and women, but a large number of trained nurses as well. My experience as superintendent of a medical school is that rural workers are available and the right types of women for a nursing career are now forthcoming. The medical profession in India as a whole must realize that if its skill and knowledge do not directly or indirectly lead to alleviation of suffering, where it is the most, it has not given its gifts to those outstretched hands which have been patiently waiting through years to receive them.

ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION

By Sir George Anderson, c.s.i., c.i.e.

The Needs of the Community

It is beyond my scope today to speak about the Anglo-Indian community; but, for the purpose of providing a background to my address, I would point out that considerable harshness and injustice have been meted out to the community in the past; and that, in spite of that treatment, Anglo-Indians have been steadfast in their loyalty and service towards building up the British Empire in India.

And now, just at the very time when the community might have looked forward to brighter prospects, financial depression has intervened and there is among them widespread distress. And, over and above that distress, the community is losing what had been regarded almost as a monopoly of certain spheres of service, especially in the posts and telegraphs and on the railways. I do not suggest that the widening of the field of recruitment to these services is an injustice to Anglo-Indians as, in an advancing India, it is not unreasonable that Indians, themselves also suffering from increasing unemployment, should seek further avenues of service; at the same time, this tendency has gravely accentuated the misfortunes of the community.

This atmosphere of gloom has now been pierced by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in launching his Appeal on behalf of the community. By doing so, he has provided us with an effective means of meeting our obligations towards those who have suffered by past neglect and who deserve our support. But he has done far more than that; he has provided us with a great opportunity. We shall now be in a position to assist the community in making its rightful and effective contribution towards the development of the new India and of the Christian Church in India. The best means of doing so will be by assisting in the education of their children and in building up among them a spirit of leadership.

Anglo-Indian Schools

First, a few words about the schools. These are perplexing in their variety and in their varying standards of efficiency. There are the hill schools, mainly residential; there are the large schools in the towns; there are the smaller schools dotted about in places where Anglo-Indians congregate; there are the railway schools which cater for the needs of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, some 16,000 in 1926, who are employed by the railway companies; there are the orphanages, which rescue and educate destitute children.

I would here interpose a word of caution. There is a danger, perhaps, that, by our very importunities and by our eagerness to gain financial support, we may unconsciously give the impression that *all* these schools are on the down grade, that there is widespread inefficiency, that the schools need to be rescued from impending dissolution. I desire, therefore, to record my testimony to the valuable work which many of the schools have done in the past. They have bestowed on the community great benefits; they have provided for the children a good general education; and, what is more, they have done so in an atmosphere of true religion, good fellowship, and often in surroundings of great beauty. Further, the community itself has not been backward in responding to these opportunities.

Unfortunately, all of these schools, to a greater or lesser extent, are now faced by grave financial difficulties. At the very time when running costs are appreciating, resources are depreciating. Parents find it increasingly difficult to meet the fees; and in many cases stipends are urgently required. Government grants also tend to decrease; but, in saying so, I do not suggest injustice or discrimination. *All* school grants have been subject to curtailment owing to the financial depression, and Anglo-Indian schools have not by any means been the only victims.

My own experience at any rate has been a happy one. I was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council for over ten years, but on no single occasion was an educational demand ever refused; and, in the matter of Anglo-Indian education, the demands were passed each year without hesitation. The only debate that

I can recall was salutary as it enabled the Punjab Government to explain its policy, by which Indians became eligible for admission up to a given maximum and were subject to no discrimination in the matter of fees. I shall return to this matter shortly.

How, then, are the schools to be assisted? The answer to this question is by no means simple. The main principle in assessing Government grants is to meet a certain proportion of the gap between revenue and expenditure. The effect of endowments to individual schools, therefore, would be a proportionate reduction in the grants, and the schools would not be appreciably the gainers. Again, though some of the schools undoubtedly need special assistance in order to tide over a time of emergency, discrimination will be necessary; in some cases such assistance would not be justified. In many places, again, there is an unfortunate duplication of effort, and a policy of concentration is long overdue. The Appeal should provide a lever by which a policy of concentration can be developed.

Radical Reconstruction

There are, however, other and more radical considerations to be borne in mind. It would be a tragedy if the main result of the Appeal were to crystallize the schools in a position which many consider to be outworn and out of date.

It has often been pointed out that communal schools and colleges tend to accentuate that spirit of communalism which is the curse of India. Is it therefore right that children, from the age of early childhood until perhaps the age of early manhood, should be brought up in the narrowing atmosphere of segregate and exclusive schools? There is now growing up in India a healthful tendency in the opposite direction.

Perhaps the most pleasing educational development in recent years has been the changed attitude towards the depressed classes. It is now considered inadvisable to educate the children of these unfortunate people in separate schools, which are usually inferior to other schools of the same grade and which tend to crystallize the stigma of inferiority. The present and more salutary policy

is to admit these children to the ordinary schools and to take steps as far as possible to ensure that they shall receive equal sympathy and treatment together with the children of less unfortunate people.

Again, Muslims are beginning to feel that their educational development is penalized by the fact that, as in 1932, as many as 850,000 children in Bengal alone were being educated in *maktabs*, which provide an inferior type of general education and also promote a spirit of exclusiveness.

The ruling chiefs of India are also beginning to realize that chiefs' colleges, in the strict sense of the word, are an anachronism, and that the boys therein should receive a wider and a better education in a less restricted atmosphere. The authorities of these colleges are therefore reviewing the position, and are taking steps to liberalize the rules of admission and to broaden the curricula and training. It is at least significant that Rajkumar College, Rajkot, has recently decided to throw overboard old-time restrictions and to develop that beautiful college into an Indian counterpart of the English public school.

Developments such as these provoke the question whether Anglo-Indians should continue to receive their education in segregate schools. To this question I give a qualified reply in the affirmative. The core of these schools is centred in the Christian religion, and also in the English language and tradition. These should be preserved for the community at all costs. But a further and cogent argument in favour of the retention and development of the schools is that they are widely appreciated; it is realized on all hands that the schools have made a valuable contribution towards the educational growth of India.

But the schools should not be exclusive; I therefore return to the admission of Indian children. In regulating these admissions, the Punjab Government contended that Indian children should not be admitted above a given percentage of the total enrolment; to exceed that percentage would go far to destroy the traditions for which the schools stand, in which case neither party would be satisfied. The limits which appeared satisfactory were 15 per cent. in the case of boarding-schools and 25 per cent. in the case

of day-schools. It was also laid down that Indian children would not be entitled to any special provision in the matter of religion or food, but they are not expected to attend any religious service or partake of any food which would be in antagonism with their principles. It is a matter for satisfaction that other Governments in India have since adopted similar measures.

The admission of Indian children has been of great benefit to the schools; they have not only widened the environment, but they have also contributed much to the life and progress of the schools. At Bishop Cotton School, for example, many Indian pupils have acquitted themselves with credit. On my last visit to their beautiful ground on the occasion of a school match, six out of eleven of the cricket side were Indians, one of whom scored a century and another took most of the wickets.

Other Developments

There has been a further development in Indian education, which is pertinent to this issue. There is now widespread dissatisfaction with the present system and an earnest desire to bring about drastic alterations. It is felt that the teaching is predominantly literary; that there is too much immobile study and too little healthful activity; that the schools are dominated by university and examination requirements; that, owing to the prolongation of purely literary studies, pupils become averse from practical occupations and training. Hence, India is faced not so much by a problem of unemployment as of unemployables.

I tried to deal with this matter in my previous address, and shall not therefore discuss it at length. The main features of the proposals for radical reconstruction, which are now widely accepted, are that the schools should be liberated from the bondage of matriculation; that the period of schooling should be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective; that examinations should take place only on the completion of each stage; that pupils should then be diverted to practical occupations and training, which should be given in separate vocational institutions.

Christian missions and the Indian Christian Church are also

busy in reviewing their position and in adapting their educational activities to new conditions. In the past, the missions have made notable contributions. They provided general education to a large proportion of the school population at a time when the interest of parents was apathetic and the support of Government was niggardly. They catered in particular for the needs of Indian Christians; and, bearing in mind that the vast majority of these come from the depressed and illiterate classes, it is at least praiseworthy that the percentage of literacy is considerably higher in the Christian than in almost any other community. The missions have also maintained high standards; and they have shown initiative, especially in the spheres of girls' and of rural education.

Times, however, have changed and old-time opportunities have weakened. While mission resources have contracted, Government support has increased, with the result that the line hitherto occupied by the missions must inevitably be shortened. But new opportunities have arisen to compensate for the loss of past opportunities, especially in the mass movement areas. Christian missions are therefore eagerly canvassing how best the needs of these areas can be provided for, particularly by the training and maintenance of village pastors and teachers.

There is thus a widespread feeling throughout India that the general framework of the educational system has outlived its day and that a period of reconstruction is overdue. The time has also arrived when Anglo-Indian education should be similarly reviewed and reconstructed.

Curricula

Anglo-Indian schools suffer perhaps more even than Indian schools from the examination fever and from an excessively literary trend of education. Little attempt is made to provide for practical activities such as woodwork for boys or domestic science for girls. Science teaching and equipment are often unsatisfactory, or even non-existent. As for examinations, the biennial infliction is bad enough in Indian schools, but in some Anglo-Indian schools pupils seem to be subjected every year to the ordeal of a public

examination. And, what is worse, that ordeal is often inflicted by a distant authority—6,000 miles away. I am told that this is essential in the interests of those who desire to continue their studies in this country, but why should the interests of the many be subordinated to those of the few? I hesitate to pass criticism on English educationists, but I have at any rate perused Sir Philip Hartog's book on the subject and gather that even examinations conducted by the Cambridge authorities are far from immaculate. Why, even during the recent crisis, I used to read on the front page of *The Times* (whether justified or not, I cannot say) violent protests against the School Certificate examinations; yet in India these examinations are worshipped and adored in Anglo-Indian schools!

It is also for regret that Urdu appears to be the worst taught of all subjects in many of the schools. The reason is not far to seek. It is a mystery to me why in Indian schools Oriental classical and vernacular languages are taught by teachers who are inferior both in pay and status to the teachers of other subjects, and who hold a position somewhat similar to that held by the French master in the English public schools of long ago. In Anglo-Indian schools, however, the status of the Urdu teacher is even more depressing than in Indian schools. This defect should obviously be remedied.

Radical changes are also required in the arrangement of school classes. As in the Indian schools, many of the less gifted pupils prolong unduly purely literary studies, with the result that they become averse from practical occupations. These should not attempt matriculation or its equivalent, but should be diverted at an earlier stage to vocational institutions. Again, while Anglo-Indian boys and girls find it difficult to accommodate themselves to the teaching given in mass intermediate classes of Indian colleges and therefore rarely acquit themselves with credit, those who have remained at school until the completion of the intermediate stage and then proceed to the honours degree classes of Indian colleges almost invariably do well. The practice of maintaining intermediate classes by the better Anglo-Indian schools should therefore be developed.

Professional Training

But there are other ways by which the prospects of the community can be improved. Like other communities, the Anglo-Indian needs leadership. The training given in the schools, though admirable in itself, is not enough. I have often been told that boys and girls who had shown good promise while at school have been compelled on account of poverty to take up duties which are lacking in scope and prospects. As an ex-bureaucrat, I suggest that leadership is provided mainly by the official and professional classes. Stipends are therefore needed in order to enable promising boys and girls to receive professional training —in medicine, in engineering, in agriculture, in law, and so forth.

Considerable advance has been made in recent years in providing teacher-training for Anglo-Indians, especially at Ghora Gali. And here let me pause to pay a tribute of esteem and affection to that great schoolmaster, Canon W. T. Wright, who has recently passed on. But further encouragement in this direction is required. If the schools are to progress in the esteem of the community, more trained graduates from among the community are essential.

And then there is the training for the sacred ministry. If the Indian Church is to develop to its fullest extent, the Anglo-Indian community should make its effective full contribution towards that advance. It is a happy coincidence that, at this important juncture, a great friend of the community, Mr. J. R. Peacey, is now head of Bishop's College, Calcutta. He has frequently expressed to me his keen desire that more Anglo-Indians should enter his college; and I have often been told of the exceptional promise that has been shown by at least some of those few who have been in his charge.

Capital Grants

I have said enough, I hope, to indicate that if the welfare of Anglo-Indians is to be placed on a right footing, much money will be required; but, what is even more important, assistance should be given quickly. According to Gladstonian tradition,

money fructifies best in the pockets of the people; similarly, money contributed towards Anglo-Indian education should fructify more rapidly and more abundantly by the effective and immediate development of the schools than by means of interest doled out annually in minute sums to a large number of schools over a long period of time.

Timely expenditure should result in welcome economy. Let me give an illustration of this principle. The governors of Bishop Cotton School, Simla, were once faced by annual deficits, but we refused to retrench; we preferred to incur fresh expenditure by extending the accommodation so as to provide for fifty additional pupils. The expense incurred by those pupils was almost negligible and amounted to little more than the provision of a few more rissoles for breakfast; but the fees of those pupils were almost clear gain. Let it be remembered that every school has what may be termed its economic unit. To go above that unit involves inefficiency, but to go below that unit entails extravagance. Unfortunately, most Anglo-Indian schools are below their economic unit. It is important to remember that a stitch in time saves nine.

Conclusions

In conclusion, I shall try to summarize my main contentions:

(*a*) The community both needs and deserves support;

(*b*) While treasuring their past traditions the schools should approximate as far as possible to Indian life and conditions; they also need reconstruction in order to meet modern-day requirements;

(*c*) Stipends are required for those parents who cannot meet the full fees;

(*d*) In order to stimulate a spirit of leadership in the community, stipends are required for those who desire, and are suited for, higher and professional studies;

(*e*) Capital grants are essential to the schools in order to enable them to carry out the necessary improvements and adaptations; a policy of concentration is requisite.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the Association and the Overseas League was held at Overseas House on Tuesday, December 6, 1938, when a paper entitled "Anglo-Indian Education" was read by Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, G.C.V.O., was in the Chair.

The PRIMATE: My first duty is to express gratitude to the East India Association for their kindness in arranging this meeting, and not least to the Overseas League for allowing us to meet in their very magnificent premises.

We have come here to listen to Sir George Anderson, who will speak to us from the wealth of his Indian experience on Anglo-Indian Education. I should like to preface the few words with which I shall intervene before you listen to Sir George Anderson by saying that in common with a great many of you I have the very deepest interest in the problems of India. There is no country in the world that seems to me so supreme in its fascination, none certainly which I have more ardently desired to visit; and in spite of invitations from the last six Viceroys I have never been able to fulfil my wish.

But I had to give very long and special time and thought to the problems of India when I was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour on the Parliamentary Committee which had to hammer out the new Constitution of India. When I look back, I am astonished that I managed, in spite of all my other work, to be able to find something like four hours a day during those eighteen months for a task more complicated and difficult than has ever been the lot of any Constitution-makers since the world began.

During that long consideration of these problems I became naturally very specially interested in one of the many Indian communities, the smallest but one not least in the place that it has taken in the development of Indian life and history—I mean, of course, the Anglo-Indian community. It is unnecessary for me in this company to describe the history, character and claims of that community, their claims upon both our sympathy and our gratitude, certainly our gratitude.

As you are all aware, their origin goes back to the days long past of the East India Company, when the Company encouraged their servants to marry Indian wives. The children of these first marriages of British and Indians were for a long time foremost in the administration of the early days—I will not say of India, because those days go back for centuries—but of the British connection with India. Ever since, the community has been both proud of its British ancestry and faithful to the Christian religion in which it has been brought up.

In the early days most of the leading posts of administration were in

the hands of these Anglo-Indians, and we owe to them a great deal for the way in which the beginnings of British administration in India were made. Since that time they have always taken a leading place in the development of the posts, the telegraphs and the railways of India. But more than that, they are entitled to our gratitude because of their conspicuous loyalty to the British Crown. In the early days they were, of course, foremost in fighting under Clive. They gave a most signal instance of their loyalty when the great Mahratta conspiracy broke out at the end of the eighteenth century. I say a special instance because it followed a most ungenerous treatment by the East India Company, who, as many of you know, frightened by what had happened in San Domingo, reduced these faithful servants of theirs to the lowest posts and deprived them of those which they had conspicuously adorned. In spite of that, when the conspiracy broke out, they all rallied once again in their loyalty to the British Crown.

I need not mention the part they played in the great Mutiny in the middle of the nineteenth century, or the way in which, I think, practically every available man of them entered the service of the Empire in the days of the Great War. If I am rightly informed, at the present time they have the largest place in the auxiliary defence force in India. In all these ways they have proved themselves to be a community quite conspicuous in its loyalty to the British Empire.

But they have also a claim upon our sympathy. As a community they have suffered, as other communities in India have done, from economic depression; but most especially at this present time their always difficult position has been made more difficult by the new Constitution which has been given to India. Under the new provincial administration they almost inevitably fall between two stools. They are neither fully Indian nor fully British, and I am afraid there are signs of that happening which was always anticipated: namely, that the new provincial administrations—whose beginnings we all acclaimed with so much cordiality—inevitably tend to give the fullest employment to Indians, whether Hindu or Moslem, and are apt to look askance upon the Anglo-Indian community.

Even when their employment is continued in such old posts as they have been accustomed to—in the posts, the telegraphs and the railways—the tendency is to give them only such salaries or wages as are given to Indians of a very different standard both of life and of education.

It is in these circumstances that, I repeat, the community is entitled to our sympathy. By common agreement the best help that we can render to this community is to continue to develop and to improve their education. It is felt that in the long run there will always be a place in any country for men and women of a high degree of education and intelligence. That is where the question of the Anglo-Indian schools becomes at this time of very special importance. We are thinking especially this afternoon of those Anglo-Indian schools which are under the control and management of the Anglican Church in India. There are many of them of different kinds scattered over the whole of India, some of them in most beautiful places in the country districts, some of them nearer or within the cities, all of them

with a most honourable career and with very high ideals, where these Anglo-Indians are given the best education that can be given—or at least what was once thought the best education that could be given—and in which they are brought up in the Christian faith, to which they are loyal.

Many of these schools are in a difficult financial position. The parents cannot afford the fees—and naturally the best of these schools are boarding-schools—because of the economic depression. Government grants are being reduced, not by way of any discrimination against these schools, far from it, but because similar reductions are being made all round. Therefore their position is becoming one of very real difficulty.

Accordingly, some three years ago the Metropolitan of India and all the Bishops of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon addressed to me a petition that I should endeavour to raise in this country a very large sum for the endowment, maintenance and equipment of these schools. I had frankly to tell the Metropolitan that his conceptions of the conceivable generosity of the British public were extravagant to the last degree, and I could hold out no hope of being able to give him a sum anything like that for which he had hoped; but I said that I would do my best, and I have tried to do so.

I have launched this appeal on behalf of these Anglo-Indian schools. It has the cordial support of all the living ex-Viceroys. It has on its general committee a number of ex-Governors of Provinces in India, and here may I say notably my old friend Lord Goschen, who broadcasted an appeal on behalf of this fund some time ago with very excellent results so far as the finances are concerned. I wonder whether—perhaps I am over-bold in saying so—but, if you look at the general committee of this appeal, I wonder whether any appeal has ever been launched with a more weighty committee of men intimately concerned with the affairs with which the appeal is dealing. I can only express my great gratitude to those who have taken the leading share in organizing this appeal, to our old friend Bishop Chatterton with the able assistance of Miss Tyrwhitt-Drake, and not least to the Bishop of Willesden, who has acted as the chairman of the executive committee.

We have made some progress. You will realize how difficult it is to enlist the interest and imagination of the British public, who are never very acute in their imagination, on behalf of a community of which they have hitherto heard very little. Still we have made some good progress.

Just when we had hoped that we might have concluded what we were able to do, there have come these new, urgent and insistent pleas for our support, not least for the refugees who have been driven from their homes by what we all recognize to be an outburst of most astonishing savagery in Germany and Austria. With that enormous problem on our hands, it is indeed difficult to think of this little community in India. Still we shall continue. I am glad to say that the Duke of Gloucester has consented to be our guest at a luncheon in the City at the end of February, and I hope that during the course of the year we may be able to make

some response to the plea which has been addressed to us by the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Church in India on behalf of these schools.

One thing more. There is something indeed besides the maintenance of these schools, and that is the increase in their educational efficiency. Some of them, I expect, have got rather into a routine of education, and I think that very likely there are new methods which ought to be tried, aiming not so much at the continuance of a literary education as the development of a more vocational education.

It is on these points that personally I look forward to the counsel which Sir George Anderson will be able to give us this afternoon and others who take part in the discussion which will follow his address. I am sure that I can speak for my brethren in India when I say that they will only be too eager to know and avail themselves of any advice as to how they can make these schools everything that we should wish them to be.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: We must thank Sir George Anderson for his most able and interesting address.

The High Commissioner for India has asked me to express his great regret that owing to his early departure for India on leave he has not been able to be here this afternoon.

I think we ought to give the first place in the discussion to the leader of the Anglo-Indian community itself, Sir Henry Gidney, who has championed their cause with eloquence and assiduity for many years, and who has been their representative in the Indian Legislative Assembly, I think, since 1922.

Sir HENRY GIDNEY: I have to thank you, Your Grace, for asking me to speak. As the leader of this community and as its representative in the Assembly for just about twenty years, I feel, though not an educationist, I can speak with some authority on the subject.

Let me offer to Your Grace, on behalf of my people, our heartfelt gratitude for the very splendid effort you have made in inaugurating this appeal to the British public to support the cause of Anglo-Indian education. I worked with Your Grace for some considerable time as a member of the Round-Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and I take this public opportunity of thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the very noble, generous and sincere part you played in helping us in our problems on those occasions.

I do not think the East India Association could have selected a better officer of the Education Department to address us on this subject than Sir George Anderson.

Sir, it is a notable historical coincidence that you as the spiritual leader of the British nation should today be addressing a gathering in England on the Anglo-Indians. It was eighty years ago in 1858 that Bishop Webber addressed a distinguished gathering in the Cathedral of Calcutta. It was just after the Mutiny, when my community gave such solid evidence of

its loyalty to King and country and to the Union Jack, in spite of the base ingratitude with which it had been treated previously. The hearts of all those present in that Cathedral were much touched when the Metropolitan asked everybody there in recognition of that bravery and loyalty to start schools in the hills for children of the Anglo-Indian community. Strange to relate, today Your Grace is appealing for funds for enabling those very schools to continue.

Sir George Anderson asked you not to believe that our schools were in the stage of immediate dissolution. I should say some few of them are able to support themselves. With all humility and respect to Sir George I disagree with him. I see the handwriting on the wall. It tells me that in twenty years' time very few of our schools will be in existence, and for one solid reason, which is this: Today 90 per cent. of the Anglo-Indian community employed in the Government services are in receipt of the old and generous scales of salaries, and they are able to meet the high cost of our education in European schools. Remember we have no universal elementary system of education in India as you have here. In twenty years' time, judging by the scales of pay we are asked to accept now, which I call "starvation wages," the entire community will have to live on less than half the salary it receives today. Rs. 125 a month will be their average maximum salary. How can we expect any parent to send his child to one of our boarding schools, which costs—the cheapest—about Rs. 40 a month? It will be impossible. I see this economic tragedy with clearer vision than I have ever seen anything else. The Anglo-Indian children will be compelled to seek their education in the Anglo-vernacular schools at the small price paid by Indians there.

That is the picture which is haunting me—and it is a very sad reflection of the great debt the British nation and India owe to Anglo-Indians. We are today again being badly let down by Britain. We have not been treated well. I claim therefore that it is the bounden and honourable duty of the British nation to help us. I make an appeal as the leader of my people to the British Parliament to come to our rescue in this hour of our dire need and trouble. As sure as night follows day our manners, our customs and culture, the Christian tradition and the Christian upbringing of the community will be wrecked if we are compelled to seek our education from Anglo-vernacular schools.

His Grace the Archbishop with his powerful committee has tried for some months now to collect money. He has been able—and I thank every subscriber to that fund—to collect about £30,000. Your Grace, with a heart full of gratitude to you and to those who have subscribed, let me tell you and my hearers that that is nothing but a mere speck for protecting our future education. Our schools, if we are going to protect them, must be endowed. Who endowed them in 1858? The Government of India. Who should endow them in 1938? Why, England. After our untarnished loyalty for centuries to the British Crown and nation which gave us birth, by whose side our forefathers stood and bled and died, Britain should endow them. I can tell you, Your Grace, that unless the British nation

and Parliament come to our help and give us a large sum of money the community will be absolutely ruined, and sink to a status worse than the depressed class.

There are great philanthropists in England. I need not mention the greatest England has ever had. His name is today on everyone's lips. I make an appeal to him—a man with a heart as big as the world. He is doing a great deal of good, but why should he alone be appealed to? I therefore repeat my appeal to both Houses of Parliament to come to our rescue and to save us before it is too late.

In this audience I can see one of the greatest merchant philanthropists India has ever had. I refer to Sir Campbell Rhodes, who will bear me out when I say that there is many a good and promising Anglo-Indian who has been turned down for no other reason than that he is an Anglo-Indian and not a pure European. This reflects the treatment we are accorded by many Europeans in India.

Sir George made a true statement when he spoke of the Senior Cambridge Examination, which I call the bugbear of Anglo-Indian education in India today. I agree with everything he said. Why should we have a system of education dominating our schools in India, guided and controlled by an educational syndicate at Cambridge, seven thousand miles away? Improve our own system in India if it is at fault, and you will get leadership in abundance. The Senior Cambridge has played its part. There is no need for it today. Our education is entirely out of step with modern India and its needs. Our education is absolutely Westernized and foreign. There is no blend, no evidence of synthesis between East and West in the European code of education. We are trained and turned out to be subordinates for Government services and European firms. It is time our system was entirely altered and placed more on a vocational standard than a literary clerkship standard.

Sir George has also correctly stated the facts about Urdu teachers. He compared them to the past French teachers of British schools. I know the type of Urdu taught in our schools till recently was very elementary: and it is for this reason that our boys fail in competition with Indians in the higher services today because the vernaculars are not made a compulsory subject. I am glad to add that almost every Anglo-Indian school in India now is made to teach a vernacular subject. We want to learn more about ourselves and our country, India and its peoples. We want to know more about India, because India is our home. We cannot be anything else but people from India, and if India is to be our home, we should be taught more on the lines of the education needed by the new India. The system of European education in India needs to be radically changed to walk in step with the new India as we see it today. Otherwise India will not want us.

Sir George Anderson's observations on the need for vocational education and for leadership in the community are well placed, and in the main receive my approval and support. I was much struck with his views on the training of Anglo-Indians as teachers, particularly at Ghora Gali. The

intellectual standard in our schools is high: the moral standard is effective: physical good is not neglected. Indeed we lead in sport of all kinds. But on the civic side, although we are essentially a law-abiding people, we have not sufficiently cultivated the spirit of co-operative effort either among ourselves or with our fellow-subjects in India. This I attribute to the narrow outlook in our schools, which do not encourage recognition of others and foster sectarianism and pettiness. In my opinion the Catholic system of discipline kills initiative, except in rare cases. The semi-public-school system in the bigger non-Roman Catholic schools is ineffective because at the same time the presence of too many imported teachers makes real sympathy between staff and pupils impossible; moreover, the pupils are aware of the inferior status to which the Anglo-Indian staff are consigned, because practically all the senior and covenanted posts go to the imported masters and mistresses. Both the latter (as a class) do not identify themselves with the interests of the Anglo-Indian, but take up an openly detached position, particularly in social life, and are affected by their clubs and their "Europeanized" environment. Only in rare cases can the imported share the outlook and interests of the community or even understand their mind. This is further encouraged by the Inspectorate being entirely in the hands of imported folk.

There is an essential difference in the training facilities in India and those in England, especially for male teachers. In India there is no fixed system. Few of our teachers possess degrees, though more are acquiring them; but the Indian degrees are not recognized as high enough, and the inferiority is further accentuated by the lack of specially designed courses of training for the purposes of secondary teaching in European schools. It is true that our graduates can take the B.T. degrees of Indian universities, but it has to be remembered that the training they undergo is with classes consisting of Indian (and not Anglo-Indian) children and is therefore held to be inferior to a home training, because the standard of education under the ordinary Code is lower than the standard of secondary education under the Code for European schools. The school-leaving examinations in the respective cases are different—the Cambridge Locals, as against the far easier Indian "Matriculations." There is thus no inducement to Anglo-Indian teachers to take Indian degrees in teaching, since the authorities themselves discount the value of such degrees for the purposes of the European Code and continue to discriminate in favour of the home-trained teachers.

At present, for male teachers, there is only a course of elementary training (at the Lawrence College, Ghora Gali). This is the only training institution for our men in India. Since it is intended for the purposes of the European Code, however, our young men attend the one-year course. The system deliberately keeps our own men down and sets an unfair premium on the possession of the "Home" Secondary Teachers' certificate, from which the domiciled are precluded by reason of the fact that they often cannot leave India to qualify abroad. Why should not the Ghora Gali course be converted into a proper Secondary Teachers' course, with all-India recognition as such? All that is needed is to extend it to an eighteen-

months' or two years' course instead of a twelve-months' course. The practising school is a secondary one, so there is no difficulty about finding suitable classes of pupils. They are already on the spot. If the trainees are already being taught to handle the secondary grade classes, then it is a denial of justice to grant them only limited recognition.

I do not know much about the training courses for our women teachers, except that the Government one at Dow Hill College, Kurseong, limits the opportunities to a two-year curriculum with only an elementary certificate. This is grossly unfair, for the trainees handle the highest classes in their practising school.

Under present conditions we are fully justified in turning round and telling the legion of past (British, and continental Roman Catholic) teachers and organizers that it is their default which has landed our community in its present predicament. The imported teacher has never given our boys and girls a true perspective of Indian life and affairs, but has palmed off on to them a spurious superiority-complex in regard to Indians and a painfully unfair inferiority-complex in regard to the white man.

Even today what are the schools consciously preparing our children to be? Are they still unaware that our boys and girls are being offered pitifully small starting salaries (devised really for the Indian matriculate) in the Services? That the good old days when a High School or Senior Cambridge boy could step straight into a job offering a living wage are past? That communal ratios still further diminish our chances of entering the most subordinate of services? That the commercial firms prefer to recruit cheap Indian labour and leave it to a bare minimum of imported trained staff to ensure that no mistakes are made? That new openings must be made—in trade, in industry and on the land?

The system must be recast and in such a way as to give the Anglo-Indian teacher and the Anglo-Indian parent a far bigger share in the respective spheres of teaching and control of policy. The old superimposed superiority-complex system must go. We could make a better job of it if left to ourselves, for we would better realize the extent of our responsibilities and opportunities. We want the Central and Provincial Boards of European Education to become "Anglo-Indianized." Then only will they perform their functions properly.

We must mould the minds and characters of our children. No longer can that be denied us, and on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community I say the time has come when we must be allowed to mould our education so as to be proud of India and to be true and faithful sons and citizens of India; for it is only then that we shall be able to serve India as nobly in the future as we have done in the past.

Lord Hailey: One necessarily speaks under some restriction today. The cause which His Grace has advocated with such eloquence, and the problems of which have been so fully examined by Sir George Anderson, is only part of a larger question. We have, if possible, to secure support for schools other than those of the Church of England. We have, and this

also is of great importance, to secure support for the provision of a greater measure of University education for Anglo-Indians. Still, if we are confining ourselves here only to one part of the movement for improving the condition of Anglo-Indians—namely, the Anglo-Indian schools of the Anglican Church—I am certain that there is no one, however careful to form his enthusiasms, but must feel the deepest and most heartfelt sympathy for that cause.

Looking back on our treatment of the Anglo-Indian problem, I can distinguish several stages. I think there was the first stage, in which, finding the Anglo-Indian convenient to our hand, knowing English and belonging to a class which India itself at the time did not provide—namely, a class ready to take up work on the railways and the telegraphs—we made a very free use of his services. I am not sure that we were very judicious in what we did. We gave him a position of privilege, almost a prerogative, in certain employments. I am afraid that on the whole this did him some harm. It made life too easy. It gave him no incentive to improve his education. He did not prepare himself to meet the competition which his class was bound in time to encounter. Then coming to the second stage, when we first began our political reforms in India, I am afraid that we did not show sufficient determination to see that he got his rights. (Applause.) He had claims on us as a loyal community, one for whose very existence we were responsible, and one for whose maintenance we ought to have acknowledged our obligation.

Now the third stage has come, in which all his prerogative position has gone; he has come under some measure of hostility owing to the position we once gave him and his relations to us; and he has come under a severe and almost destructive competition. We have undoubtedly to face the fact that unless he receives some assistance from outside, in order to maintain his standard of education, he must go progressively down the hill. It is quite impossible, as Sir Henry Gidney has said, that he should support his own schools at the requisite standard from the resources now available to him, in view of the pitch of salaries which he is now asked to receive. It is this fact that makes it essential that he should receive support from outside.

Our analysis of the situation of the community has led us to believe that the Anglo-Indian must not only cease to expect to have a privileged position in Government employ, but that it is doubtful whether, in view of the very keen competition of highly educated Indians, he can hope to secure any such number or position in Government employ as would support any considerable part of the community. There is no room for him on the land. We have tried an experiment in colonization, but the experiment failed. As a cultivator he cannot hope to live in competition with the Indian. The conclusion we came to was that there are certain members of the community, what I may describe as the bottom strata, who must be shed off. They must return to native life. For the very best members of the community there will be room, if they have sufficient education, in Government employ. But for a very large number the outlook must be in

employment by commercial firms and in the industries now springing up in India.

It seems to me that this fact is decisive as to the class of education you must seek to give in the Anglo-Indian schools. You must not try to support men for whom you can never secure a living at semi-European or European standards of life. You must let them return to the native community. On the other hand, you must so arrange that you can provide education of the literary type, using that somewhat common but not very accurate term for the very best in order that they may compete in the field that Government employment offers. For the rest you must try to provide as far as possible vocational education, partly for commerce and partly for the industries.

The conclusion is that Anglo-Indian education must now be rationalized; it must be concentrated to avoid waste, and more and more it must be adjusted to the actual future needs of the community. If that is done, I myself do not share altogether the gloomy views which Sir Henry Gidney was forced to express. He feels, as he must feel, the case of the community so deeply that anything like optimism must be entirely out of place in his mind. But if assistance is given from outside it must be something more than we have been able to give them already, even with all the support which Your Grace has given to their cause. I fear that I doubt whether it will be possible to secure anything from Parliament; we must go to a larger-hearted public than Parliament is likely to be.

But, given that, their opportunity, I should hope myself to see that the Anglo-Indian community may still be able to make to India the contribution which their traditions and their character warrant. They have inherited the traditions of Europe. They have great loyalty to the Empire. They have all their knowledge of the East. The contribution which they can make should be all in the interests of India.

Sir Campbell Rhodes: There are just one or two points I should like to make. First, to express a hope that Sir George Anderson's address will find and have the opportunity of finding many readers amongst the educationists in India.

Secondly, I want to pay a tribute to my old colleague in the Assembly, Sir Henry Gidney, for the splendid work he did on the small sub-committee of the Round-Table Conference, which I saw from inside as adviser to Lord Halifax. He came home with a mandate for what might be regarded perhaps as the shadow. When he found he could not get it, he saw the substance and, being Sir Henry Gidney, he went for it tooth and nail. He did not get all he wanted, but he certainly got all that he could get; and Anglo-Indian education in regard to Government grants would have been in a much more parlous position but for the statesmanlike qualities he showed on that occasion.

I want to refer, too, to something Sir Henry Gidney said. Anglo-Indian education in India owes everything to the European community—in the Roman Catholic schools, the Anglican schools, those splendid schools at

Kalimpong run by the Scottish Churches—these all have been the backbone of all Anglo-Indian education. But alongside this, I am afraid many of us have done much to increase the natural inferiority-complex of the Anglo-Indian.

I think we were right when we brought out our best men from England to start Anglo-Indian education in India, and I have only got to recall the name of the old headmaster of the school of which I was governor in Calcutta, Mr. Arden Wood, to recall the reverence with which some of the leading Anglo-Indians today, who were his pupils, venerate his memory.

But times have changed, and the change has come more in England than in India. Teachers going in for an educational career in England now, especially in the provided schools where there are no credal tests, undoubtedly have opportunities which make them reluctant to go out to India, and in future you can never expect, whatever you offer him, to get another Arden Wood for India.

That being so, what should the schools do? You will never get the right Anglo-Indians into the teaching profession until you open the highest posts to them. I think the time has come now when in regard to methods of education the Anglo-Indians must stand on their own feet. I do not think from my experience in rural England that a ministerial training is sufficient for the purpose of teaching. We want our teachers well trained, and after they have had some experience, I should like to see the best men sent home for a summer. I know the English Education Department will do what they can to help them to go round the schools and study the methods in the elementary schools, the senior schools, the secondary schools and even an up-to-date public school, if one can be found. But I think that the time has now come when we must throw open the highest offices in the teaching profession in India to the Anglo-Indian himself.

I know there is a bit of the vicious circle in this. You will not attract the right men until headmasterships are open to them; and there may be a little lowering of efficiency in the meantime, but if we take the long view, however, I think it is very well worth tackling.

The Rev. A. E. Scipio: You have heard a good deal this afternoon from people who have not been intimately connected with the schools, viewing them from outside. I do not propose to discuss the paper, which on the whole I consider sound, although I would draw swords on a good many points. But I should like this meeting to understand this great fact, which I am sure we have not perhaps yet grasped, that the Anglo-Indian community are trying to help themselves.

I should like just to give you two or three experiences which happened in my own school at Bangalore. When I went out in 1921 as assistant master, there was in my class an Anglo-Indian boy of outstanding ability and brilliance. After about two months I noticed that boy was absent. So I sent for the register, and saw he was marked "Left." I enquired of the Principal why that boy had left, and he said, "Oh, well, his father has fallen on evil days, and we have asked for him to be removed from school."

I saw that boy a few years later working in a small post office, where he told me he had no hope of getting to any higher position simply because he had not the required certificates.

The next year owing to circumstances I was appointed Principal, and I determined that such things should not happen. So I got together the European part of my staff. We were not paid very high salaries—they did not exceed £12 a month—and we agreed to put away part of our salaries to help such cases. (Applause.) This we were able to do. In 1925 came the year of the Diamond Jubilee of the school, and as Principal I issued an appeal to the old boys to found a sum, an endowment fund really, from which we could give scholarships to these needy boys. That appeal was launched, and by gifts, some of one rupee a month, others larger, that fund today amounts to well over a lakh of rupees. From the interest on that money we have been able to help several needy boys.

Then I was also given a sum of money with which we might help boys who were leaving school to enter a profession. May I just give you three examples amongst many. It only meant that with the interest on the money we could help two boys a year—that is to say, have six boys altogether on the fund.

The first case I should like to quote was a boy who went home to England. He took his B.D. of London. He is now working in a parish in Birmingham, where he has a Young People's Fellowship, which is rather startling in these days, of three hundred young men and women every Sunday afternoon. That is an Anglo-Indian boy. Another case was a boy who had just passed a cadet paymastership into the Navy when his father lost everything. They came to us. We were able to give that boy a grant to set him up in the Navy. I am glad to say now he has got his commission.

Only three weeks ago I was walking in the High Street of Sidcup. A young fellow came up to me and said, "Excuse me, sir. Do you remember me?" "No," I replied. "I'm sorry. I don't." He said his name was so-and-so and I remembered that he was the son of a sergeant in the Army. And may I remind my audience this afternoon that we do have to help sometimes English children in these European schools. That boy was of outstanding brilliancy. When he came home to England and his father retired we were able to help him, and that boy is now a Lieutenant Instructor in the Navy, having had practically all his education in India up to the Senior Cambridge standard. (Applause.)

I also pay a tribute to a very noble Anglo-Indian headmistress who three months ago died from malnutrition because she gave up most of her salary to feed needy children.

I think the conclusions of the paper this afternoon are sound. We want vocational education. We want university education, and we want stipends, for which the Archbishop is appealing. But one thing we do want in India, which I would like to see, is the ever-open door, where children who have been bereaved of their parents or have been cruelly treated by their parents or are in a state of starvation are able to be accepted instead

of meeting the reply we so often meet, "There is no room. The orphanages are all full." I am sure Sir Henry Gidney and everybody who knows anything about this problem will agree that there is that great need of these orphanages where there will not be any questions whether they live in this or that Province, but where they will be able to be received and rescued from a life of shame and degradation.

Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES: I wish to endorse fully the statement that the Anglo-Indian community is in need of aid. It certainly is. I have been an inspector of European schools in India, a Director of Public Instruction and educational commissioner with the Government of India, so I have had long experience of Anglo-Indian education. I have seen the schools from the bottom to the top, and I can endorse every word that has been said as to the need of assistance. The sting of Sir George Anderson's address lies, I think, in the last sentence of all: "A policy of concentration is requisite." That is the scorpion sting. I say sting because the Anglo-Indian community in the past, although it has had advice from various committees going back to the Abbott Committee of thirty-five to forty years ago, has done practically nothing in the way of concentration.

Going round Anglo-Indian schools in India I have seen enormous wastage of effort. You have three or four schools, each of which has not more than three or four students in each of the higher classes. Such schools can never be economically run and involve wastage. It would be far more economical to cut out the higher classes in some schools, concentrate them in some other school and give stipends to students to travel from their place of residence to the school in which the higher classes are concentrated.

That is a policy which is not new. It was advocated years ago, but the Anglo-Indian community has not accepted it. I would appeal to Sir Henry Gidney to use propaganda among the community in order to let them know what is to their greatest advantage. The community itself does not know what is good for it. It requires its leaders, first of all, to be convinced of what is their best policy; and, secondly, having been convinced, to define that policy among the members themselves.

But getting hold of a policy for any kind of education is rather like choosing a new house. You can never get everything you want. You have to put up with some things you dislike. A house that is suitable for the North of Scotland would be in many ways unsuitable for the South of England or France.

So it is with our education. The policy that you would adopt for Anglo-Indian education in a large city like Calcutta, Bombay or Madras would be different from the policy that you would adopt in the smaller towns, which abound in India and which have a relatively small European population.

In the larger towns you have schools of all classes and suitable for all peoples and all religions. You have many Indian Christian schools, schools that are maintained by Christian managements, and if the Anglo-Indian community would only get rid of that idea which it has, that learning the

vernacular thoroughly is beneath its dignity, then it would accept the education which is there and attend these schools, which may not be ideal or give it everything it desires, but are certainly well within its economic ability.

Something has been done in the matter of concentration, especially by Bishop Waller of Madras and by the Presbyterian schools. Nothing has been done with regard to any kind of amalgamation between the Roman Catholic schools and other Church schools. There are here difficulties, and I should say that the first step should be to come to some arrangement of concentration and co-operation among the non-Roman Catholic schools; secondly, to endeavour to come to some agreement with the Roman Catholic schools. They give a Christian religion, even though it may not be the form of religion we endorse. During the war, when I could not send my daughter home, we sent her to a Roman Catholic school in India, where the instruction she received was, in my opinion, everything that could be desired. An education is given in these schools which can be utilized not only by Roman Catholics but by others.

There are also schools mainly attended by the Indian Christian community which might be used, and you have examples of co-operation in such institutions as in the Women's Christian College, Madras, where thirteen missions co-operate. There have also been attempts at amalgamation among Indian Christian schools.

It is not possible for us to obtain everything that we desire in our policy. We desire the English language, the English tradition and the Christian religion. We may be able to get all of these, and we ought to try to get them if possible. But if we cannot, we must look to the greater good of the Anglo-Indian community and assist them to attend the educational institutions which are already there. We should also try to have some co-operation and concentration among schools.

Bishop CHATTERTON: We are out to raise a considerable sum of money, I hope, to support our schools for this community. I always remember how long ago there was a great bazaar held in Dublin for an orphanage which was in serious need of money. Very large numbers of people came and they raised about £20,000. One sideshow which contributed to this total was inside a closed door marked "*The Orphans' Friend; admission 2s.*" When you entered that door you were under a pledge of secrecy not to divulge what you had seen. What did you see? Simply a large mirror reflecting yourself!

We hope that we shall secure a great many more friends for this cause. You talk of the difficulty of raising a large sum of money just now. I am a warm friend of dear Dr. Graham, who has been urging me to endeavour, through the Archbishop, to bring home to England the pressing needs of this community for the education of its children. I said to Dr. Graham when he was in our office a year or two ago, "Do tell me what you have raised for these splendid homes of yours up at Kalimpong, which I have visited and where I have confirmed Church of England children?" He

told me, "I have an endowment for them of £200,000, and I have, apart from this, raised £180,000 during the last thirty-five years for land, buildings and equipment."

If one earnest Scottish missionary could raise that, I cannot help thinking that, if the heart of the Church of England and of England itself is really touched, they will certainly see that a very large sum of money is raised during this coming year for this object. It is not too much; we ought to do it.

I went to India forty-seven years ago as a missionary. From the very first I was interested in the Anglo-Indians. I had the care of a number of them. I well remember a remark made to me one night when I was sitting next to a great Indian administrator and thinker, Sir Alfred Lyall. I said, "What do you think about the Anglo-Indian community?" "I am much interested in them," he said. "You know they are a poor community, and they have few friends." We want to multiply their friends, and every one of you ought to be their friends, you who have served in India and who know the needs of these people. Their need is great, and if those who say, "I do sympathize with them" will really do something, I think we shall be successful.

Lord Goschen: I am sure you would not wish to go away without passing a most hearty vote of thanks to His Grace for presiding over this meeting and to Sir George Anderson for his lecture. I can assure Your Grace that we take your presence here today in your busy life as a proof of your very earnest desire to take a personal share in the appeal for the schools which you have launched. I am sure Sir George Anderson will agree with me that to those of us who are working with Your Grace this earnestness is a very real and great inspiration. I should like, if I may, as Chairman of the Overseas Club, to say how gladly we welcome both of you here today, and how much we appreciate the informative lecture which Sir George has delivered to us.

May I add, as one of the Treasurers of this Appeal Fund, we take the presence of so many here today as a great encouragement to us, and perhaps we may hope that in the future it may become a material encouragement.

One of the speakers referred to the responsibility for these people which lies upon us here in Britain. The responsibility is a pressing one with us. I think there are many people who often realize that they have a responsibility imposed upon them, but are not always quite certain how they can fulfil that responsibility. After the lecture which they have heard today from Sir George Anderson with regard to these schools, no one who is present can say that they do not realize how they can fulfil their responsibility. He has spoken to us of the work of these schools, and the need of these schools, and of the need of their development and reconstruction in the future.

As one who took a great interest in the education of India, I agree with all that Sir George said with regard to reconstruction. I remember on a very hot afternoon as Chancellor of the University of Madras giving 1,200

degrees one after the other to 1,200 students. When they passed by me, each with a degree, I wondered to how many that degree was really going to be useful in the future.

You have got your opportunity of doing something for the Anglo-Indians. Will you seize it at once, and fulfil it?

Your Grace and Sir George, we are deeply grateful to you both for your presence here this afternoon. On behalf of all present I offer you our most grateful thanks.

The CHAIRMAN: I am much impressed by the number of the audience as a token of interest in this gallant community, and even more impressed by the number who have lasted out till this late hour. That is an even more visible proof of interest.

I am sure we are grateful not only to Sir George Anderson but also to the others who have spoken. Of Sir George Anderson's address I will only say that I have been deeply impressed by it, and I am glad to know it will be printed. I shall make a point of conveying it to those in India who are specially concerned with the schools on whose behalf this appeal is being made. I should like to say to Sir Henry Gidney that I realize how little anything we can do must be when we consider the needs of the community he has championed with so much vigour. But at least let us suppose it is worth while doing something for one generation.

I was very much struck by what Lord Hailey said about the necessity of adapting education in these schools to the future position which the Anglo-Indian community must inevitably take in the life of India. I was also impressed by what Sir Campbell Rhodes said as to the possibility of that sort of exchange of teachers which in so many spheres is very usefully being carried out in regard to Anglo-Indian teachers. I am sure they would be immensely encouraged by coming to some of our best schools in England for a short time; and I am sure those schools would benefit by the visit of Anglo-Indians of the type I have known. Let me thank Mr. Littlehailes for what he said about the concentration of those schools.

All these suggestions are most useful. I am glad to have heard them, and I shall do what I can to communicate them.

I end by saying that none of us can have been here this afternoon without realizing, and I hope wishing, to extend among our friends a new keenness about a community which has every right to expect the people of this country to remember it and to be generous towards it. I thank you very much, Lord Goschen, for what you have said, and now declare the meeting closed.

The DEAN OF MANCHESTER (the Right Rev. Dr. Garfield Williams), in expressing regret for his inability to be present, wrote: Anglo-Indian leadership would be universally stimulated if there were some way of financially assisting on a fairly large scale Anglo-Indian boys to take their higher education in *certain selected* mission university colleges. Doubtless

this happens in some of the Calcutta colleges, but at present adequate use is not made by them of such colleges as St. John's, Agra, the Allahabad College (now, I think, called the Ewing College, with its Agriculture Department), the Forman College, Lahore, the Wilson College, Bombay, etc.

I am personally convinced that a large and increasing element of the Anglo-Indian community in such colleges would (1) strengthen leadership in the Anglo-Indian community; (2) break down communal barriers; (3) add increasing Anglo-Indian leadership in the indigenous Indian Church, especially by increasing the number of those Anglo-Indians who took Holy Orders; (4) increase the number of Anglo-Indians in teaching positions in mission schools and colleges; (5) widen the geographical area in which Anglo-Indians had opportunity for service.

Sir George Anderson's name and his experience behind this appeal put it on a footing which it might otherwise not achieve. For it must if it is to be rightly used lead to what he calls in his paper, and rightly calls, radical reconstruction, and this without necessarily employing any criticism of Anglo-Indian schools in the past.

INDIA AND CANADA: SOME COMPARISONS

By Sir Firozkhan Noon, K.C.I.E.
(High Commissioner for India in London.)

I have recently returned from Canada after a six-weeks tour undertaken at the invitation of the National Council of Education in that country. I visited fourteen places, including the Federal and the Provincial capitals, and travelled from coast to coast. I was fortunate enough to have a chance of meeting a very large number of Government officials, Lieutenant-Governors, ministers, business men, farmers, and members of legislatures, and wherever I went I was overwhelmed with hospitality offered not only by the various Governments but also by private individuals. It has enabled me to have an insight into the working of Canadian administration and to draw comparisons with India. While I am full of admiration for what I saw in Canada, regard for my own country and for the efficiency of its services stands higher in my mind than ever.

The thirst for knowledge of the Canadian people is insatiable. They are very well informed, and yet they want to learn more, and I was greatly and pleasantly surprised at the very large numbers who used to turn up at luncheon, dinner and evening meetings. It would be difficult to find more appreciative, orderly and attentive audiences anywhere in the world. I happened to be in Canada at a time when the political situation in Europe was very critical. Since 75 per cent. of His Majesty's subjects live in India, the Canadian people evinced the greatest interest in learning all about my wonderful country. Although many of them were highly educated and well informed, yet the vast majority of the people are so enwrapped in their own problems that they have very little time to devote to what is happening in the outside world, particularly in the East. My sole object in going to Canada was to try and bring the hearts of the Canadian and the Indian people closer together. Since we owe allegiance to the same King and are parts of the same Empire and are destined to work together for our mutual benefit, the more we understand each other the better it will be for our future progress. There are many misunderstandings about India and its people not only in Europe but also within the British Empire, and the things that I told the Canadian people were news to many of them, and I do feel that I have left Canada a country which certainly understands India and her position in the Empire better than before.

What is the future of India within the British Empire? This

is a question which arises in the minds not only of the Indian people themselves, but also in the minds of our colleagues living in the Dominions. Is India likely to break away from the Empire on racial grounds because there is no place in a comity of free British nations for a people which is not British by birth? This cannot be true, for we know that already there are different races living peacefully together in the Empire. If it is possible for the 3½ millions of French descent out of the 11 million Canadians to consider themselves Canadians at heart and work together as members of this great Empire; if it is possible for the Boers, comprising 65 per cent. of the white population of South Africa, to live within the Empire as loyal citizens and work with us for the good of all, why should it not be possible for Indians to live within the British Empire on the very friendliest of terms with all our fellow-citizens living in the other Dominions? The future friendship among the various Dominions is likely to be based more on economic and political than on racial grounds.

Is there anything which is common between the people living in India and the people living in the other Dominions which is likely to keep us together? Have we any common ideals? Have we any common background which is likely to keep us united? Has England done anything in India which has gained any friends for her in that country? And how far is that spirit of friendship likely to bind us all together for the future?

The British contact with India started with the advent of the East India Company in our land. There will not be many people even in England who will be desirous of defending the methods applied by the agents of the company in collecting money for their directors. We also know that there were men in the British Parliament at that time who condemned these methods. We also know that there were other European adventurers employing similar methods in other parts of the world. Nay, there were men in Europe itself who were exploiting their own masses in as effective a manner as the men operating in foreign lands. For the sins of the East India Company we cannot blame the British Parliament. The Crown only took the administration of India in the year 1858, when by a proclamation Queen Victoria assumed charge of the government, having made a declaration that in future the administration of India would be carried on in the best interests of the people of India. Since that declaration only eighty years have passed, and what has India achieved with British co-operation during that short period, and what is it that the British trustee has handed over to the children of India today when their wardship has ceased?

The best gift of Great Britain to us has been the development of self-governing institutions in India. At the time when Queen

Victoria took over the administration of India we only knew the rule of one man, the theory of the sovereignty of the people was exotic. I found many in Canada who did not realize that today, excepting the army and foreign relations, we have a Constitution in India which gives us full Dominion government as is the case in Canada. We have full provincial autonomy working in the eleven provinces of British India in exactly the same manner as in Canada. The federal part of the Act has not yet come into force, but full legislative provision for it exists. As regards the two reserved subjects, I am not sure in view of what has recently happened whether it is not really in the best interests of the British Empire that the foreign relations of us all should be under one unitary control with provision for adequate consultation. If democracy is to succeed as against dictatorship, our methods for decisions and channels for our work have to be as effective as those of any other country in Europe. The army in India, nearly 200,000 strong, is a great asset to the Empire. The expenditure is covered by the customs revenue of the Government of India, the incidence of which is shared by the residents of British India and Princely India. It will be a sad day when we begin to split up things in India. I have no doubt that the united voice of Princely India and British India will find a solution for the army question. It is not a matter on which we need lose our heads at the moment. The gift of Great Britain to India—namely, the existence of representative institutions—is not the result of political agitation in India during the last few years. Britain has continuously followed a set policy of fostering representative institutions in India from the very beginning of her connection with that country. The district boards with the majority of elected members have been in existence in different provinces from varying dates—1870 onwards. We have had elected Municipal Committees in existence for the last fifty or sixty years or more. We have elected Parliaments and responsible Ministers from the year 1920. No unbiased man will for a moment doubt the honesty of purpose of the British people in gradually handing over the administration of India to her people as they showed their capacity to take over the administrative machinery from them. The achievement of self-government in India has been a very uphill task for us, but no more uphill than was the case in Canada. We have a proverb in India that "even your mother does not give you milk unless you cry for it." Whereas the people of Canada had to fight hard for self-government, we in India have achieved the same result, but through peaceful means. This is no doubt due in great extent to the pacific methods of Mr. Gandhi and the experience gained by Great Britain in her other overseas possessions. But when you look back into the history of the world you will find no example

where the government of a dependent people has been allowed to pass into their hands without bloody revolution. Even the European democracies had to win their liberty through rebellion. One can look round the whole of the world today and nowhere will one find a single European nation that has developed representative institutions in its various possessions in the same way as England has done in India; by representative institutions I mean elected parliaments with powers of legislation. I was once sitting next to a Frenchman at dinner who asked me as to when we were likely to get home rule in India. I explained to him our position under the 1935 Act, which had given us full Dominion government but for the army and foreign relations. Then I praised, and quite sincerely, the great democratic and equality-loving spirit of the French people, and appreciated their friendly treatment of the people over whom they ruled. Then I asked him the name of the town in French North Africa where the parliament sat. I think he knew that I knew that there was none.

We in India greatly appreciate the benefit we have gained by British association, and we know that India without British assistance would never have attained her present economic and political position. Would British India have been any better than the non-British parts of India? Would she have been any better than China or any other Eastern nation? Would she have been any better than any of the Eastern European nations of today? Having travelled through many countries, I can state with confidence that there are few countries in the world that can claim to have provided their people with greater peace and security for trade and commerce than is the case in India.

Again we have in common with the Dominions an educational system which is based on the British model. The British connection has provided us with the *lingua franca* for India—namely, English. A man from North-Western India or from other parts of India can talk to a Madrasee only in English; the language of our legislators, the language of our High Courts, and the official language for correspondence is English. Our Universities and schools are all modelled on the English lines; English is a compulsory second language in all our schools. Our Universities and Colleges are staffed to a great extent by British professors and Indians who have received their degrees at British Universities. We have 2,000 Indian students undergoing education in Great Britain every year. Our thought, political and cultural, has all been shaped in the British mould. The modern educated young Indian is nowhere more at home than he is in the company of his British friends and colleagues. Although our primary education in India is not so far advanced as is the case in European countries for lack of funds, yet in higher education we have

achieved a very high standard. In the Punjab 9·12 persons per 10,000 of population go to the University, as compared with 12·12 persons per 10,000 of population in Great Britain. Our women's movement has gained a great impetus from its impact with British ideas. I do not know of any country in the East where women are making such rapid progress in sharing the responsibility with their men as is the case in India. The Members of the Women's Canadian Club at Montreal were very interested to learn that our new constitution in India provided for women's seats in our provincial parliaments where the electors were also women, women being permitted to seek election from other constituencies also. Their remark was, "Oh, we wish we had some seats reserved for us too."

Our Civil Laws, Laws of Civil and Criminal Procedure, Laws of Contract, Evidence and Insurance, and Company Laws are all codified and based on British principles. Our customary law has been given full scope to develop along modern lines. Our administrative machinery is only different from that of the Dominions where it is superior.

The most important gift which the trustee has handed over to the modern Indian ministries is the administrative machinery in the provincial governments. Our system of law courts and justice has ensured peace and contentment. Without these it would have been impossible to achieve the rule of law and sanctity of contract and property, which are so essential for the industrial progress of every country. Our High Court Judges in their honesty and fairness are second to none in the world. We retire our High Court Judges at 61. I met one in Canada who retired at the age of 92½. The Indian Civil Service, which has been responsible for the administration of the country, though costly, has been the most honest, fair-minded and efficient service in the world. I was ten years a Minister in the Punjab Government, and not once did I hear even a suggestion that a member of the Indian Civil Service, European or Indian, was corrupt or dishonest. You can realize what this has meant to a people where no representative parliaments existed. The co-operation of the Indian Civil Service with the new ministries has been worthy of their great traditions. But when one realizes that the number of the Indian Civil Service in the whole of India today stands at 1,034, now 40 per cent. Indian, one wonders how it was that such a handful of people were able to rule the whole country. The administrative machinery in India, other than the Indian Civil Service and the higher posts in the police, has been manned almost entirely by Indians. If England had not had the willing co-operation of the majority of Indians with her, she could not have ruled the country even for a year.

During one of my tours in the Punjab I asked a peasant what he thought of power having passed from British hands into Indian. He said that he was pleased, but added that to give the devil his due the Englishman's rule was a poor man's rule. "What do you mean?" I said. He replied that under the Englishman's rule the poor and the rich were alike in the eyes of the law. No great personage could attack the honour or property of a poor man without the risk of going to gaol or having a decree passed against him.

My travels in Western countries and in Northern America have convinced me that democracy is a very expensive form of government. Yet we have no better alternative, except perhaps to steady a democratic Government with a permanent service, irremovable yet amenable to discipline and punishment. I do feel that the framers of the Indian constitution, by allowing the continuance of the permanent Indian Services have saved India from all the troubles which arise from the absence of permanent services, as for instance in Canada. In every province in India we have a Public Services Commission, through which all the recruitment is made. No Government servant can be dismissed unless it can be proved that he has done something wrong. In Canada, however, every Government servant holds his office at the pleasure of the Provincial Prime Minister, and he can be removed from his position without the assignment of any cause. He has no redress. A man whose tenure of office is not secure cannot be of the same service to his people as a man who, in addition to the security of his office, has experience of many years behind him in his particular department. I do hope and pray that the permanent Services in India will continue to give their whole-hearted co-operation to their Ministries, irrespective of the political outlook of such Ministries, otherwise there will be a danger of a clash between the Services and the Ministries. We all know that in such event the will of the people is bound to prevail. So far, I am glad to say, the co-operation of the Services and the Ministries has been whole-hearted, and this is one of the most hopeful signs for the success of our democratic institutions that have just come into being.

Our Ministries have inherited from the British trustee a very sound system of taxation, and one only realizes its scientific nature by making comparisons. In India our municipal taxation is either indirect in the form of octroi duties and terminal taxes on things imported by train into municipalities, or direct on the rental value of houses. If a house is not rented it pays no taxes to the municipality. In Canada municipal taxation is on the capital value of landed and house property within the municipal area. In Victoria municipality 50 per cent. of the town sites have been sur-

rendered by the public to the municipality for non-payment of taxes. I met a friend who had built a house costing him 50,000 or 60,000 dollars. This building was empty, yet he had to pay 2,600 dollars a year as a municipal tax. He paid it for three years and then sold the building at a great loss. In Victoria town no one gets the vote unless he pays at least the $1 per annum poll tax. I met a man in Edmonton, an insurance agent, who told me that he was unable to post an agent to that town because no house was available for lease. Naturally, when people are likely to lose their capital by investing money in buildings in municipal areas, why should they risk it? Whereas in Europe public works are started in order to find employment, in Canada the municipal system of taxation seems to cut down building work and increase the number of people on the dole. In British Columbia I was told that with a population of 750,000 souls more than 10 per cent. were on relief. The total provincial revenue was 31 million dollars, more or less the same as the income of the Punjab Provincial Government ruling over 25 million people. But the British Columbia Government were spending 5 million dollars a year on its relief, 3 million direct from the provincial revenues and 2 million from the federal revenues and other sources. Whereas in India our land revenue is based on the income from land, the tax on agricultural land in Canada is based on its capital value. This tax is what we call local rates in India. Agricultural income is liable to income-tax in Canada. This tax works out at about $1 per acre. We have very elaborate rules for estimating the value of crops per acre. After the war several farms were bought by Government in British Columbia and soldiers settled on those farms. Within a year or two 95 per cent. of these people left the farms and swelled the ranks of those living in the cities on relief. A man and wife would get $20 per month. Farming in Canada is a rather difficult proposition. Rainfall is not evenly distributed and in the west often insufficient. If crops are not plentiful the farmer finds a difficulty in paying his taxes and interest on loans taken for buying machinery and the inevitable motor car, which he needs no matter how poor he is for going into the market towns. Machinery he often leaves out in the rain for want of funds for the sheds. The French Canadian uses his horse mainly and is a more efficient farmer. Here again I think our Indian system of colonization may have some useful suggestions for the Canadian Governments. The Punjab Government have now over 4 million acres under perennial irrigation, and the task of settling colonists in these areas has been an enormous one. We usually build roads first and give village sites free of cost to new colonists who live together in groups of villages, and provide irrigation for the land, with the result that not only

do we get high prices for our land but we find that people stick to their holdings. In India we have found sweet subsoil water at 350 feet where the first subsoil water was brackish. It may be the same in Canada. Tube wells could be run by Government seeing that electricity is only a fraction of a cent per unit. I know of quite a few Englishmen living in England with life-long experience of this colonization work in north-western India who could be of great use to the Canadian authorities should they choose to investigate methods of creating settlements in Canada under conditions which would be so congenial that the farmers would stay. Canada is a very rich country, and as such naturally its debt is high—$690 per person, as against $500 per head in the U.S.A. It includes the federal, provincial and municipal debts. Some municipalities spend 50 per cent. of their annual revenue in payment of interest charges. The floating of forty-year bonds by municipalities and provincial Governments is a very common practice. Although there is a great deal to be said for providing long-term amenities, yet such heavy indebtedness leaves little room for further borrowing by future generations. It is a generally accepted principle that wherever there is a large income from land the indebtedness of the farmer is heaviest, as is the case in Prussia or in the district of Lyallpur in the Punjab. Heavy debt only shows how rich Canada is.

The British trustee has handed over to the children of India an enormous amount of wealth intact. There was a time in India when we used to think that the Englishman filled his ships with corn and gold and took these away to England as gifts and tribute. To make a confession, in spite of my education I used to entertain similar doubts till January, 1921, when for the first time was placed before the Punjab Legislative Council a copy of the detailed budget. It was then that we realized that not an ounce of gold or a bushel of corn had left Indian shores unless it was bought in the open market and paid for. All the lands and forests have been preserved honestly; not one square mile has been given away to any Englishman by way of a gift or tribute. All the mineral wealth in the whole of the continent of India belongs to the State, no matter who owns the surface earth. I have great admiration for the national parks of Canada, like those at Banff and Jasper. There are no such parks in India, and I hope it will not be long before our Governments create similar parks in our forests. No doubt the Englishman has benefited by the opportunity to invest his money in India, yet without that money India would not have developed industrially as she has done. Amongst many loans, there is one that I know of in the Punjab for 80 crores of rupees borrowed in England for irrigation purposes at 3 per cent. On many occasions there has been talk in the Punjab Government of

repaying this loan, but we have never been able to raise the money at 3 per cent. If English investors have benefited, so have we, for the Punjab Government makes an average return of 12 per cent. on the capital invested in the canals, which all belong to the State. In future only that province in India will make industrial progress which is able to follow a steady policy of taxation and which gives a sense of confidence to the public investor. The English have constructed over 43,000 miles of railways, 80 per cent. of which belong to the State, and the others are gradually being bought as their leases expire. Here again I think India has a good example to show to her sister Dominions. I was much impressed by that pompous futility—I mean the railway system in Canada. The Canadian Pacific Railway, the most comfortable railway in the world, with most luxurious hotels and steamships and most charming staff, has not paid a cent to the ordinary shareholders for years, because the Canadian Government of that day decided to support the construction of a competitive system, now known as the Canadian National Railways, on which the Federal Parliament, I was told by a Finance Department official, lose 12 million dollars a year. I was told by another man that the loss is really 60 million dollars a year, counting the loss of interest on the capital invested. At one place over 200 miles of these railways run parallel to each other. In some places you can see the two stations within a stone's throw of each other. Whose energy is it that is being lost? Canadian. Whose money is it that is being wasted? Canadian. And yet I was surprised to see that there was no attempt being made to face the situation and stop this wasteful competition in the country. I suppose the real trouble in Canada is that they have so much wealth that 100 million dollars a year is neither here nor there. A sum of this magnitude could easily cause a revolution in any other country.

With British co-operation India has industrially advanced so that today she stands among the first eight most important industrial countries in the world. This progress would never have been possible without peace and the rule of law which a strong central Government was able to provide in India. Today India produces in her own mills 85 per cent. of the cloth she consumes. India is fiscally as autonomous as any other Dominion. During the last eight years or so we have put up more than 160 modern sugar mills, with the result that we are producing over 1 million tons of white sugar a year, thus meeting completely the whole internal demand of the country. We are one of the largest producers of raw materials in the world. There is not a raw material which cannot be found in India. Although our mineral wealth is not equal to that of Canada, yet I have no doubt that in the future our mineral resources will increase. We are today the

largest tobacco-producing country in the world, growing 24 per cent. of the world crop. India is the largest producer of pig iron and coal in the British Empire outside Great Britain, and with all the new steel factories that are being erected, we hope soon to catch up Canada in steel production.

I was much impressed by the forest and mineral wealth of that country. They seem to possess an unlimited amount of wood. A timber contractor can take a lease from Government at $6 per square mile. He has to spend another $6 per square mile on fire prevention staff. In India in some forests he would have to pay per cubic foot of wood taken away. With Empire preference, Canadian timber can be sold in England, which is her largest market, against Swedish and Russian timber. Re-afforestation is only being carried out to a very small extent. Stumps over 10 feet high are being left in the ground in the hope that in twenty years' time they will rot away. This wasteful system of cutting timber is only justified by the fact that Canadian timber could not otherwise be sold in European markets. I have no doubt that Canada is already one of the leading mineral producing countries in the world. Their quantities of liquid gas, oil, gold, copper, silver and other valuable materials seem to be unlimited. One man told me that a visitor from Europe landed in Canada on a shooting expedition, no doubt having read advertisements in hotel magazines about the polar bears. When he landed at the railway station he asked for the name of the place where he could shoot a polar bear. My friend told him that he had not seen many polar bears about, but he had seen several blind pigs and wild cats—a blind pig being a bootlegger's store and a wild cat being an oil well without oil. No country in the world today is safer for investment of funds than Canada. Her wealth is enormous.

The provincial administrative departments inherited from the British authorities are of great interest.

(*a*) Police Department. In Canada they have a federal police force, which looks after the excise and certain other laws; there is the provincial police force which operates in the villages and rural areas; there is the municipal force, which operates within municipal limits; and there are the private railway police forces. In the provinces of India we have one police system under the provincial Government, which works not only for the rural areas, municipalities and provincial Governments, but also for the central Government, and which co-operates with all the Indian State police. It also works on the railways. It provides very large cadres for permanent Government servants. The security of office and chances of promotion provide careers for highly qualified men in India.

(*b*) Hospitals. In the Punjab, to which province my experience

is limited, there is no village which is more than ten miles away from a rural dispensary, and there are excellent hospitals at the headquarters of all districts, with a central hospital at the provincial capital attached to a medical college containing 1,500 students. All these hospitals are paid for by Government. Any man can walk into these hospitals and when discharged walk out without paying a cent. The Canadian hospitals largely depend upon charity. The financial position of several must be very precarious, because during the short time that I was there I noticed at least in one paper a request for $173,000 if a certain hospital was not to be closed the next day.

(*c*) Of the other provincial departments, agriculture, co-operative societies, excise, education and veterinary deserve special mention. In the Punjab we have an agricultural college with over 1,000 students and a thousand-acre farm attached to it. A very large number of our high schools have demonstration farms attached to them. At the agricultural college research has been carried on, and one of our officers some years ago invented a new wheat called 8A. This is sown all over the province now, having trebled our outturn per acre, which is the same as in Canada—namely, an average of about 12 bushels per acre. (A bushel equals 30 seers.) The Canadian Government is paying 80 cents per bushel of wheat to the farmer at the sea-port or lake-port. The market price is about 53 cents. The farmer has to pay about 17 cents for the railway freight, and he actually gets about 63 cents per bushel. The fruit growers and pig producers complained that they were not getting a similar subsidy. Our Government in India would in similar circumstances bring into use the rules regarding remission of land revenue on account of crop failures. In the Punjab we have now in one district under experiment a system of sliding scale land revenue, which rises and falls in accordance with the market price of agricultural products. Financing a particular agricultural product sometimes leads to an extension of its cultivation and thus aggravates the problem to be solved. The Punjab Agricultural Department has invented a new cotton called 4F American, about an inch staple, the outturn of which per acre is the same as it is in U.S.A.—namely, 250 pounds. I was surprised to learn that some of the friends with whom I was riding on their farms did not know of a crop called gram, which is widely grown in India and supplied to the horses in the Army and to the cattle in the villages, being split first, soaked in water overnight, and then given. If the cattle are fed on dry gram and afterwards drink water, they burst. Soaked gram is a cure for tight boots. For horse-gram has very strong bone-forming properties, while cattle give more milk when fed on it. It has deep roots, and grows in tracts where there is very slight

rainfall, which is the sort of thing which is needed for the prairies of Canada. I was also surprised to learn that they did not know of a new cure we have invented in northern India for "Sarah," a horse disease. Injection is a certain cure for this fever, which gradually kills horses, and which is sometimes contracted by eating grass in swamps. There is a swamp horse fever in Canada, too, and it would be well to get into touch with Indian authorities on the subject, particularly the Veterinary Department in the Punjab. In the Punjab we have a 40,000-acre farm from which we produce first-class bulls for free distribution and use amongst villages in rural areas. This prevents the growth of the industry amongst farmers themselves. In Canada the Government buy young pedigree bulls from farmers at heavy prices and give them to other farmers living in out-of-the-way places in exchange for their old bulls, which the Government sell at what price they can get. I feel that this system might well be adopted by provincial Governments in India. No real improvement in cattle-breeding will take place unless the farmers—and not the Government alone—are the producers of first-class stock for milk or ploughing.

In the Punjab there is a very wide organization of agricultural officers and subordinates, who go to the villages advising farmers regarding their crops, selecting certain areas for seed, buying up crops and storing them for future distribution as seed without profit. The Canadians were very much impressed by what was being done in India in this respect.

It was news to them to learn that in the Punjab we have had a Co-operative Department working since 1910. It consists mainly of co-operative credit societies run by farmers in the villages, supervised by Government inspectors, who all belong to agricultural classes, with the result that today in the Punjab there are several societies that are advancing loans to their members without interest. In the central provincial co-operative bank at Lahore there is nearly £6,000,000 awaiting investment.

I was much impressed by educational systems in Canada. Each Provincial University consists of what we call one College with so many faculties, as against our Indian Universities serving areas of thousands of square miles, affiliating Colleges and serving as examining bodies. They have their sectarian institutions in Canada as we have in India. In Toronto I saw that the various churches have separate buildings within the same University. The technical college system of Canada might well be adopted in India. These colleges contain between 1,000 and 1,500 students. It is a twelve-year course, at the end of which the students sit for matriculation and afterwards go to the University if they so desire. Alternatively they are well trained as mechanics or elec-

tricians, or qualified for the staffs of the many broadcasting stations. These technical institutes are modelled on American lines. The twelve-year course may be compared with our ten-year course in India. Ten years is not long enough for a man's education, and that is probably the reason why a very large number of our men find it necessary to go to a University after matriculation.

The Excise Department in Canada is of special interest to India. Many of our provincial Governments are now interested in introducing prohibition in India. There is one province embarked on this policy, which has to face the prospect of a loss of 40 per cent. of its revenue. Canada tried prohibition for a number of years and discovered that they were only encouraging bootleggers to make the money which ought rightfully to go into the public exchequer, and they have now a controlled system of sale of liquor. It is sold only in Government stores. You have to buy what you can get and not complain. Nobody can buy alcohol unless he holds a licence, costing 50 cents to $2 per head, which in itself is a source of revenue. You cannot get drinks served with meals in public places like hotels, nor can you have drinks served in your rooms in hotels. These may be regarded as restrictions on the educated classes, but for all and sundry Government has provided beer parlours, which are open all day long. The Canadians say that they had to stop drinks in hotels, restaurants and public places on account of thirsty American tourists, but perhaps the honours were easy.

The information given on our administration in India is designed to show to our colleagues in the British Dominions that we have a great deal in common with them, not only in our culture and thought, but also in our administrative machinery. I have come back from Canada full of admiration for our system of government. But this does not imply that if there is a paradise on earth I have discovered it in India. We are a very poor country, millions of people do not get enough to eat or to wear, and there is a great leeway to be made up in industrial progress if we are to raise the standard of living in our country. An enormous amount of work awaits our new ministries. Production per acre must be increased as must the production of milk. Raw materials must be cheapened, bringing down costs of production particularly of oil, petrol, electricity and coal. But my confidence in our leaders and the determination of our people is so strong that, given peace and good government, I believe that India will make very rapid advances during the next fifteen or twenty years. When I state that the vast majority of people are happy to be inside the Empire, there is behind it the recognition of all the great work that England has done for India. All that the Indians

claim is that they should occupy an honourable and equal position as partners within the British Empire. Beyond that nobody wants to go, and now that Dominion government has virtually been given in India there is every reason to believe that the Indian public will continue happily to march side by side with their fellow-citizens in the British Empire for the mutual progress and prosperity of us all.

There were people in Canada who asked my views about the threatening political situation in Europe and the prospect of war, and they asked me what the position of India would be. I told them that there was not the least doubt that India would answer the call of duty and stand by her King as she did during the last war. The Indian Princes and the Punjab through its Prime Minister offered assurances, though none were needed. The Punjab supplies nearly 80 per cent. of the recruits for the army, and gave 500,000 recruits during the last war and that without conscription; India gave 1,400,000 men for the Great War. In 1914 we were fighting only for our King; the Government in our country was technically in the hands of a foreign bureaucracy. Today we would be fighting not only for the King, but also for ourselves, because the Government of the country is in our own hands, and herein was one of the reasons why so many Princes and other leaders in India made public declarations that they would support England. When I told an audience of about 500 in one of the large towns in Canada that Indian leaders had declared their feelings about the war to a greater extent than the Canadians had done, this appealed to them so much that it took quite a time for the applause to end. This shows how sound the heart of Canada is. I have not the least doubt that should there be the occasion and the need Canadians would come forward to a man as they did during the last war.

There are 3½ million French Canadians out of a total population of 11 million. They form the vast majority of the population of the province of Quebec and are to be found in large communities in other parts of Canada, particularly in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Northern Ontario. They are whole-heartedly Canadian and British. As a matter of fact, even the English Canadians admitted that it was the French who kept Canada within the British Empire during the American wars, otherwise the English section might have gone over to the U.S.A. Today the French and the English-speaking sections of the population in Canada have settled down peacefully as brothers and colleagues. There should be no reason why the Hindus and the Mussulmans should not do the same in India given the spirit of "give" and not "take."

I have brought back two disappointing memories. One of

these is that two Lieutenant-Governors, who are the King's representatives and exercise prerogative on his behalf, are without official residences, these having been closed down because the provincial ministries refused the vote for their upkeep. They are appointed by the federal Prime Minister, and their salaries are paid by the Federal Parliament. The second disappointment was that somehow or other the Canadian people had at one time resolved against honours being conferred on Canadians. One Prime Minister did go back on that policy, but the "no honours" policy again prevails. Several people complained to me that, in view of the fact that no honours and distinctions could be conferred on Canadians, it was difficult to distinguish between a venal official and a man who had rendered honest and loyal service and remained poor all his life.

Canada as a whole has left a very fine impression on my mind. They are a very refined and cultured people, and it is a pleasure to be in their company. They are princes of politeness, and some of them in riches no less than our princes in India. I hunted with a friend who has recently put up a house worth £100,000, and I rode one of his hunters worth at least 400 guineas. In their charm and in simplicity they are unmatched, and their hospitality is unbounded. They have an enormous heritage with very few people to share it. Nothing much is being done to induce more people to come in or to settle the unemployed on the land. Taxation is very heavy; the provincial and the central taxes combined come to nearly 85 per cent. of the income of a man with an income of a million dollars a year or more. It really surprised me that Canadians sought wealth. Perhaps they are patriotic, and some of them feel that they must remain millionaires in order to find money for relief in spite of the alluring prospect of a comfortable life at $20 a month under the relief system. Yet the financial position in Canada is sound. Mineral resources are unlimited and credit facilities easy. Their national debt is high, but not as compared with their potential assets. All the Canadian people are thoroughly British in their hearts and proud of the fact that they are within the British Empire. This Empire feeling is notably strong on the west coast of British Columbia. They are gratified that in India, with her ancient culture and civilization, they now have a contented partner whose commercial value as a consuming market of 400 million people is enormous, particularly under the Empire preference.

A BOMBAY DIARY OF 1838

By K. de B. Codrington

Mrs. Postans in her *Western India*, published in 1839, devotes a chapter to education in India, as embodied in those pioneer Bombay establishments, the Elphinstone College and the Native Education Society's Schools. "The Elphinstone College stands next to the Racket Court," says Murray's *Handbook to India*, issued in 1857, "at the entrance of the native town beyond the Esplanade . . . a plain building with two stories." It owed its existence to the fact that certain "rich inhabitants of Bombay met together in the old theatre next to the fire-engine office in the Fort" in 1826, at the close of Mountstuart Elphinstone's period of office, and subscribed between them £26,000 as a testimonial to his character and services. This sum was more than enough to defray the cost of a "fine service of plate," and, when that was done, with the Company's co-operation, to found the Elphinstone Institution, or College, as it came to be known. The already existing Native Education Society's Schools were situated near "the great bazaars, at the eastern end of the Esplanade," says Mrs. Postans. The library was "a splendid apartment, fitted with a good collection of useful works, with globes, maps, and papers," and fine portraits of Sir John Malcolm and Elphinstone, the latter by Lawrence. Here four hundred scholars were shepherded, though we are told that other subsidiary schools brought the total number of units of early nineteenth-century young India who looked to the Society for enlightenment, to approximately fourteen hundred. Among them were distributed eighteen scholarships, the monuments of the beneficence of such men as Lord Clare and Sir Edwin West.

The tone of these establishments was high and carefully preserved. Brahmins were welcome, but no "son of a tradesman," or, it appears, any caste below Kayasths. Mrs. Postans comments on this state of affairs with severity, but not without pious optimism: "It is impossible to consider this exclusive system as other than an evil in an institution which should be generally beneficial to all classes. . . . The wisdom of men educated in these schools will probably, however, induce a change in the prejudice of the nation's aristocracy, and their posterity may be less anxious to exclude their fellow-men from the advantages of which they have in their own case so largely participated."

It is evident that the fame of these schools was not little in the land. When Mrs. Postans attended the public examinations at the Society's Schools, she met "a singularly intelligent high-caste native" whose name she gives as *Soolochinam Moodeliar*, wrongly defining the latter word as the name of a cow-keeper caste. He himself had been educated at the Rajah's School at Tinnevelly, where General Fraser, the late Resident at Travancore, had done much for the "improvement of the people." It appears that, Fraser having been transferred to Hyderabad, the school languished for want of a patron. Mrs. Postans's acquaintance had, therefore, brought his son to the fountain-head of learning at Bombay.

This boy, aged fourteen years, at his father's special wish kept a diary during his schooldays, two manuscript volumes of which have survived. The author writes his name, T. Vedadrisadasan, and mentions his grand-uncle, T. Vedachalam Mudaliar, who had taught him the elements of both Tamil and English. Mrs. Postans's *Soolochinam* is mistaken, but may have been his mother's name, for it is feminine; many of her other details are equally inaccurate. However, it is plain that the boy came of an enlightened family. He says, in the summary of his life with which he begins, that he was born in 1820, and that after having passed through his grandfather's hands he studied English "privately at my father's place" under Messrs. William and Graham. This seems to have been at Trichendur. In 1833 he was sent to Nagercoil, where he was placed under "the kind care of Mr. Roberts, then master of the London Missionary School there." Here he studied "arithmetic, geography, the use of the globes, and a little history."

The Missionary Bungalow at Nagercoil had been founded in 1818 by the Rev. Charles Mead, under the protection of Colonel Munro, who was then Resident at the Court of Travancore, and was able to influence the Rani not only so as to obtain permission for the enterprise, but to further it by a state endowment of rice-fields to the capital value of 5,000 rupees. On New Year's Day, 1819, the foundations of the church were laid by Mead's assistant, the Rev. Richard Knill, and great activity ensued. The church was capable of holding 2,000 persons, but already, within a few months, 3,000 souls had "placed themselves under Christian instruction." In 1822 it was reckoned that the Christian community numbered 5,000, divided into many congregations; it appears no less than forty-eight of them. In 1830 there were a hundred and one congregations, "the Christians . . . exceeding 4,000 persons." There were also ninety-seven schools, with 3,100 scholars. The figures quoted in the various accounts do not altogether agree, but it must be remembered that the problem as to when the title of Christian should be bestowed upon a convert is a debatable

one in mission policy. The "converts," such as they were, were chiefly drawn from the low-caste Shanars.

Mr. Roberts must have been a man of some personality, for when he moved to Trivandrum, the boy's father preferred that he should continue under him, and he accordingly left Nagercoil. This was in 1835, when Mr. Roberts was "invited by His Highness the Maharaja to establish a school." It seems that the missionaries had long sought a foothold in the capital. Under the London Missionary Society, Christianity had been identified with the outcastes, those who could adventure all, having nothing to lose. In 1838, however, under the continued patronage of General Fraser, the Raja had granted permission for the erection of a mission building upon a piece of waste land, and Mr. Cox was called to labour in the new field. With him, presumably, was the respected Mr. Roberts.

At Trivandrum, therefore, Mr. Roberts dispensed illumination in such matters as "the principle and proportions in the first six books of Euclid, according to the Geometry of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations; a little Natural Philosophy, etc." The real position of the writer of the diary is hinted at in his naïve confession that he was "engaged more in teaching than in studying." However, he boasts of progress made. "Twice or thrice, public examinations took place, attended by the Raja; the principal members of his family; several of his courtiers, and many European gentlemen; and on every occasion I was fortunate enough to get a medal, or one of the highest awards distributed."

In October, 1838, the great decision was taken and our author and his father set out for Bombay. They travelled adventurously by sea, via Palamcottah, Tuticorin, and Cochin, arriving on December 16 after a voyage of 42 days. For three successive days the boy faced the Elphinstone College examiners and was rewarded by being elected a scholar in the second class at Rs. 30 a month, which emoluments his father, being a man of means, resigned, a gold medal being substituted by the College.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an educational battle royal in India between the two diametrically opposed camps into which the enlightened opinion of the day was divided. The Orientalists, under the influence of the great Sir William Jones, Colebrook, and Wilson, upheld the newly discovered glories of Sanskrit literature, conceiving well of Indian culture. Until 1813 British India had been a closed ground to missionary effort. Conversion was obviously a dangerous process; if possible at all, it must complicate things considerably; in any case, zeal was not yet fashionable in the outward marches of the Empire.

It is true that in the face of official opposition, the Danish settlement of Serampore had harboured Carey, Marshman, and Ward, and that in the south Schwartz had lived his amazing life, introducing evangelism into the dark chambers of Indian diplomacy. Moreover, the Orientalists themselves were not averse to accepting the results of the missionaries' linguistic learning and the voluminous products of their printing presses. In point of fact they had the educational field to themselves; the distinctive mark of the beast—official action—had not yet branded newly born Indian education as its own. Breaking virgin soil, Carey welcomed independence: "Let not Government touch my work; it can only succeed in making hypocrites. I wish to make Christians."

But Wilberforce was in arms, and the hosts of Clapham were gathering. India was no longer to be left to "the providential protection of Brahma," though Lord Teignmouth in retirement remained a temporizer and assured his peers that the question was one of "indifference." In 1812, Castlereagh's resolution concerning the country's duty with regard to the promotion of the interests and happiness of the "native inhabitants" of the British Dominions was carried by an overwhelming majority, and so set the key in which the revised Charter of 1817 was framed. Problems of conversion were more or less passed over, or rather left to the missionaries; but education was accepted as a duty which would have to be faced sooner or later. Meanwhile, a bishop had actually appeared in Calcutta. Duff founded his college, and was bidden to a Government House reception by Lord William Bentinck. At the same time, new support from an entirely unforeseen direction came forward in the person of Ram Mohan Roy. Westernization was, in fact, popular.

The time was critical, a clarion call was on the air. The academic sentimentality of the Orientalists was challenged by the missionaries' strenuous insistence on education as the true *preparatio evangelica*. The truth of the gospel, and the truth of the social ideals, tastes, and sympathies of those who presented it, were not two truths but one truth. There could be no divorce between the reality of Christian conversion and the realities of the early nineteenth-century Christian English life. The way was straight, and the use of the globes and the geometry of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge must be the means of grace.

Our author displays it all in detail. The curriculum at the newly founded Elphinstone College was a wide one. "In the mornings from eight to nine, I study with Mr. Henderson at his house either French, or history and geometry. From eleven to three I attend the College and learn mathematics and history. From four to half-past five I either attend Mr. Bell's lecture on

chemistry or remain at home. From seven to nine I attend lectures on different subjects or visit any of my friends."

There came into existence at about this time (June 1, 1839, is the first date mentioned) an organization among the students known as the Juvenile Improvement Society. The agenda of the first meeting comprised the reading of two essays—one on *Copper* and the other on *Sivaji*, and mutual criticism. On the 15th it was resolved to ask Mr. Murphy, one of the teaching staff, to honour the Society with his presence. He was tracked to the Hendersons' bungalow and received the invitation in due form. Unfortunately Mr. Murphy was unwell and his attendance was impossible, but he promised to attend the next meeting. To this conversation Mr. and Mrs. Henderson and Mr. Mitchell, all members of the staff, were witnesses and all promised their support. Wherupon the deputation withdrew and reported to the Society, which was still in earnest session. After which there was only time to criticize a part of an essay on geography.

The next day an extraordinary meeting was held and "a few regulations" were drawn up and passed. On the 21st there was another extraordinary meeting, followed by a five-hour session. On the 22nd Messrs. Henderson, Mitchell, and Murphy attended the Society's meeting, and the writer of the diary made a speech asking them to become honorary members of the Society. The three gentlemen then returned thanks and Mr. Mitchell spoke at length "about a similar Society he had joined at Aberdeen, and kindly undertook to frame some regulations . . . with the assistance of Mr. Henderson." On September 7 their handiwork becomes evident. The regulations were accepted and confirmed, and one of the three worthy gentlemen was elected President, though which is not stated. The writer becomes Treasurer. There is perhaps a lament in the statement that "even the name of the Society was altered and called 'The Native Improvement Society'"—from all of which it is evident that the Juvenile Improvement Society was a very tender bud cut short by the organizing ability of the three gentlemen who had been so rashly invited to become honorary members!

Henceforward the proceedings of the Society were in safe hands. Essays were read and criticized as of old, but the great *tour de force* of these fortnightly gatherings was a debate. The subjects were carefully selected and the whole affair was conducted on well-thought-out lines. The list of subjects is a trifle monotonous, but the determination to improve is unmistakable. The first evening was devoted to "whether Alexander or Cæsar was the greater person." Thenceforward the series extends uniformly through Demosthenes and Cicero, Cato and Seneca, etc. Later, we find an innovation: "Among the Animal, Vege-

table, and Mineral kingdoms, which of them display most the wisdom of God?" Later still, a falling off in numbers is chronicled.

With regard to the *personnel* of the College, Mr. Henderson acted as our author's tutor and adviser. Mr. Mitchell was responsible for the teaching of chemistry and physics, and seems to have aroused a certain amount of enthusiasm. Mr. Bell is also mentioned, as teaching scientific subjects. The great Dr. Wilson seems to have ranged at large from ornithology to anthropology under the guise of a lecture upon the aborigines of Gujurat. Among the books read are Robertson's *Account of the Hindoos*, with whose chapters on the institution of caste and on religion perfect agreement is expressed; Shore's *Life of Sir William Jones* ("I admire . . . his perseverance and quick perception . . . astonishing and exceedingly interesting"); *The Life of Dr. Paley*; Isabella Milne's *The Titles and Offices of Christ*; Jervis's *History of the Survey of India*; Esdale's *History of the Marathas*; Arnott's *Physics*; Mrs. Postans's account of Cutch; Gleig's *History of British India*; Bingley's *Useful Knowledge*; Bland's *Algebra*; a Conversation on Natural Philosophy in Marathi; Tyler's account of the *Laws of Lycurgus*; Rollins's *Ancient History*; Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* ("as I had never yet read any novel or tale").

The diary reveals a varied life. On July 18 the author attends the Governor's Durbar at Parel. "Sir J. R. Carnac" received "all native gentlemen with great kindness and enquired into the welfare of the people." On returning home with his fellow-student, Narayan, experiments in the production of carbonic acid gas are carried out. He frequently goes to the dispensary, where anatomical demonstrations and operations were a popular side-show at the time. On one occasion we read, "The doctor bled a Parsee in my presence, and thereby made me almost sick." A soda-water machine is inspected, and Dr. Brenan's accounts of ice are hailed as "wonderful." Comment and even criticism are, however, not wanting. There is a ball at Government House "for the celebration of the anniversary of Her Majesty's Coronation." It was a momentous occasion: "This is the first ball that I ever saw. It was exceedingly pleasing to see the ladies dancing with gentlemen. Their motion was very graceful and elegant, and it is *indescribable*. I really admire them. I wonder how many years it will take for the native ladies to rise to this stage of freedom. I think it will never take place. However, I must acknowledge that some part of the dance was not very modest and decent in my eyes, but doubtless habit would reconcile me to it." However, the young Liberal remains a Hindu; Robertson on the Hindu religion is approved of: ". . . the Hindoos in

reality worship only One, the Supreme Being, and . . . all gods and elements are no more than mere emanations of this Being." The pedagogue sometimes provokes unforeseen reactions. Mr. Henderson, on July 22, delivers himself of a lecture on the French, "who, it appears, never think of past or future events, but spend their time in luxury. They seem to be very fond of dancing and public shows. They spend the greater part of Sundays also in these things. . . . I cannot conceive how it is that missionaries do not endeavour to convert those who profess the Christian religion, but still do not act according to it." All the same, the next day, the radiation of heat and light is found "very interesting." Above all, apart from this hotchpotch of pedagogic enlightenment, more radical forces are at work. Of "my dear friend Dr. Brenan's death," he writes: "He was suddenly attacked by apoplexy and sunk in everlasting slumber. Oh! The horror of that giant *death* is indescribable. I pity poor Mrs. Brenan. Both he and she were very kind to me. . . ." This after only a month's acquaintance.

His first vacation in August was a great adventure: "I left Bombay at 8 o'clock a.m., sailed with Mr., Mrs., and Miss Orlebar and Dr. and Mrs. Hardy on a banderboat down to Manduvi, in about two hours. The sea was very rough and the ladies and myself were very sick. . . . The ladies travelled in palanquins, and the two gentlemen and myself rode on ponies. After a tedious journey (the road was *very* bad and muddy), we reached Kolaba (our long-wished-for place) at about 5½ p.m." The next morning he and Mr. Orlebar walk on the beach and enjoy the breeze. Mr. Hardy shot some birds, which are stuffed by the ladies; plants and insects are examined; "beautiful minerals" are identified; he learns to shoot. "I was very much rejoiced this day, being the first day I fired off any fowling-piece." They visit a nearby school, where there were boys of different castes and a number of Jews, including twelve girls. The four read Hebrew, which was found to be a "highly pleasing" language. An expedition is made to Chouly, sixteen miles from Alibagh. On August 29 a festival unknown to the Southerner was celebrated. "The three daughters of the deceased Rajah of Kolaba, attended by the Diwan and all their retinue, went to the beach at 3 p.m., and threw into the sea eleven cocoanuts covered with thin gold leaves. The procession was very gay. The girls were seated on an elephant. After the eleven cocoanuts were thrown, all the people of the country threw each a cocoanut into the ocean. This ceremony is to indicate that the vessels may begin to sail again and that the monsoon is at an end." The first volume of Robertson is finished, on the whole with approval, except that the manners and customs of the Rajputs are confounded "with

those of others that occupy the different parts of the extensive tract, Hindoostan."

Returning to Bombay on October 7, the last day of the Dasera feast, he goes for a drive with two friends. "This day, after 7 p.m., the Hindoos visit their friends, taking with them a quantity of leaves of the Bauhinia Variegata (*in Tamil, Mandara Ilai*). When they give each other one of these leaves, (they) embrace each other three times and converse for a few minutes. This is a peculiar custom and one which I never before heard of. The leaf was called (Sona) gold leaf." On the 27th "I prepared a solution of different salts for crystallization. I saw this day some jugglers play with serpents, etc. It was an extremely astonishing sight. In the afternoon I was engaged in constructing a *camera obscura*."

On November 1 "the College and school students got leave for the whole of next week, being the Diwali holidays. The West scholars and a few other students left the school at 3 p.m., loaded with books, with the intention of reading them during the ensuing week. I wonder whether any of them will look even at the title pages." . . . On the 3rd all the rich merchants' houses were "beautifully illuminated" and hung with "pictures . . . without any regularity or taste"; the "grand illuminations and fireworks" are continued the next evening, which was, however, spent in Mr. Henderson's house, where he met Major Ferris, of the Survey of India. "A great number of people anointed themselves with oil this day also. On enquiry I found that they have been anointing themselves these three days with different kinds of perfumed oils between four and five o'clock in the morning. This is a custom quite different from that of the people of Southern India."

On the 16th tragedy again ensued; "this day died my most amiable friend, Vamanrao Trimbak Kibe . . . the best mathematician in the College. . . . I really pity the poor, miserable widow whom he left behind him in the bloom of her youth, being about fourteen years. Oh! Of what infinite advantage it would be if remarriage were allowed among the Hindoos!"

On December 7 an excursion is made to Elephanta, and again on the 10th; no mention is made of the caves or their sculptures, but "a few good specimens of crystallized quartz" were picked up. Some days are spent at the Parel Botanical Gardens, collecting and describing plants. On the 13th "I wrote to Collector Eden at Tinnevelly a very long letter chiefly on Female Education in India." On the 20th there was a "very grand" fair at Mahim. On the 23rd the steamer *Meteor* was launched, and on the 27th "a very dreadful operation" (the amputation of an arm) was

witnessed at the dispensary. On the 30th the writer faints at the sight of an operation on a woman's eye.

On January 4, 1840, the entry is a full one: "I had some conversation with Dadoba Pandurang on the present conditions of the Hindoos. I was glad to see that he reflected and thought much more than any of my friends on that important subject . . . I read a part of his journal, published in *The Christian Spectator*. . . . About 8 p.m. I went to Dr. Mackie's house and was there introduced to Miss Emma Roberts, the famous lady who has written several works about different parts of India. . . . A few other ladies and gentlemen were there. Cursetjee Jemsetjee, to my great surprise, drank with them without any hesitation. He did not even observe the Parsee ceremony of covering his hand with a handkerchief before holding the glass. Some of the Europeans, on my refusing to join them, asked me when I would leave off my superstitions with regard to such things as eating and drinking with them. The answer was that I would like to leave off my superstitions first with regard to things of much greater importance than that of mere eating and drinking with them. After their supper one of the ladies played and sang a few tunes on the piano. Although I was told that she was the best singer in Bombay, I am sorry to say that I did not like her singing. But as for the tunes played on the instrument, I am in want of words to express the pleasure I felt on the occasion. . . . One of the gentlemen asked Cursetjee when he would have the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Cursetjee play on the piano. Cursetjee then answered: 'The time is fast approaching.'" On the 8th Miss Roberts visited the schools "and examined two of Mr. Bell's classes."

On the 15th there were amateur theatricals, *Fortune's Frolic* and *Two Strings to Your Bow* being presented. "I was exceedingly pleased with the sight, as I had never before seen anything like it. . . . I wish the rich natives of this island would take an interest in such amusements and get them exhibited more frequently." On the 25th there was a grand review on the Esplanade, in the presence of Sir J. Carnac. On February 4 the following significant entry is made: "I am surprised to see the newspapers here still speak of the conversion of the natives by Dr. Wilson." On the 26th there is an entry of note: "I went to Dr. Wilson's house in the evening. Dr. Duff, a missionary that arrived in Bombay per the *Zenobia*, delivered an address to the natives. He spoke with great energy. I never before heard a speech delivered so fervently and with so great vigour. Although I did not like his mode of argument, still I am sure it has made a deep impression on the minds of many of those who were present. Upwards of forty natives were in the room."

On March 10 the College examinations began and lasted till the 14th. The writer makes the bald statement that "he did not join them." That year the Holi and Muharram festivals coincided and he seems to have spent most of his time abroad, seeing the sights. He certainly saw the "Thabooths" and heard the reading at the Mosque in the Bhindy Bazaar by one of the Mussulman interpreters of the High Court. He found the ceremony very "affecting."

As a result of an examination on the 16th, the writer gains as prizes Gleig's *History of British India* and Bingley's *Useful Knowledge*. On the 17th he was at the ball given to Lord Keane at the Town Hall and "was there introduced to Lady Awdry by Sir John Awdry—and had a short conversation with Sir James Carnac." On that day also he examined Mr. Campbell's air-gun. On the 19th he writes that the Holi was still in full swing. On the 21st he took the chair at the Native Improvement Society, who decided that Sivaji was greater than Aurangzeb.

On June 28 he saw ice for the first time. On the 4th the monsoon broke. On the 20th "within the Compound of Government House (at Malabar Point) I saw a ruined temple, which I was told on enquiry was the old Valkeshwar temple. That being the furthest point of that part of the island and consequently very airy, I believe the Government took it into its head to build a house there without taking any notice of the Hindoo temple. Perhaps the natives were not then bold enough to show any objection to the measure taken by the Government. The *Ling* in the temple seems to have been removed to some other place. I observed a few images (I believe belonging to the temple) placed in a row adjacent to the Government House. This I suppose was done by the dictates or the fancy of some wise Governor. However, I see that the present Governor has ordered the house to be sold. I hope some of the Hindoos will buy it and keep the temple unmolested by Europeans."

On the 24th he goes to hear Dr. Wilson lecture at half-past six. "On my going there, I found that even that hour was not early enough, for several had already taken their seats. However, it was about seven-thirty before the Doctor ascended the pulpit. During these three-quarters of an hour everything was in a profound silence. I could hear only the noise caused by the friction of the punka that was gracefully waving over the heads of the several gentlemen and ladies who were as early as myself. At last the Doctor gave an account of his journey and described the manners and habits of some of the wild tribes of Gujurat and the Southern Mahrashtra, whom he called the aborigines of India. By the time he was at the end of his lecture the meeting consisted of about 150 souls, of whom were a great number of Hindoos."

On July 6th "a Marwaddy of this place, having got a prize in a lottery," distributed sweetmeats to the boys. On the 8th Dr. Wilson lectured on the manners and habits of the Rajputs. On the 11th he read his Sanskrit *Nithikatha*; on the 15th there is Dr. Wilson again, on the "Vaisias of Gujurat".

The last entry is that of the 25th of this month.

It is a little difficult to summarize this document, so full of conflicting pride, industrious application to now-forgotten text-books, and spontaneous enjoyment in crowds and gossip. The writer is a true Indian of his time. Psychologically, his resistance to Westernization in the sphere of religion, while welcoming it elsewhere, is very interesting. As for the education and improvement systems of the day, they must be allowed to have had their points. At least these pioneer students were brought into contact with men of some personality and not with a mere routine syllabus signed, sealed, and smothered with red tape. Dr. Wilson's course of lectures on Indian anthropology is probably unique in the history of Indian secondary teaching. How many Indian (or English) Universities can boast of such a course today? That the writer was conscious of good fortune is obvious. He continually sets down his appreciation and enjoyment of what he calls this "company," and justly so. In later years he may have forgotten his scraps of science, but he could never forget Bell and Orlebar. One other thing he gained, a knowledge of the many differences that divide India from herself. Southern-born, he is continually finding Bombay life and customs different. It must be remembered that English was the vehicle of conversation between the Southerner and his fellows. Later he picked up colloquial Marathi and later still learnt to write it. The length and breadth of India must continually have been in his mind, a sense of the comparative, very necessary to the proper discussion of all Indian problems.

AN INDIAN ON SHAKESPEARE

By Stanley Rice

To the average Englishman Shakespeare has become something of a legend. His attitude towards him is like his attitude towards God—an inscrutable being, mysterious, majestic, not to be reasoned about but to be accepted, to whom worship may be offered from a distance, before turning to the Stock Exchange prices or the latest sensation of the *Daily Express*. Shakespeare, in fact, has ceased to be an author and has become an institution. The average Englishman does not read Shakespeare; he may have read him once upon a time as he has read *Œdipus Tyrannus*, but has now forgotten the detail if he remembers the plot. But since Shakespeare is an English institution, he resents the impudent suggestion that he was really a German and he dislikes, though his dislike is tempered with amusement, the idea that after all he was Bacon. From time to time he appears on the English stage, but the number of plays thus presented is very limited, and it may be surmised that what attracts the public is not the play itself so much as the curiosity to see what such and such an actor or actress will make of such parts as Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, Romeo, Shylock, or Lady Macbeth. At Stratford no doubt an attempt is made to enlarge the scope, not without at least a measure of success, but the audience at a provincial town is necessarily limited.

For all that, to a certain type of mind Shakespeare has an extraordinary fascination. The books written about him are legion: the criticisms are of infinite variety. Some are content to analyse the plots, which are in many cases puerile and which therefore do not interest a public accustomed to greater sophistication and anxious only to be amused or thrilled. Others dive into Quartos or Folios in the hope of some treasure buried in the original. Others again dissect the characters, and find in them something in tune with their own feelings. Shakespeare has been so dissected and so analysed that one is inclined to wonder that there is anything left.

He has had an extraordinary fascination for Indians of the more highly educated class, and this perhaps is the more remarkable because the language, as everyone knows, is not easy and is quite unlike what one hears spoken every day, and indeed what one now reads, whether in prose, verse, or drama. Further, the treatment, one supposes, is altogether different from what an

Indian author would naturally adopt. I once saw a presentation of *Twelfth Night* in the vernacular. It was only a strolling company in a provincial town, and it was remarkable that it should have been given at all. But the play was practically caricatured. Sir Andrew and Sir Toby were cut out altogether. Malvolio was a rather pompous Diwan: Maria a demure handmaid. So little of the play was left that it was reduced almost to the bare and rather silly story based upon the likeness of Viola and Sebastian. Yet it seemed to please and the company apparently was rather proud that they had produced Shakespeare.

But it is, of course, to the intellectuals that Shakespeare makes his highest appeal. I knew a police inspector who told me that he never went to bed without a volume of Shakespeare by him. This was not a pose. It arose from a genuine love of the plays. No one surely without that genuine love would beguile the hours of darkness by reading them. Schoolboys in their own fashion delight to present occasional scenes, of which, perhaps, the Trial Scene in the *Merchant of Venice* is the most popular, though they attempt also scenes from *Macbeth*, *Henry IV.*, or *Julius Cæsar*. Would-be playwrights copy or imitate Shakespeare and load their plays with verbal quotations. In fact one might hazard the opinion that in no country in the world except Germany is Shakespeare so popular as he is in India.

Dr. Narayana Menon* has confined himself to the tragedies, and that is the more remarkable because on a superficial view the classical Indian stage does not present tragedy. It is one of the canons of the Indian theatre that every play should end happily, and the tragedies of Shakespeare do not end happily. It is, however, a superficial view because there are many plays which are pure tragedy up to the last moment, when the plot gives an unexpected twist and all comes right in the end. In what is generally acclaimed as the greatest of all Indian plays, the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa, the heroine is laid under a spell by an extremely irascible hermit, so that Dushyanta, the prince and her lover, shall forget her unless she produces a ring which he has given her, and which she loses. That is the tragedy of the story —a hopeless love and an apparently hopeless quest. That the ring is ultimately found by a fisherman and that Dushyanta remembers his lost Sakuntala—these things do not really matter. The whole point of the play lies in the tragic pathos of the deserted Sakuntala. So it is with most Sanskrit plays, whether by Kalidasa, or by Bhavabhuti, or by Harsha, or by anyone else. A situation is worked up almost to catastrophe, until by some unforeseen chance or maybe the action of some god it resolves

* *Shakespeare Criticism*. By Dr. Narayana Menon. (Oxford University Press.) 5s. net.

itself into the desired happy ending. Alone among the extant Greek tragedies, *Alcestis* conforms to this Hindu canon. *Œdipus* is worked out to the bitter end; no god intervenes to cure the blinded hero. Medea ends in complete gloom, but Alcestis, though she is dead, comes back to the mortal world by the intervention of Herakles. If happy endings make a comedy, then *Alcestis* must be accounted a comedy.

Nothing, however, can be more comic than the travesty of a tragedy. Dr. Menon compares Romeo and Juliet with Pyramus and Thisbe in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Both are in a sense tragedies. Poor Pyramus kills himself much as Romeo does. He meets Thisbe clandestinely as Romeo meets Juliet, and so on with other details which the author is careful to note. And he supplies the answer why the one moves to tears, the other to laughter. "A play," he says, "in itself can be neither comic nor tragic. It is only a stimulant to æsthetic reproduction by the spectator. . . . Pyramus is chosen expressly because it is reported to be nonsense." That is all true enough, but one may go further. A serious play can be made intensely comic by false representation. I have seen a production of *Antony and Cleopatra* at which I laughed more heartily than at any farce. I have seen *Macbeth* and *Faust* presented in a manner which was irresistibly funny. That was the reaction on me. It was the "æsthetic reproduction by the spectator," but other spectators may well have experienced other reactions.

Dr. Narayana Menon insists throughout the book on what he calls imaginative identification, which is another way of saying that you should put yourself in the character's place. That is not in itself a very profound remark; yet too often the spectator fails to achieve it. In the ordinary play it is probably not worth while; to ask yourself what you would do if you were Smith or Jones requires a certain mental effort, and what Smith or Jones actually does, does not matter. In the case of a great character it is worth while. But what the actor does is not all the story. To understand a character, Dr. Menon insists, you must *become* that character. To understand Antony you must enter into his varying moods—of enchantment for Cleopatra, of a realization of his own greatness, of his further infatuation, which drives him to think the world well lost for a kiss, and his final abandonment to the seduction of Egypt. Was Hamlet mad? There has been controversy over the point, but the answer must be assuredly "No." It is doubtful whether he even showed his indecision, which to many seems to have been his chief fault. If you read the play carefully, you will notice that with one exception what he sought was opportunity. He is not certain of the ghost's story, nor is he quite sure that the ghost is his father. He will

not kill an innocent man. It is only after the stage-play and the evident distress of the King that he is really certain:

"I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound,"

and so great is the relief that his doubts are resolved that he bursts into doggerel rhyme with the very ecstasy of it. But then comes his opportunity and he does not take it. It is not fitting that he should kill the King while he is praying. Perhaps he would be helping him to heaven, while his purpose is to fling him into hell. And in the end when the chance comes as it were accidentally, he kills the King apparently for his treachery to himself rather than for his murder of his mother.

Dr. Menon, who from the bibliography which he supplies has evidently gone deeply into Shakespeare criticism, makes again and again the point that we must read Shakespeare and study his characters in their inner, rather than their outer, aspect, with the heart rather than the head. This makes him inclined to be over-severe on those who have laboured at research work. "If this is Shakespeare criticism," he exclaims, "Scotland Yard is the proper place and policemen the proper persons to investigate the problems relating to Shakespeare's conception of Hamlet." He is apparently quoting from Croce and from Lee. At the same time it is necessary to bear in mind that we are not concerned with Hamlet alone. In another place he says, "When we regard Hamlet as being created anew by each spectator, it makes no difference whatsoever whether it was written before the Flood or yesterday by Bacon masquerading as Shakespeare." Given the premiss, we need not quarrel with the conclusion. But is not this to fall into the very error which he himself decries—that each man has his own idea of Shakespeare and thinks everyone else is wrong? To study the characters in the plays, to *become* oneself the character of the moment, may be the highest aspect of the problem to the student, but surely we owe some debt of gratitude to scholars who have done the spade work for us. The archæologist who with the gift of imagination has dug up a certain site and has afterwards by the most delicate methods imaginable pieced together the frail results of his discoveries, so that they can be and are exhibited in museums, has doubtless the most spectacular part of the work. But is there not a measure of praise due to those who have actually done the digging without spoiling the specimens, and to whom it is due that the archæologist has been able to get at them?

It may well be that among the incredible number of books on Shakespeare can be found a good deal that is pretty good nonsense. The idea that Hamlet was a satire on King James and his not too reputable mother may be dismissed as absurd. But when

all is said and done, the research scholars do not pretend to have said the last word on Shakespeare. If they reason about externals, that does not necessarily mean that they think that externals alone matter. It adds to rather than detracts from Shakespeare's genius to know that his often rather silly stories are borrowed from another source. That they have been enriched and ennobled by his pen is a tribute to his genius; what other man could have done the like? We may certainly agree that if we regard the plays as works of art, it does not matter whether the author was A or B. The true critic is able to discern the art for all that: he has the discriminating vision which shows him that the character of Othello or Macbeth, of Brutus or Antony, is superbly drawn, whether the artist be Shakespeare or Bacon or Jones or Robinson. Much perhaps that research has unearthed may be valueless, just as, to revert to our metaphor, the archæologist after patient digging may discover only a little pottery which adds nothing to knowledge. But it is too sweeping a condemnation to suggest, as Dr. Menon seems to do—we must say "seems" because we are judging by impressions and impressions are often misleading—that the research work on externals is labour thrown away. It is right, for example, that we should be reminded of the age and conditions in which Shakespeare lived. The Bastard's speech in King John:

> "Come the three quarters of the world in arms
> And we shall shock them,"

must have had a special appeal to those who lived at the time when the fear of Spain was dominant, for the Armada was not Spain's last word.

It is, further, difficult to understand the criticism which calls *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear* bloody farces. Dr. Menon tells us that he grasped its significance when he saw *Othello* acted in Madras. Othello was a great soldier: he is chosen to lead the expedition against the Turks, the most formidable foes of Venice. That he afterwards succumbs to Iago's insinuations and allows himself to be too easily deceived shows that he, too, is subject to human weakness. "When the comic spirit from above casts an oblique light on the character"—a phrase which is apparently borrowed from Meredith's *Essay on Comedy*—"we see the insignificance and absurdity." Othello is insignificant and absurd when we look at him as the too easy dupe of a scheming villain; but are we justified in looking at him from one aspect only? The terms are in any case relative. The earth and all that happens upon it—European crises, the fate of great Chinese cities, the War of 1914—may be regarded as insignificant and therefore slightly absurd in relation to the whole order of the universe,

yet anything but insignificant in relation to the peoples concerned and still less absurd. What, too, is meant by bloody farces? Are we to understand that if the blood be eliminated the play can be regarded as a farce? Let us suppose that instead of showing pig-headed obstinacy and blind credulity Othello had merely said, "Ah, I see. I see. My mistake. No doubt that is how it happened," and had taken Desdemona in his arms, drying her tears with the offending handkerchief, and they had then gone in to dinner to laugh over the ridiculous mistake, would that farcical ending have turned the whole play into a farce? I would refer again to what I have already said, that comedy itself is not comedy by reason alone of a happy ending. Surely the scheming villainy of Iago, not to mention such characters as Desdemona, Emilia and Cassio would still have had the elements of tragedy in them. The same may be said of the other plays mentioned. There is tragedy about *Lear* which would not be less tragedy if in the end Lear and Cordelia had "lived happily ever after." Dr. Menon might reasonably say that this is a superficial view; in justice we must quote from another part of the book. "Hamlet's behaviour is abnormal"—when regarded from the point of view of society, which has no genuine standard except a vague sense of the norm—"what is worse, it results in bloodshed and misery . . . viewed thus *Hamlet* is pure melodrama." If we ignore the pain resulting from Hamlet's actions, it is a bloody farce. But "the pain resulting from Hamlet's actions," by which I suppose is meant not only the violent deaths of the dramatis personæ but the mental suffering to such persons as Gertrude and Ophelia, is a mainspring of the play. If you take away the core of any play you will probably reduce it to a negligible quantity, if not a farce, though not necessarily a bloody one. "Filmland is peopled by incredible heroes and impossible villains, whom we take for granted because we make no effort to understand them"—that is, because they are not worth the effort. But if we ignore the "pain resulting from their actions" the whole story falls to pieces. But when "the spectator identifies himself with Hamlet, the play passes from comedy into tragedy." In other words, imaginative identification is the key to the understanding of *Hamlet*, as it surely is of any other play that is worth while. We must not put Shakespeare upon a pedestal and imagine that what we say of him and what we see in him is peculiar to him alone and cannot equally apply to others as well.

Dr. Menon calls his book a synthesis. He has steeped himself in Shakespeare criticism and has produced a book well worth reading. He himself thinks that "the hasty reader may see it as the very reverse" of what he intended. That indeed might easily happen, for he is very severe on the critics, especially those

who, confining themselves to externals, see in his view no further than their noses. Nevertheless he is right in his claim that the book is a synthesis of much that has already been written. It is certainly remarkable that he, a Hindu littérateur and so presumably familiar with the classical Sanskrit plays, should have found so little occasion to refer to them, or, indeed, to any Indian literature. From the various references to Christ and to Christian literature, a reader who had not troubled to look at the title-page might well have imagined the author to be an Englishman with a slight knowledge of the East. And if, in the course of this article, occasion has been found to differ from the author in some of the few points which have come to notice, that does not mean that it is not a good book. It is, in fact, very suggestive. And a good book alone is worth attacking in any detail.

AN ANNAMITE SHORT STORY

By Trân-Van-Tüng

It happened in the days of King Khai-Hâu of the Tran dynasty. A certain Trung-Ngô, who belonged to a wealthy family, was travelling from north to south in a little boat, on trade intent. One day about twilight he found himself landed at a place whence he meant to proceed to the market; but Providence threw in his path a young girl of such surpassing beauty that she would have tempted Buddha himself. The young merchant naturally fell in love; he looked at her and she returned his look. He wanted to approach, to kneel before her to pour out a thousand sweet words, but he had neither the hardihood nor the courage.

The girl passed on and disappeared, leaving to the poor young man a sweet vision which he greatly desired. Everywhere and at all times, night and day, by water or by land, the vision of this lovely creature never ceased to haunt his soul, to agitate him, and to torment him.

Her! Her! His heart and his soul were filled with her. Desire was hot within him to embrace her, to possess her, to live for ever by her side.

Months—long months—passed. The beautiful features of the girl began to fade, when suddenly he met her in a fair. His love for her, nourished and cradled in his heart, found the opportunity to declare itself. But she, alas! did not listen and vanished.

When she found herself alone with her maid, the girl confessed to her that she loved the young man who had just avowed his love for her. "Let us go," she said to the maid, "let us go to the bridge and await his return." So they went there together. Leaning on the parapet, the girl began to play her lute. Inspired by her impassioned fingers, the music sang: "Love! Love! Come hither, O my love!" The water rippled under the pretty bridge. The breeze stopped blowing, and the evening to depart, but still the loved one was not there to listen. Slowly, very slowly, the melancholy sound of the lute grew more sorrowful as hope faded. The barren day was breathing its last sigh. The dreaming moon was slumbering in the blue heaven and threw a huge band of silver upon the shoulders of the twilight.

The two girls, despondent and tired, were making ready to depart when they heard steps approaching.

It was Trung-Ngô, the love-sick prince.

"My love, I have come. My love," he said, "take again thy lute and awaken for me the virgin voice of love."

"Ah! it is thou. I await there, O chosen of my heart. I praise heaven which has thus brought us face to face."

"Tell me, I pray thee, my angel. What is thy name?"

"I am called Nhi-Khanh," she replied modestly. "My husband has left me. I have no other support in the world. Have pity upon me. Always I have been dreaming of a friend who could bring me youth and joy, for soon, in the Land of Shadows, one will find happiness no more." So the duet, in the heart of the night and under the pale moon, went on clearer and more melodious than the notes of the lute, for it was the music of two hearts at one.

Guided by the lullaby of night, the two lovers reached the boat which was quietly at rest on the water. The splendour of the moonlight, the intoxicating scents of the flowery banks, the interminable murmurs of silence, snatched them away from reality, to plunge them into the world of dreams.

Love, with the great wings on his forehead, his poisoned bow in his hand, alighted on the edge of the boat and under the soft light of the moon joined the happy couple into a single being.

Dawn, awakened by the morning breeze, looked upon their eyes, still only half awake: Nature flung her large smile upon the world. The two lovers separated with vows that they would meet again and live and die together. Places of meeting were repeated, and thus a month passed without a break in the felicity of love.

But this love did not remain concealed for long. The merchant, incited thereto by his friends, began to be doubtful of his mistress' past and to question her on the point. The girl, caught in a trap, pretended anger. The man insisted, prayed, and at last persuaded her to take him to her home.

It was midnight. The pair, their eyes blinded by the darkness, met in a silent hamlet, took a winding path and plunged into some low-lying ruins, dark and damp, smothered by thickets of tangled reeds in fantastic shapes——. A smell, cold and fetid, of decayed flesh was exhaled from the soil and the mud walls——. The girl vanished mysteriously before the astonished eyes of the youth. In his terror he tried to fly. He took a pace backwards, tried to pass through the door, but his feet were rooted to the ground. Sobs, lamentations, wails arose from nowhere and from everywhere. From the dank ground there arose a phosphorescent light with hundreds of fiery tongues which greedily licked the air. The poor merchant saw, to his great surprise, a red-lacquered coffin, supported on a camp-bed, in the middle of the hall. On the pall which covered the coffin was written in large letters the name of her who just now had been by his side. A maid, on her knees beside the coffin, was playing a sobbing lute.

Gathering together with trembling hands the last remnants of

his courage, Trung-Ngô rushed to the door, but there the girl reappeared and barred the way. She held him back by the hem of his garment. "Do not go," she said. "You cannot go. We have promised to live and die together." He tore himself away and fled like an arrow to his boat, which was moored in the river. Next day the poor lover returned to the village and there learned that Nhi-Khanh, his mistress, had been dead six months. And from that day the unhappy young man fell sick of an incurable disease. The image of her he loved haunted him by night and by day.

Sometimes he saw himself with her on the bank of the river, sometimes in the boat, but always in one another's arms. Several times in his delirium he tried to leave his bed to go into the abandoned hovel and rejoin his beloved. They had to strap him in to restrain him. But one night, when everyone was asleep, the sick man succeeded in breaking his bonds and fled. Next morning they found him dead in the hovel, lying by the side of the girl's coffin. His tomb had been erected there. From that day on the merchant could be seen every night wandering through the paths of the village with his mistress on his arm. Sometimes they could be heard singing, sometimes sobbing. In spite of the numerous and costly offerings made to them these wandering souls never ceased to spread mourning, sickness, and death in the locality.

The notables, to avenge the victims, exhumed the bodies of the unfortunate lovers, burnt them, and threw the ashes into the river. Not far off in the courtyard of a temple there grew a hundred-year-old fig tree. Henceforward the pair, having no abode, took up their position there and continued to ravage the village.

One evening a wandering sorcerer, who had come by chance to the village, took refuge in the temple, and at night, by the light of the moon, he saw on the branches of the fig tree a naked couple, who were pursuing and seeking and embracing one another.

Next day, in the morning, he described the scene to the village notables and severely criticized their morals. But they undeceived him, explaining that they were phantoms and not men. Incensed against the insolent evil spirits, the sorcerer begged the notables to allow him to take action. Having prepared a great ceremony in honour of the Upper and the Nether gods, he made three charms. One of these he affixed to the trunk of a haunted tree, the second he cast into the water, and the third he burnt and flung skywards. He then betook himself to muttering mysterious stanzas.

Mountains of black clouds like the waves in a storm gathered together, chased one another and bellowed in the depths of the sky. The wind rose, tore the leaves from the trees, broke the

branches and cut off the topmost—all nature trembled, shuddered. The haunted fig tree reeled under the blows of seven hundred axes wielded by veterans from the Styx and fell with a great sigh on the murdered earth before the eyes of the astonished people of the satisfied deities. At the same moment there were heard in the air the lamentations and the sobs of the couple who had wrought such ills and were tortured by the demons of the underworld.

The grateful people brought rich presents to the sorcerer, but he refused them. Towards evening when the last rays of the sun were dying in the sky, the sorcerer was seen taking his way towards the distant mountain. Years passed, but the wandering souls of the lovers were never again seen in the village.

(*Translated by* Stanley Rice.)

THE YELLOW RIVER AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA*

By Dr. H. Chatley

The vast majority of the large population of China naturally dwells on the alluvial plains of the great rivers of China, and the conditions of life are necessarily determined, to a great extent, by the physical characteristics of those rivers. Speaking very broadly, there are only three important river systems in the country—in the north the Yellow River, in the middle the Yangtze and in the south the Canton River. The second two are perhaps the more characteristic of modern China, being associated with the growing of rice and a very elaborate canal system, but the Yellow River is that which has actually produced the Chinese nation, and, prior to about 500 B.C., even the Yangtze River plays practically no part in the national history.

The Yellow River rises in a rather dry region in North-Eastern Tibet, descends comparatively rapidly in an eastward direction, passing as it goes through an area in which much of the surface is covered with a material known as "loess." Rather more than half-way along its length, it reaches a mountain ridge and turns south between the provinces of Shensi and Shansi and then turns abruptly eastward again, emerging from the mountains on to the Great Plain of China. Immediately facing it on the seaboard is the hilly mass of Shantung, which stands like an island in the Great Plain. The middle part of its lower course, in the neighbourhood of the place where it emerges from the hills, is the cradle of China's civilization. From the earliest vestiges of written records until the thirteenth century of the Christian era, all the capitals of China have been situated in this small area, and it is here that one must look for any particular causes for the origin and development of China's culture. It is a region of comparatively small rainfall, sufficient, however, for the maintenance of agriculture, and with a comparatively large range of temperature between summer and winter. The rainfall is concentrated principally in the summer months and is very spasmodic, frequently coming in heavy storms interrupted by comparatively dry periods, while the winters are definitely on the dry side.

* Lecture delivered to the China Society on November 1, 1938. Professor W. Perceval Yetts, O.B.E., D.LIT., M.R.C.S., presided.

It is a significant fact that all those great cultures of antiquity, whose origin is not definitely to be traced to other centres, appear first in the valley plains of important rivers. Doubtless this is due to the mental development which followed from the practice of agriculture. There are two schools of thought as to the origin of agriculture and civilization in general. There are some who hold that humanity, at a certain stage of progress, in suitable surroundings, independently produced the ability to cultivate the ground and the art of writing. There are others who put forward a very plausible case for the uniqueness of agriculture and the things that followed from it, and hold that it must have started at one point only and spread thence over the world. Egypt is especially favoured as the place for such a commencement, because of the fact that the floods of the Nile occur at just the right time of year to favour a natural development of vegetation in the mild winter of that country, so providing a natural object lesson from which the principles of plant control could be easily learned. Others favour Mesopotamia, but there the natural conditions are not so suitable, as the floods occur in the spring and are followed by intense heat, so that vegetation is not so well favoured. The strongest argument for a single origin is the historic fact that after untold tens of thousands of years the art of agriculture appears in several parts of the earth at about the same time. It is very difficult to believe that humanity would automatically and simultaneously produce the same sort of development at these several places after such a long period of inaction; the transmission of the ideas, with or without the migration of some of the people concerned, seems much more probable. Although there have been many speculations on this subject in relation to China, there are scarcely any definite proofs of China's early connection with the West.* The Yellow River is extremely isolated from those regions of the West in which we have every reason to believe agriculture and writing occurred at an earlier date than in China. On the south, there were mountains and marshes inhabited by hostile savages; on the east were broad stretches of sea, which the Chinese of early days had no means to cross; on the north was a desert; and on the west there was also a mountainous and partially desert region. Nevertheless, the only means of reaching the West by the methods available in early days does lie in that direction, and there is a highway of sorts passing through Chinese Turkestan which in historic times has given a communication between China and Persia. It must be admitted that prior to about 100 B.C. there is no definite record of such a communication having existed, but it is by no means inconceivable that this was the route by which

* The twenty-eight lunar mansions and the outflow clepsydra may be adduced as examples.

China received its primitive impulse to development, probably in an indirect form. Chinese history, prior to about 1400 B.C., is extremely scanty and unreliable, and it was probably not until about 1050 B.C. that any continuous compilation of historical records was made. At that time, the Chou rulers had just overcome their predecessors, the Shangs, and in their anxiety to prove the justice of their case, a number of documents were produced, glorifying their ancestors and purporting to show that they were the successors of a still more ancient group known as the Hsias, who had reigned from about 2000 B.C. until supplanted by the Shangs. The predecessors of the Shangs were credited with having founded Chinese culture, including agriculture, flood control, writing, the calendar and other useful arts. How much or how little of this is history is very uncertain indeed, but it is a fact shown by the fragmentary records of the Shangs that most of these things were in existence before 1500 B.C.

It was not until the Han dynasty, about the beginning of the first century before Christ, that definite attempts were made to investigate the route to the West, and this only for the purpose of relieving the pressure of certain tribes in Central Asia upon the northern boundaries of China.

The Chinese state was a kind of feudalism in which the emperor controlled, in a rather loose manner, a number of almost independent kingdoms, and it was not until the third century B.C. that there was a definite attempt to extend the imperial control into the regions south of the Yellow River basin. The subsequent history of China shows an extension to the whole of the southern areas, but those latter were always regarded as tributary to the Yellow River areas. Of this fact one of the most striking illustrations is the Grand Canal, which was firstly constructed in order to carry tribute rice from the Yangtze to the old Yellow River centre and was subsequently arranged to carry tribute rice to Peking when that city became the capital in the time of the Mongol dynasty.

It will thus be apparent that politically the Yellow River is, so to speak, the backbone of ancient China, and the history of China cannot be understood without reference to it.

The watershed of the Yellow River is about 400,000 square miles, and over this there is an average rainfall of about 20 inches per annum, fluctuating, in fact, as much as 50 per cent. in individual years. From its remotest source to the sea the distance along the river is about 3,000 miles. From the place where it emerges out of the hills to the sea is a distance of about 500 miles and the alluvial plain has an area of about 60,000 square miles, which is not included in the watershed figure because now it is cut off from the river by dykes and has its own drainage channels.

In primitive times, however, the river wandered freely over this plain and there must have been a certain amount of drainage into it from the plain. Owing to the extremely variable rainfall, the quantity of water in the river fluctuates tremendously. In recent times the maximum discharge has been computed to be about one million cubic feet per second, but this is very difficult to estimate, because the maximum discharge has nearly always coincided with a break of some kind. It is interesting to note that this figure is only equal to the average discharge from the Yangtze, so that even at its greatest the river is much less than the Yangtze. In the dry season the Yellow River is a very inconsiderable stream, comparable with the lower Thames. What makes it so important is the enormous quantity of silt which it carries, in which respect it exceeds the Yangtze. Here again no exact measurements are available, but a reasonable modern estimate gives the annual discharge of silt at over one thousand million tons per annum. This is probably more than occurred in prehistoric times, as the discharge of silt has been much aggravated by the stripping of the loess lands for agriculture, but it seems probable that the plain has been built up at a rate which indicates its antiquity as some tens of thousands of years. No exact estimate is possible here because the land undergoes a small change of level due to earth movements, and in addition the immense weight which the silt puts on the sea bed outside tends to lift the interior hill masses and partially restores the lowering caused by erosion. At the time when agriculture began it seems probable that a large part of the watershed was covered with trees, prairie grasses and, in the plain, reeds, but now the upper lands are largely barren and in the plain cultivation of cereals and vegetables is only maintained by incessant care in the matter of trenching, irrigation and the retention of rainfall by dyke works. Early traditions and definite records in the historic period show that the greatest possible efforts have been made to prevent the river from overrunning the plain during the time of high discharge. It was doubtless observed that in the uncontrolled state the river tended to build up a kind of low bank on each side of its winter channel, and for at least two thousand years the channel in the plain has been enclosed with high dykes. Every few years, however, the river would rise to levels which threatened to overtop these dykes, or, what was equally dangerous, the twists and bends of the low water channel would carry the river against the dyke and cause it to collapse, so that within the historic period the river has escaped some tens of times from the dykes and formed a new channel on the plain, at the same time, of course, doing immense destruction by the flooding of populated areas and burying much of the land under a layer of silt which, if in

great thickness, is, for the time being, sterile. It has thus entered the sea at various points from Tientsin almost down to Shanghai, and the country is seamed with old dyke lines which have very strongly influenced the natural drainage of the land at those times when the river has once more been contained between dykes. The building of the Grand Canal, both in its first state when it connected merely the Yellow River near Kaifêng to the Yangtze, and in its latter development, when it connected the south with Peking, had a very adverse effect upon the general drainage of the country, interposing, as it were, a definite barrier against the easy flow to sea, so that on the west side of the canal there is a series of lagoons and on the east side of the canal, except where it passes behind the mountain mass of Shantung, the land is unduly low. The troubles of the river are caused more by the heavy silt charge than by the actual quantity of water running, and the methods of dealing with it have been much discussed during the centuries of experience. Thus there has developed a school that holds that the dykes should be close together so that the water could scour out a deep channel, and another school holds that the dykes should be widely separated so that there would be large storage between them for the summer flow. Neither method has proved entirely successful because the deep channel is apt to approach and undermine the dykes and the water rises quickly in it to a high level, while, on the other hand, the wide separation of the dykes has allowed the foreshores to build up with deposited material to a height which reduced the storage capacity and also made the land tempting for agriculture, with the result that the authorities were rarely able to prevent the teeming population from growing crops on it and building special dykes to keep out ordinary floods, so, for all practical purposes, annulling the whole object of separating the dykes. Much has been said of the rising of the bed of the river due to the deposition of silt. Careful study of the River Po in Italy and other silt-bearing rivers has shown that the rise of bed is a very slow process, dependent principally upon the gradual extension of the delta, and in a river which, like the Yellow River, has rarely maintained the same course for more than a few centuries, this extension of length is not a very noticeable feature. True it is that the lowest point of the bed is in many cases only a few feet below the level of the distant plain and in some cases it may even be level with it, but the more serious fact is that when the river escapes through the dykes the residual flow into the old channel fills that up with silt and thereby plugs it against a future free flow in that course. Thus, it will be found in the best-known old channel south of Shantung that the majority of the old bed is quite high above the surrounding land, but it would probably

be a mistake to suppose that when the river occupied this channel the bed was as high as it is now.

It has been frequently asserted that North China is gradually becoming desert. Such a remark is more applicable to the western part of the watershed than to the Great Plain, but it is broadly true and the result is to some extent a man-made one. During the 4,000 years of Chinese development, the population has grown tremendously and there has been an incessant cultivation of areas which were naturally covered with trees and wild grass, the roots of which protected the soft soils, especially the loess, from the cutting effects of heavy rain, so that now the vast majority of the watershed of the Yellow River above the alluvial plain has been cut down from a relatively smooth surface to an extremely intricate system of gulleys, down which the water runs in time of rain with a silt content which makes it almost like thin porridge. Incredibly high figures for the proportion of silt are frequently stated and there seems to be no doubt that in the tributaries of the loess areas 30 per cent. of the silt in the water is a fact and in the main stream a figure of 10 per cent. is common. This makes the river almost unique, and methods which would ordinarily be successful in dealing with a river problem become almost useless in this case.

It is only within the last few years that the matter has been seriously studied in the light of European and American engineering experience, and even now there is no decision as to the best policy to be adopted. In the plain the materials available for the work are few and the financial capacity of the country to pay for adequate works is small. There is no real prospect of a navigational channel which would permit ships to enter, so that commercial interests are *not* affected to an extent which would enable them to be called upon to bear part of the cost. One method which has been suggested from time to time is that of deliberately flooding certain large enclosed areas each year, depositing the silt upon them and so gradually raising the plain and providing thus, in course of time, a dyke of enormous width from which it might reasonably be hoped the river could not escape. The administrative difficulty of such a procedure is enormous, as the plain is already densely populated and the inhabitants have an intense attachment to their land and, on certain points, would rebel against arbitrary measures.

One interesting feature of the problem is the relation to forestation and the alleged effect of the removal of forests upon rainfall. The summer rain is brought in from the sea and the moist air flows north-westwards across the watershed, dropping part of its contents as it goes, some of which is again evaporated and carried on, so that the rainfall gradually diminishes towards the interior;

in the winter the dried air comes back and incidentally causes some further evaporation which is taken back to the sea. It has been pointed out, especially by Brückner, that in such cases, if the evaporation is reduced by the removal of vegetation or the possibilities of discharge are increased by steepening the slopes, the quantity of moisture carried to the sea is increased and the rainfall in the interior is thereby reduced, because that rainfall largely derives from evaporation on the windward side. That this broad principle is true is unquestionable, but it is rather doubtful if the extent of the change produced is very important. The direct loss of human benefit by the absence of vegetation and the damage done by the silt is probably much more significant than the small changes of rainfall which may be produced. Recently it has been advocated that the best method of dealing with the Yellow River is to reduce erosion in the loess lands by the various methods which have been tried recently in America for the similar problems of the Great Plain of the Mississippi. Doubtless the economic difficulties of this method will also postpone its application for many years.

The Chinese have developed a great skill in closing the breaches of the dykes by local methods, and prior to the revolution of 1911 a rather elaborate organization existed for the general watching and maintenance of the dyke system. It is rather noticeable that the important breaks in the dykes have generally occurred during periods of political instability. Thus the large departure of the river from its channel which occurred in 1853, when it left a path it had occupied for many years south of Shantung and diverted to the north of Shantung, is associated with the great Taiping rebellion, and it has been asserted that the break was made deliberately in order to arrest the advance of the rebels towards Peking. However this may have been, it seems probable that the breach of 1938 was made for definite military purposes, and there is a high probability that this last breach will also lead to a permanent diversion of the river to a southern course. As far as can be gathered the river now flows into the Hwai River, which is a smaller stream, similar to the Yellow River itself in many respects, lying between it and the Yangtze. This River Hwai terminates in a lake behind the Grand Canal and its flood discharge, which is quite high owing to the very violent rainstorms, ordinarily passes down the west side of the Grand Canal to the Yangtze, but in times of severe flood generally breaks across the Grand Canal into the low but very fertile lands to the east. Unless large works are undertaken for the reversion of the Yellow River to a more northern course the outlook for the future welfare of the Hwai River area and the southern part of the Grand Canal is very unpromising. This is

particularly regrettable as rather important works have recently been undertaken for the maintenance of these waterways.

It will thus be seen that in the present and the future as well as the past, the Yellow River is a major factor in the history of China, and it is hoped that these brief notes will have indicated some of the principal points which arise in connection with it.

FURTHER EXPLORATION IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

By E. H. King

(The author has just returned from a visit to the archæological remains near the River Mezamore.)

At the conclusion of an article contributed to The Asiatic Review in July, 1937, entitled "Through the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian Cilician Kingdom," I mentioned that I hoped to carry out, a little later in the year, a journey through regions which formerly constituted part of the ancient Kingdom of Armenia Major, particularly in the neighbourhood of Lake Van, which actually lay within the important province of Vaspurakan. Travellers, however, in common with the "fair sex," must be accorded the privilege of changing their minds! Therefore this journey, in so far as I am concerned, must be regarded as a pleasure deferred.

Now, some of my readers may recall an article which I wrote for The Asiatic Review in April, 1936, entitled "A Journey through the Armenian Soviet Republic," in which I described in some detail one or two of the more prominent historical features to be found in this distant little land, and I endeavoured to portray the variegated aspect of the landscape by which the traveller is confronted. Having been afflicted by a somewhat intense nostalgia, I decided to return in September to the scene of my former wanderings (which were necessarily of brief duration as forming but a part of my general travels in Transcaucasia) with a view to carrying out an examination of the sites of the ancient Armenian capitals, and further with the object of travelling through the erstwhile province of Siounik'h, which, as will be observed from the early map reproduced (Province No. 9, formerly inhabited by the Seunies), lay eastward of Erivan, the modern capital of the Republic, and to the north of the River Araxes. Alas! however, the old adage "L'homme propose et Dieu dispose" proved in this case only too apt, and the majority of the objectives which I hoped to attain remained inaccessible, entirely owing to the fact that whereas formerly I found myself at liberty to roam at will in this land of scenic contrasts, in the year of grace 1938, unless the traveller be provided with credentials from the powers that be in Moscow, he or she will experience difficulty in wandering far from Erivan, which I described briefly in my former

article. These restrictions are, of course, purely local in character and such as I had absolutely no means of ascertaining beforehand. When, however, I pointed out to the authorities that I had travelled all the way from England to Erivan in order to carry out certain journeys into remote regions, they so far relented as to permit me to achieve at least one of my cherished ambitions —namely, to follow the course of the Gharni-chai (marked on the map and known of old as the River Mezamore) from the vicinity of Bash-Gharni or "Upper-Gharni" (a village situated in the mountains about 15 miles to the east of the capital) as this crystal stream meanders through deep and verdant valleys over a distance of some 25 miles, ultimately flowing into the Araxes at a point lying approximately 20 miles due south of Erivan and close to the village of Kumerlou. Never, surely, can river have flowed through territory more historic than that lapped by the waters of the Mezamore! Yet touching those ancient strongholds of Siounik'h lying to the eastward; of the massive citadel of Baghaberd, of the castles of Erendchag, Orodin and Keghäi, of the ruined city of Tsakha-Kar and the adjacent fortress of Hrachaberd and of the remote monastery of Tathev and its dependencies, I must as yet restrain my pen! If the truth must be told, even the authorities at Erivan displayed abysmal ignorance as to their existence (still more as to their location), but *I* know where they must be sought and I shall not rest content until I return once more to the fray armed with the authority which a benevolent hand in Moscow alone can bestow!

Now, before I set out to describe the brief journey which forms the subject of this article and inasmuch as the village of Bash-Gharni and the adjacent Fortress of Karhni, not to speak of the Monastery of Keghart, lie on what once constituted the extreme north-western frontier of the province of Siounik'h and within the confines of Keghak'houni, one of the twelve small cantons into which this province was divided, I am anxious to enlighten the reader as to the origin of the names of the province and of the canton respectively. With this end in view I must transport you on the "magic carpet" of time to the year 2200 B.C., an epoch which witnessed the more or less legendary dawn of Armenian history.

At this juncture, one Haik'h, the eponymous hero of the Armenian race, who was regarded as their first king and the founder of the Haik'hian dynasty, fled from Babylonia to escape from the tyranny of the Assyrian King Belas and settled with his prolific family in a mountainous region lying to the south-east of Lake Van, which is marked on the map as the "First city of Haic" and which is even perpetuated to this day in the Turkish village of Hakhari. Here he was pursued by King Belas, whom

he vanquished and slew on the shores of the lake. Haik'h later extended his dominions to the north-west of Lake Van, beyond the source of the River Tigris and on the banks of the southern branch of the River Euphrates. He now established himself in the locality indicated on the map as "City of Haic," and here I would remark in parenthesis that in reproducing an early map of this description I am actuated solely by a desire to convey to the reader the approximate locality of these ancient settlements, as also the confines of the relevant provinces of the erstwhile Armenian kingdom. I am only too painfully aware of the perfectly appalling discrepancy between the contours of the three great Armenian lakes of Van, Ormi (or Urumiah) and Kegham (or Sevan) as outlined on this map compared with those in modern usage! In order that the reader may more readily identify the scene of my journey, the appropriate section of this map is enlarged in the text.

Now Armenag, the son of Haik'h, eventually quitted the country occupied by his father, and he then travelled in a north-easterly direction and settled in the territory bordering upon the Araxes river, marked on the map by the name of Armavir, a city attributed to his son Aramaïs, the ancient site of which I visited during my former travels and which I described in the course of the article to which I have already alluded. We are now approaching more nearly to the derivations of the names of the province and canton in which we shall shortly find ourselves when commencing our journey along the banks of and in the vicinity of the River Mezamore. Whilst to Amasia, the son of Aramäis, is traditionally assigned the Armenian name "Massis," denoting "Ararat," which mountain dominated the city of Armavir, to Kegham, the grandson of Aramäis and son of Amasia, we owe, indirectly, the foundation of the province of Siounik'h, and here I cannot do better than to quote the actual words of the famous Armenian historian Moyses Khorenetsi, who probably lived in the middle of the fifth century, and who writes as follows:

"Kegham, being fairly advanced in years, established Harma (one of his sons) in Armavir. He left him there to dwell with his children, and he went into another country situated towards the north-east, on the shores of a small lake, where he built dwelling places and where he left inhabitants. The mountain upon which he settled was named Keghak'houni (the name of the canton in question). It was there that his son Sisag was born —a man indefatigable, tall of stature, beautiful, eloquent and skilled at drawing the bow. Kegham bestowed upon him a great part of his possessions and many slaves, and he fixed the limits of his heritage between this lake and towards the east as far as a



FIG. 1.—GHARNI: THE "THRONE OF TIRIDATES."



FIG. 4.—KEGHART MONASTERY: THE ROUSOUKHNA SANCTUARY.

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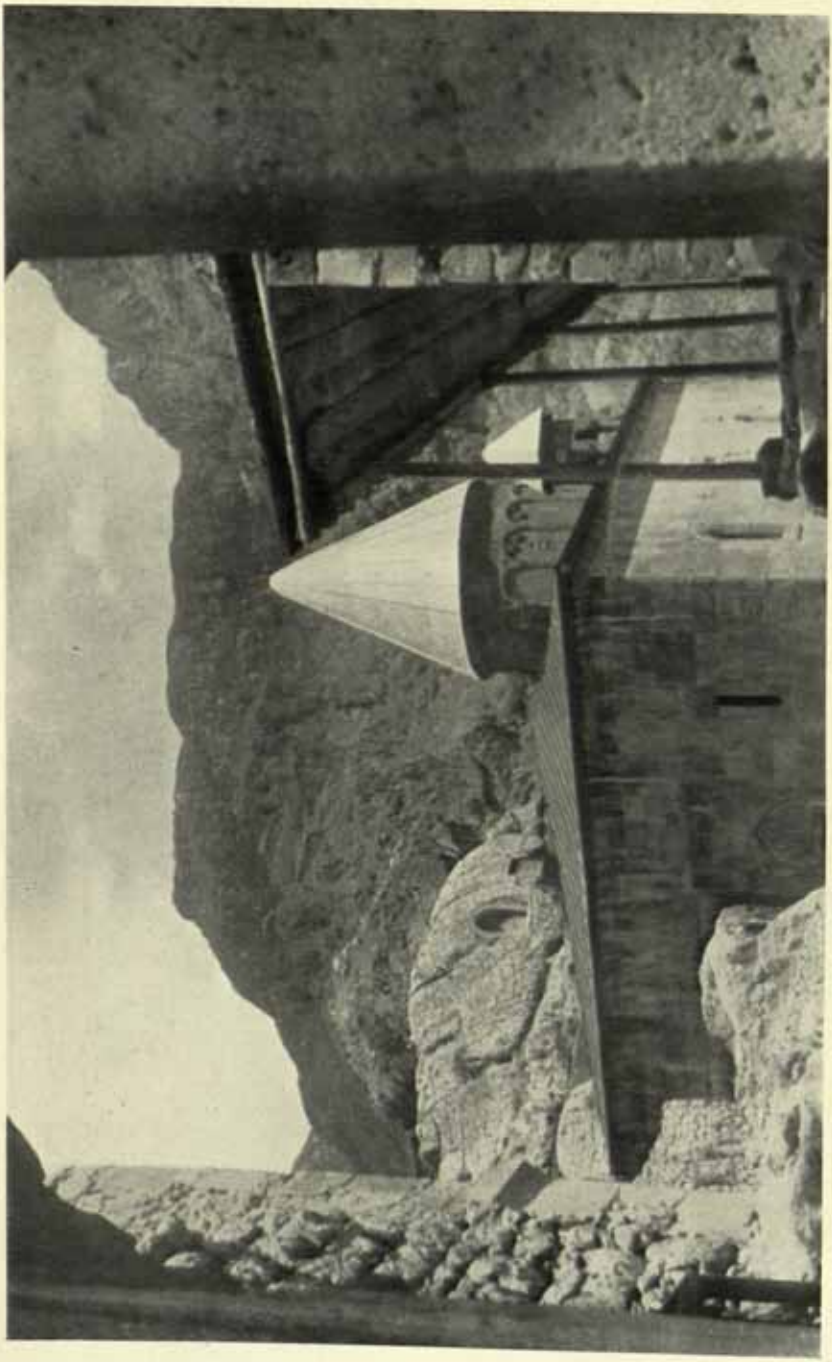


FIG. 2.—MONASTIC CHURCH OF KEGHART: GENERAL VIEW.



FIG. 3.—KEGHART MONASTERY: THE SOUTH WALL.

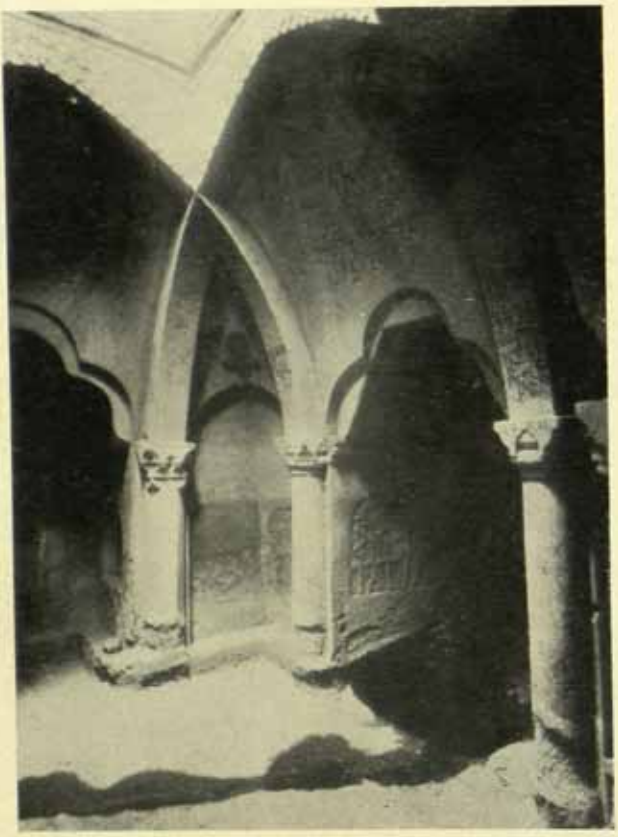
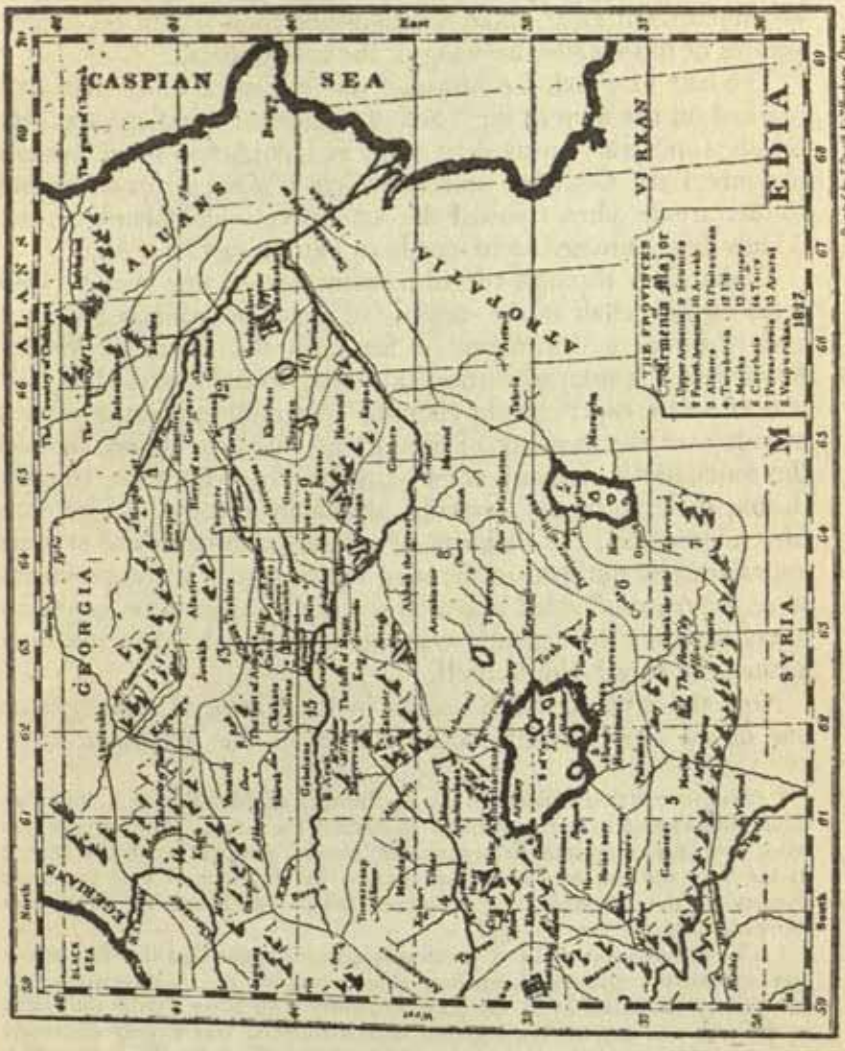


FIG. 5.—KEGHART MONASTERY: CAVE-CHAPEL ADJOINING THE ROUSOUKHNA SANCTUARY.



FIG. 6.—DVIN: THE CITY GATE.

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CASPIAN SEA
ALANS
GEORGIA
SYRIA
ATROPATIA
MEDIA
THE PROVINCES
Armenia Major
1 Upper Armenia
2 Sophene
3 Acilisene
4 Taraunitis
5 Mardia
6 Corduene
7 Persarmenia
8 Vaspurakan
10 Arzanene
11 Thospitis
12 Gogarene
13 Turuberan
14 Taron
15 Ararat
1817

plain where the Araxes, after flowing through a gorge hemmed in by mountains and after having crossed valleys, long and straight, hurls itself at length with a terrifying roar into the open country. Sisag inhabited this land, covered it with houses and gave it the name of Siounik'h (the name of the province). It was from his posterity that Vagharshag, first king of Armenia, of the Parthian race* chose distinguished men whom he created princes of this country as being of the race of Sisag."

The lake to which the historian refers is none other than that marked on the map as the "Sea of Gegham" (or Kegham) and which is indicated on modern maps as Lake Sevan or in Russian parlance Lake Göktcha, and of which I made mention in my former article when I visited the monastery which stands on the "Holy Isle" situated at its northern extremity.†

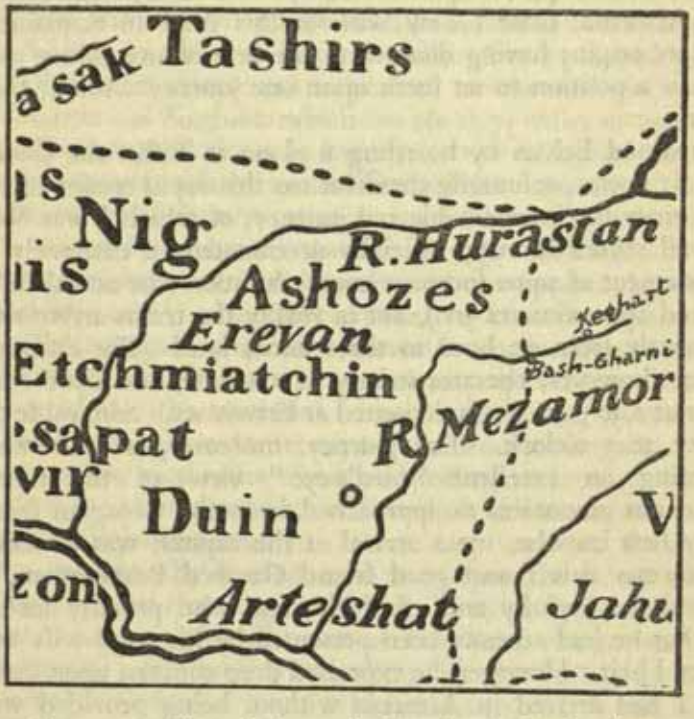
Vagharshag, through the instrumentality of one Arhan, who acted on his behalf in the capacity of a sort of military governor and who was a descendant of Sisag, in the words of Moyses Khorenetsi "a man of distinction, wise, spirited, skilled in war and of a rare experience in counsel," not only appointed princes to rule over the province of Siounik'h, but, in addition, he laid the foundations of many other principalities. Thus the country during the rule of the Arsacidæ ultimately became divided into fifteen provinces, the majority of whose boundaries are at least approximately outlined in the map reproduced. These provinces were in turn subdivided into a large number of cantons, of which many were not infrequently warring against each other and even against the Royal House itself.

Now the province of Siounik'h in the course of time became one of the most powerful principalities in the Armenian king-

* Otherwise styled Valarsaces I., the brother of Mithridates I., the Parthian king known to the Armenians as Arsaces the Great. The latter it was who, upon his entry into Armenia, established Valarsaces upon the throne in the year 150 B.C. and who thus became the founder of the Armenian dynasty of the Arsacidæ, the kings of which continued to reign over Armenia until the year A.D. 428.

† The information which I previously secured regarding this monastery was extremely vague and I am now able to amplify it. A monastery was founded on the island by St. Gregory conjointly with King Terdat the Great in the year A.D. 305, which, together with a fortress, was largely destroyed in 742 by Mirvan, Governor of Armenia, on behalf of the Khaliphs. The church was restored, if not entirely rebuilt, in the year 880, by Mariam, daughter of the Armenian King Ashod I. and wife of Vasag-Gabourh, a Seunian prince. She also built two other churches on the island, where she was interred. I previously mentioned an uncorroborated statement to the effect that the monastery once formed the seat of the Armenian Patriarch. Actually, the monk Mashtoz founded a community here in the year 897, and he became the Patriarch Mashtoz II. in the same year, but he naturally transferred his residence to the Patriarchal seat at Dvin. He died shortly after, and was buried in the cemetery at Karhni, as will be shortly related.

dom, and it originally extended, in all probability, to include the adjacent provinces of Artsakh (No. 10) and of P'haitagaran (No. 11) situated to the east and bordering on the River Kur. Originally the princes of the Seunies owed allegiance to the Armenian Royal House, with whom they intermarried in the middle of the fourth century (consequently increasing their prestige) when the Arsacidæ ruled. Upon the downfall of this dynasty in the year 428, when Armenia was governed by Persian "Marzpans" or satraps as representatives of the Shahs, the Seunies acquired virtual independence, which they retained (even



during the occupation of Armenia by the Arabs in the seventh, eighth and part of the ninth centuries) until the close of the eleventh century. The province was ultimately absorbed by the Seljouk Turks, who had captured the royal city of Ani in the year 1064. Gaghik II., the last of the kings of the glamorous Bagratyd dynasty, had in the year 1045 been spitefully despoiled of his capital through the machinations of the Siounian Prince Vezd Sarkis, who had himself unsuccessfully aspired to the throne, and by his betrayal of the Armenian cause in opening the gates of the city of Ani to the forces of the Greek Emperor Constantine Monomachus he effectually set the seal upon the fate of the Armenian kingdom, for the forces of the Greeks were unable to withstand the onslaught of the ferocious hordes of the Seljouk

presented to his beloved sister Khosrovitoukht. To quote the words of Moyses Khorenetsi, who has already been referred to:

"At that time Tiridates completed the building of the Fortress of Karhni, which he constructed of square grey stones joined together with iron and lead and in that place he set up an arbour (umbraculum) and a building, wonderfully carved, for his sister Khosrovitoukht. In memory of its dedication to her he inscribed it with Greek characters." Of the former arched entrance to the fortress itself (or at least of the only entrance of which remains exist) the hoary supporting pilasters alone still stand, for quite apart from the ravages of time Karhni was rocked by a severe earthquake in the year 1679. Incomparably the most striking feature which dominates the scene lies in the Palace of Khosrovitoukht (Fig. 1), of which the flight of steps seen leading to the entrance on the southern side remains in excellent preservation. The palace is constructed of that grey porphyry of which the fortress itself is composed and which was obviously quarried from the surrounding mountains, but we have no means of ascertaining as to whether it was erected at the same time as the latter or at a slightly later date. Massive blocks of masonry lie scattered upon every side, and whilst no Greek inscription is today to be seen, the carving of fragments of capitals and bases reveals marked Greek influence in its execution.

Now for a little self-criticism! At the conclusion of my former article I drew attention to the fact that one sought vainly in the Armenian Soviet Republic for remains of the ancient royal palaces and castles. I must now frankly avow that I had not sought far enough during the short space of time at my disposal! I further remarked that the fragment of a stone frieze displayed as exhibit No. 102614 in the British Museum originally adorned the palace of King Tiridates at his capital city of Vagharshapat. The location of the palace is not indicated in the inscription accompanying the exhibit, and I now wish to take the first opportunity of correcting my entirely unwarranted surmise. I was at that time unaware of the existence of the king's other palace at Karhni, to which this exhibit must now, obviously, very definitely and emphatically be assigned! I may add that I have informed the Museum authorities to this effect and they have most courteously and gratefully acknowledged the information.

As to the later history of the fortress but little information is available, but we know that it must at least have still boasted some degree of importance in the ninth century, since we read that the Patriarch Mashtoz II. from the Monastery of Sevan was buried in the cemetery of Karhni "before the marvellous Throne of Tiridates" in the year 897. It was the palace which was thus referred to in the eulogistic terms frequently employed in allusion

to the residences of oriental potentates. Numerous tombstones bearing Armenian inscriptions are to be seen before and around the "marvellous throne," all of which must date from a period not in any case anterior to the fifth century, at the commencement of which the Armenian script was invented by the monk St. Mesrop with the collaboration of St. Sahak (or St. Isaac), a script composed of thirty-six letters, mostly adapted from the Greek alphabet; ultimately the Old Testament, the Gospels and various ecclesiastical works were translated from the Greek and Syriac into the Armenian tongue. These inscriptions are, unfortunately, either too fragmentary or too defaced to decipher. One particularly beautiful example executed in red porphyry was surmounted by winged cherubim bearing between them what appeared to be the "Keys of Heaven." How ardently did I not desire to bear away with me this superb example of the art of the Armenian stonemason of old! Nevertheless I was determined not to return empty-handed! I therefore embarked upon a diligent search amongst the scattered masonry for a fragment of more manageable proportions, and my patience was at length rewarded by the discovery of a stone measuring on its face 11 by 9 inches and bearing on a flattened surface twelve deeply incised letters in Armenian script. Unfortunately this fragment contains no complete words or date. The writing doubtless formed part of a mural inscription and is of a type associated with the ninth or tenth-century script, so that one may reasonably infer that the fortress was still inhabited at that period. The inscribed surface would appear to have been treated originally with a reddish pigment or stain.

This stone now reposes at my home in London. It was transported by rail from Erivan to Batum, on the shores of the Black Sea, and thence by seaplane to Odessa, where I encountered a most obstinate resistance on the part of the Customs officials when I was leaving the Soviet Union. "This stone," one of these gentlemen naïvely remarked, "would look very nice in our museum." "This stone," I replied, "has been borne at my expense across land and sea and it would look even nicer in *my* museum." "You should have obtained a permit to take it out of the country from the authorities in the locality where you found it," he observed. "The authorities," I retorted, "consisted of a few impoverished villagers to whom it would have been a matter of complete indifference if I had removed the entire remains of the fortress itself." "Nevertheless," he countered, "it is not permitted to remove antiquities from the country without authorization." "Very well," I replied, "but I decline to be parted from my stone, and if you refuse to allow me to take it with me I will return with it to my hotel and there will I remain

until permission be accorded." This, as I knew, would have entailed untold difficulties as my "exit visa" papers had all been signed, so finally, with a shrug of the shoulders, he concluded: "If the stone is of such interest to you, you may take it." Thereupon we both laughed, shook hands and parted on excellent terms.

My next objective lay in the monastery, today known as that of Keghart. It was formerly styled "Aïrits-vank," or "Monastery of the Lance," since the traditional "spear-head" with which our Lord's body was pierced after the Crucifixion, which for centuries and in fact to this day is preserved at the Monastery of Echmiadzin (as mentioned in my former article), was, long years since, however, removed for greater safety to this remote monastery, which, in consequence, became extremely prosperous owing to the offerings of the hosts of pilgrims by whom it was visited, the revenue of which, of course, sadly declined when it was restored to its former shrine.

Keghart Monastery is situated about 7 miles to the north-east of Bash-Gharni and is reached by car only with the utmost difficulty in fair weather, being quite inaccessible by this means after heavy rain. We succeeded in accomplishing the journey by car after crossing a series of arid downs, but the conditions are such that a "tank" would doubtless prove the most dependable vehicle in which to overcome the appalling obstacles which beset the motorist's path. It was also possible to proceed on horseback or on foot along the banks of the River Mezamore, but the ultimate climb to the monastery is calculated to daunt even the most stout-hearted. This remote, inaccessible sanctuary lies on the north side of a wild, barren glen extending up the Göktcha valley, the monastic walls dominating a perilous precipice, at the base of which the river meanders along its course. He who would pass his days in devout meditation could scarcely select a more apt retreat in which to commune with the Almighty, for an almost deathly stillness prevails; a stillness, moreover, relieved only by the distant swirl of the waters of the Mezamore in the valley below. An aged monk bade us welcome to this domain; his days must indeed be numbered, judging by his tottering gait and by the emaciated condition of his decrepit frame. We were speedily joined by a lay brother, who conducted us to what I suppose might be termed the "guest room" of the monastery, a tolerably clean, whitewashed chamber containing four rusty iron bedsteads, upon two of which we subsequently sought a night's repose. True, their construction was not such as to conduce to blissful slumber, but at least, contrary to my expectations, we were not devoured by vermin! From the lay brother we learnt, during the course of our evening meal, that the monastery boasted

yet a third name—viz., "Gor-gaetch"—"Flee upon sight," for a legend is related that at the time when the "Holy Lance" was preserved here a Persian force was dispatched to endeavour to rifle the church of its possessions, which, at that time, were not inconsiderable. Upon their preparing to descend upon the holy place, however, legions of angels are said to have appeared above the surrounding heights, and upon witnessing this celestial vision the awe-struck would-be marauders turned and fled!

The monastic church (Fig. 2) stands upon the site of a very early one founded by St. Gregory towards the close of the third century, originally the seat of one of the most ancient Armenian bishoprics. It must have been built shortly after the erection by the saint of the "mother" of Armenian churches at Ashtishat near the town of Mush, lying to the west of Lake Van and in the province of Douruperan, a church which replaced the former pagan temples dedicated to Anahit, Vahakn and Astzhik. The monastic church of Keghart seen today represents for the most part a restoration carried out in the year 1136 by Prince Bhrosch, son of one Vasag, a prominent chief of the province of Khatchen lying to the east of Siounik'h. This prince thus records his handiwork for the edification of posterity in the following Armenian inscription appearing on the north wall within the church:

> "By God's grace, I, Bhrosch, son of Vasag of the family of Gagnakoff, purchased this sacred precinct and the fields, mountains and all appurtenances . . . much gold has been dispensed by me in the provision of crosses, for censers and . . . I built the church and erected the holy images . . . tombs provided for me and my posterity. And I have dedicated to the benefit of the church the villages of Vohtyhabert and Bertag which I bought . . . should my posterity or companions attempt to seize . . . this sanctuary of saints purchased with my money. . . ."

The south external wall of the church, comprising the richly carved entrance portal, presents features of considerable interest. Two inscriptions may be translated as follows:

> "Of the Royal race, Lord of all, ruler . . . Ivané, blood relation of the world conqueror Zakharé, of Sarkis the elder, sirdar and generalissimo, and his sons Avak and Shanshah vanquishers of the Kaiem and the Kantzan as far as Akana . . . and as far as Nakhitchevan and beyond as far as Kamsaran . . . and later carried out a pilgrimage to the holy place Aïritsvank . . . to the churches and holy relics, and it pleased me to leave this record of my name in an inscription

and I have donated . . . fortress . . . salt of the superb church. May he who opposes me be covered with shame and damned. . . ."*

"By the grace of God, I, Selgord Taganetz . . . have restored the dome of this church as a memorial to myself, to Taga . . . and the wife Daredjana, also my son Stepane and brothers Zol and Sograb . . . in the year 804 (A.D. 1355)."

A relief representing a lion devouring an ox appears immediately above a small rectangular window and was intended to impress upon the serf in feudal times the desirability of remaining in due subjection to his overlord. (Fig. 3.) I have noticed this representation appearing on the walls of quite a number of old Armenian churches—scarcely appropriate propaganda to encounter in a state forming part of the Soviet Union! Numerous finely sculptured crosses are also to be seen on this wall, together with a circle denoting the "infinity of the Church of Christ," within which appear thirteen light-rays which are supposed to typify St. Gregory the Illuminator and the twelve Apostles.

From the photograph reproduced in Fig. 2 the reader will observe, on glancing across the roof of the church, an arched entrance hewn out of the rock. This entrance gives access through an excavated gallery to the Rousoukhna Sanctuary (Fig. 4), which might be described as the principal crypt of the monastery, the flooring of which is paved with sepulchral slabs.

The dome, from which the sole illumination is derived, is supported upon four massive pillars, of which three are seen in the photograph, and is sculptured in intricate lattice work of Arabic origin; upon the south-east pillar the following Armenian inscription is still clearly legible:

"By the grace of God, I, Papak, son of Bhrosch, and Rousoukhna, my wife, excavated without assistance this temple out of a single rock as a memorial to our souls and as an eternal testimony to ourselves, through our own resources. This took place during the eparchiate of Markar, 737 (A.D. 1288)."

Modesty never figured largely in these ancient records, but a little self-glorification is perhaps excusable when one ponders upon the immense labour involved and the interminable patience demanded in the evolution, unaided, of a sanctuary of such ele-

* Although no date appears, this inscription must have been added between the years 1212 (when Ivané received the title of "atabeck" upon the death of his brother Zakharé) and 1227, the year of Ivané's death.

gant and classic proportions. Unfortunately the space of time occupied in the construction of these ancient edifices is seldom recorded, and one only learns of the date when they attain completion.

If the story related to me by my host is to be believed (and I see no reason to doubt it), Rousoukhna remained at an opening above and drew up the earth and stones excavated by Papak with her long hair as fast as receptacles could be filled.

This unique domain boasts an earlier crypt (Fig. 5), which is reached by following a rock-hewn passage to an upper floor. An inscription appears over the entrance, of which the following is a translation:

> "At the time of . . . my brother Ivané of royal descent and their children . . . Arak during the eparchiate of 'Barseg the lonely,' with my brother's help I erected this Church with great magnificence in the year 664 (A.D. 1215)."

Beautifully sculptured crosses adorn the walls of this crypt, some of the most intricately carved of which are to be seen at the northern end, which is hewn out of a solid block of grey freestone.

Numerous recessed chapels have been excavated by pious folk wherein they and their progeny were interred. Above that observed in the photograph the following inscription may be seen:

> "This chapel is erected in memory of Antranig and Vahtan Bogayan, 30th August, 1334."

On the right of the entrance appears a profane inscription, presumably added by a pilgrim of the twentieth century!

"1912. Long live the tribe of Aragove," he writes, and this ridiculous, irrelevant inscription is merely in keeping with the deplorable practice so universally prevalent amongst certain individuals possessed of a mentality which simply impels them to scratch names or slogans upon every inanimate object which happens to fall to their hand!

A stream courses through this chapel, which was once famed for its healing and sanctifying properties, but inasmuch as I was enjoying excellent health at the time of my visit I had no cause to put its qualities to the test!

This locality fairly teems with cave chapels and excavated shrines. I have merely cited those which present features of particular artistic and historic interest and which are comparatively easy to photograph; others are extremely difficult of access and, moreover, their detailed descriptions would merely serve to weary the reader.

After bidding our hosts a cordial farewell, we took our departure for Bash-Gharni, and I was indeed touched by the old man's profuse gratitude for the small sum of money which I left with him. Alas! I fear that ere long the Monastery of Keghart will lie untenanted and untended, and that a silence even yet more profound will envelop this secluded sanctuary as it gradually but inevitably falls to decay within the fastnesses of the mountains of Siounik'h.

It now became necessary to dispense with the car, and I therefore instructed Garabed to return to Erivan and to take my precious stone with him! There he was to await further news from me, since upon reaching the old Persian post-road I should be able to telephone to Erivan and inform him as to my whereabouts. Before he took his departure he negotiated a reasonable price for the hire of horses and a guide wherewith I was to proceed in a southerly direction along the banks of the Mezamore with the (as it transpired, optimistic) object of visiting and inspecting the remains of the Armenian capitals of Dvin (or Tovin) and Ardaschad (or Artaxata).

Here it may be of interest to append a list of the ancient capitals of the kingdom of Armenia Major; it is impossible to guarantee the accuracy of the dates attached, since the opinions of different historians vary to a marked degree, but I have quoted the following from the most reliable sources:

	B.C.
Armavir	2000—189
Ardaschad	189—149
Nisibin	149—A.D. 14
	A.D.
Edessa	14—55
Armavir	55—67
Ardaschad (Upper Armenia) } Armavir (Lower Armenia) }	67—78
Erovandaschad	78—88
Ardaschad	88—197
Vagharshapat	197—344
Ardaschad	344—346
Dvin	346—961
(Carin or Erzerum became the capital of Armenia Minor from 387—428, when the country was divided between the Romans and the Persians, this province then becoming merged in the Pontic Empire.)	
Ani	961—1045

After passing the night in my former domicile at Bash-Gharni

I duly set off upon the following day along the river bank, my objective lying in the remains of the ancient city of Dvin, which, as a glance at the foregoing list will reveal, constituted the capital of Armenia during a period of over 600 years. I now passed almost immediately from the borders of Siounik'h into the province of Ararat (No. 15), the most important and largest of the Armenian geographical divisions. Throughout the ages the Armenian capitals, with the exception of the cities of Nisibin and Edessa, have always lain within the confines of this province. The river, which in reality consists of no more than a glorified stream and is entirely unnavigable throughout its course, meanders through mountainous scenery of an impressive order, skirting a spur of the traditional Mount Kegh, upon the slopes of which, we are told, Sisag himself first beheld the light of this world.

After travelling over a distance of approximately 12 miles I reached, as dusk supervened, the miserable village standing close to the river banks and partly upon the site of the ancient city of Dvin or Tovin. It was the Armenian King Khosrov II., nicknamed "The Little," the son of King Terdat the Great (of whom I have already spoken in connection with the "Throne of Tiridates"), who erected the city of Dvin between the years 342 and 346; his new capital stood partly upon a hill and was surrounded by the forest, known as that of Khosrovakert, within the glades of which the monarch was able to gratify his zest for the thrills of the chase. The king had wearied of the insalubrity of Ardaschad, his former capital, from which he doubtless frequently sought escape by taking up his abode in the town of Khagkhagh, since the early third century the winter residence of the Armenian monarchs, which lay to the northward, close to the River Kur, and within the ancient province of Oudi or Uti (No. 12).

Not unnaturally, the capital figured largely in Armenian history, and particularly in connection with the domination of that hapless nation by the Persian Sassanids and later by the Khaliphs. Upon the downfall of the Armenian dynasty of the Arsacidæ in the year 428, Dvin constituted the seat of the Persian Prefects or Marzpans, where the tribute money was collected for dispatch to the Court of the Shahs. The year 450 witnessed one of the numerous uprisings upon the part of the Armenians against their oppressors, who sought, with religious fanaticism, to impose the fire-worshipping doctrine of Zoroaster upon a nation who clung with equally fervid tenacity to the teaching of their beloved St. Gregory. This rising appears to have proved successful in so far that the first church of the Illuminator, constructed of wood, was erected in Dvin by the General Vartan the Mamikonean in commemoration of the preservation of the Christian faith in Armenia.

It was this heroic personage who, in the following year, at the head of an army of 66,000 men opposed a Persian force of 220,000 in the epic battle of Averaïr, when, however, the Armenian generalissimo perished valiantly in the course of the fight. Thenceforward he was styled by his compatriots Saint Vartan, and, in company with his nephew Vahan the Mamikonean, he became chronicled as one of the most illustrious figures whose names have adorned the pages of Armenian history. Although the Persian army claimed a doubtful victory it was badly crippled as a result of the encounter; nevertheless the Armenian Catholikos and other important personages were carried away in captivity to Persia, where they were subsequently put to death. The new Catholikos Melitey caused the Patriarchal seat to be transferred from the Monastery of Echmiadzin to Dvin in the year 452, and here it remained installed until A.D. 924.

Now please direct your attention, readers, to the photograph of the "City Gate" of Dvin (Fig. 6). After passing the night in quarters in the village, which constituted a veritable entomological museum, I bestirred myself at an early hour, my interest becoming immediately focussed upon what forms incomparably the most important relic still standing to commemorate the turbulent past of the city of Dvin. Here, indeed, I gazed upon an historic gateway! One joyous and at least one tragic incident were witnessed within its very shadow! Let me first recount the former. I have alluded above to Vahan, the nephew of Vartan the Mamikonean, as a national hero, a reputation which he most thoroughly merited. Well, at the close of the year 483 the Armenian capital was blockaded on all sides by the Persians, but, far from being downcast, the inhabitants strengthened the fortifications and widened the trenches, subsequently issuing from the beleaguered city and cutting their way through the ranks of the insurgents, upon whom they inflicted substantial losses. This move was followed by the most determined uprisings in the following year, under the leadership of Vahan, with such successful issues that the Persian monarch Yezdegerd II. actually appointed him as Governor of Armenia and generalissimo of the Armenian forces, and it was upon his return to the capital in the year 485 that the Patriarch Hovhannes, bearing relics of St. Gregory and at the head of a vast concourse, blessed the kneeling hero at the "City Gate," who, after receiving the Sacrament, was conducted to the church of the Illuminator, built by his uncle (*q.v.*), where a joyful service of thanksgiving was held. Vahan governed his country, needless to say, with the most marked ability until the year 510, when he died; much of his labour was expended upon the restoration of the monasteries and churches which had been destroyed during the appalling depredations

perpetrated by the Persians towards the close of the fourth century upon the death of Arshak II., one of the most profligate of the Armenian kings. Of the great Monastery at Echmiadzin we read that Vahan "restored with the utmost magnificence the spiritual metropolis which his forefathers had erected."

I will describe the tragic scene which was enacted at the "City Gate" a little later as I want to trace the history of the capital in chronological sequence.

After Vahan's death religious oppression was resumed, and we learn that in the year 548 the Persian governor Tenschabouh caused many fire-worshipping temples to be erected at Dvin, where previously only one had stood; the natural sequence ensued, and a further successful rising was initiated by yet a third member of the Mamikonean tribe in the year 571. In the meanwhile, in the year 551, the great Council of Dvin took place, when the Armenians adopted a calendar of their own, and thus, under what is termed the "Haican Era," it is necessary to add to dates mentioned in Armenian inscriptions the number 551 in order to arrive at the correct A.D. periods.

To a very enterprising Armenian governor named Sumbat the city was indebted for the erection in the year 600 of a new and magnificent stone "Church of the Illuminator," which replaced the former one, mainly constructed of wood by St. Vartan. So enthusiastically did this good man enter upon his project that he actually obtained permission from the Persian monarch to pull down part of the Castle of Dvin in order that he might extend his church to truly noble proportions! I must say that this strikes me as a most unusual concession, since one could hardly imagine that the king would have lent a very sympathetic ear towards such a proposal! However, I can vouch for the apparent truth of his assertion, since I was able, in the course of my inspection of the ruins, to identify the foundations of Sumbat's cathedral, which is classified among the earliest churches in Armenia to be constructed with three aisles, and, furthermore, remains of the adjacent castle are still to be traced.

Now, when the struggle between Byzantium and Persia for supremacy in Western Asia ended in the defeat of the Persian Sassanids by the Emperor Heraclius in the year 627, the Arab hordes seized their opportunity, and after overrunning Persia they later invaded Armenia. Terrible was the fate which, in the year 639, befell the City of Dvin, when many of the public buildings were destroyed, 12,000 of the inhabitants being massacred and 35,000 carried into captivity. The unfortunate Armenians had indeed fallen "out of the frying-pan into the fire," and the capital now became the seat of the Arab governors or emirs over a period of more than 300 years—that is to say, until the rise to supreme

power of the glamorous Armenian Bagratyd dynasty in the year 951.

Much of the distress which prevailed was alleviated by the efforts of that great Patriarch Nerses III., styled "The Builder," for he it was who restored many of the finest of the buildings of the city, which was greatly strengthened in the year 730 by the Arab governor Abdulaziz himself, who had passed his boyhood there, but who had evidently been instrumental in bringing about further destruction upon the capital. "My hand," said he, "hath occasioned the fall of this city and that same hand shall restore it to its former strength." He thereupon set about rebuilding the walls and fortifications, widening the trenches and extending the ramparts, and if you desire, reader, to satisfy yourself as to my statement, please examine closely the photograph of the "City Gate" and you should experience little difficulty in detecting the remains of the stonework of Abdulaziz still clinging to the earlier masonry; this effect is particularly clearly discernible above the arch itself.

Destruction in a different form overtook the city in the year 895, when it became the victim of a most devastating earthquake, and it is said that so many of the inhabitants perished that graves could scarcely be dug sufficiently quickly in which to bury the thousands of corpses with which the streets were choked. Truly may it be said that not the hand of man alone but, in addition, the forces of nature were arrayed against the tragic city of Dvin. On this occasion the survivors were greatly cheered by our old friend the monk Mashtoz (to whom I have previously referred by his subsequent title of the Patriarch Mashtoz II. as being buried in the cemetery of Karhni), who encouraged them to rebuild their homes, in which merciful work he was largely assisted by the saintly Bagratian King of Armenia, Sumbat I.

I propose to conclude this account of the history of the Armenian capital by describing the cruel fate which befell this prince, who, in consequence, became known as Sumbat the Martyr.

Sumbat I. ruled between the years 890 and 915, and towards the latter part of his reign he was greatly harassed by a villainous but powerful governor of Armenia named Housouf, who was appointed to this post by the Khaliph of Baghdad. So desperate were the straits to which the king and his family became reduced that at the close of his reign he secured his queen, his mother, and other Armenian women of noble birth for greater safety in the strong Siunian Castle of Erendchag whilst he himself sought shelter in the fortress known as Gaboïd-berd, which probably lies to the north-west of this castle. (N.B.—I certainly hope to be able to locate both these strongholds upon my return to Armenia,

for I could find my own way to Erendchag Castle and should doubtless contrive to discover Gaboïd-berd as well.) By dint of false oaths Housouf at length succeeded in securing the person of the king, with whom he marched to Erendchag Castle, which he found himself quite unable to seize by direct assault. He then commanded his royal captive to bid the queen deliver up the fortress, but, realizing full well the treacherous nature of the governor, the king held his peace.

Housouf now subjected the wretched Sumbat to the most fiendish tortures which human ingenuity could devise, before the castle walls, where he obtained release from his sufferings only in death. His corpse was transported to and then suspended from a gibbet at the "City Gate" of Dvin, and, if we are to credit the story related by Stephanos Orbelian writing in the thirteenth century, "a heavenly light shone around the body of the martyred king, thus attesting his sanctity and which performed such remarkable miracles that many believed in Jesus Christ." Thus may we appropriately bid farewell to the Armenian capital and its "City Gate," which, after being repeatedly ravaged by Genghiz Khan in the early thirteenth century and even more effectually by Tamerlane in the year 1415, has long since passed into the realms of oblivion.

I had hoped to conclude this brief journey by carrying out an inspection of the ruins of the earlier capital of Ardaschad, which are said to lie at the confluence of the Mezamore and the Araxes, and subsequently to visit the ancient monastery of the Khovirap or "deep dungeon" which lay on the outskirts of Ardaschad and where St. Gregory was confined for a period of thirteen years in a foul pit at the instance of King Tiridates on account of his refusal to worship the pagan gods of Armenia and before the monarch had been converted to Christianity by the saint. This monastery lay close to the Araxes, which constitutes the Russo-Turkish frontier today.

Alas! as I neared the old post-road running from Erivan to the Iranian frontier I was challenged by a detachment from the frontier guard, who insisted that, in the absence of a permit signed at Moscow, I must proceed forthwith under escort to the nearby village of Kumerlou, whence I might telephone to Erivan and instruct my good friend Garabed to drive along the post-road to the village, so that by thereafter bidding me return by that route to Erivan they might rid themselves of my embarrassing presence! This road presents no features of particular interest, but I was not in a position to resist these peremptory military commands, deeply disappointed though I may have been at my inability to complete even this small section of my original itinerary. To my enquiry as to whether any monks still inhabited

the monastery of the Khovirap, a member of my escort replied, "Monks! Certainly not; but good lusty soldiers of our valiant Red Army!"

I only desire to make one further observation in conclusion, which I feel may possibly prove of some small interest to those patient readers who have borne with me in my all too inadequate description of the historic regions through which I passed.

By an extraordinary coincidence I carried out this brief journey at a time when the world without was distracted with anxiety and horror at the prospect of the stupendous calamity which threatened to overwhelm the very structure of our civilization itself. Yet, as I placidly and peacefully pursued my way along the banks of this little mountain stream, as I cast my thoughts back over the centuries to the sanguinary calamities which engulfed the classic city of Dvin, not one word penetrated the valleys of this forgotten land to disturb my tranquil frame of mind, and thus I remained in blissful and sublime ignorance of the momentous issues at that time confronting the Great Powers of the West which, please God, may ultimately become resolved along the paths of peace and contentment among the nations.

JAPAN'S CLAIM TO BE UNDERSTOOD

By George Sale

(The author has recently returned from a visit to Japan, which he knows well.)

We know by experience the obstacles—trade rivalries, sectional hostilities and lack of understanding—which foil every attempt to establish whole-hearted co-operation between any two countries; say, for example, the two closely related Anglo-Saxons, the United States and Great Britain, or France and the United Kingdom, separated only by a narrow strip of sea. Still more difficult must it be to reconcile the ideals of the two equal but unrelated civilizations of the East and of the West. And yet in a shrinking world, bringing mankind of every race into close contact, the effort must be made lest the nations perish.

In that effort the West must take the lead, for it was the West which in the last century invaded the East seeking markets for its manufactures. In the process they destroyed the economy and disturbed the content of peoples who, in their own way, were quite satisfied to remain ignorant of Western thought, of Western progress in the production of weapons and in the arts of war.

In no quarter is there a greater need for a closer study, for a sympathetic approach to the present-day problems, for a sincere effort to understand motives and actions than in the case of Japan, with whom Great Britain was so long and so happily in alliance. She is the most powerful and progressive nation in the East, and the changes which must follow the course of current events in that part of the world will certainly not be less, but probably more, than those deriving from the Munich agreement. The fact that in 1940 Japan will celebrate the 2,600 anniversary of the founding of the Japanese Empire is a reminder of the continuity which lies in the past and a happy augury for the future. But, generally speaking, little is known abroad, and less appreciated, of the qualities developed in the long years of isolation, upon which it has been possible to graft the arts and industries of the West.

There is no satisfactory or comprehensive history of Japan—Murdoch has written three volumes, but, as a most distinguished scholar said: "Murdoch looked at Japan through spectacles made in Aberdeen in 1880." Too many people in the West have been looking at Japan through spectacles of their own manufacture, in which the glass was not always crystal clear, but often shaded by partiality, condescension or prejudice.

Japan, after her gates had been forced by the West, felt com-

pelled to remain on her guard. Her knowledge of the Western world was not profound, but observation and experience called for the greatest wariness in her diplomatic relations.

In Japan, moral standards are different from the West, though in their view just as high. It is understood in Japan that if the motives are right they do not need, nor do they call for, explanations. Japan, very largely because of this, is an extremely poor expositor of her motives—other Oriental nations, with less constructive and organizing ability, look upon and practise propaganda as an art.

Japan has not yet fully adjusted her way of looking at life to the Western way. The West must contribute to that end, and must realize that a full adjustment is an absolute necessity for harmony in the future of world affairs—they must not leave it entirely to Japan to make the adjustment. There must be no playing favourites when the West looks to the Orient, or, if favouritism is to be shown, it should be where there are those factors of discipline, justice, orderly government and a high sense of financial obligations, both private and governmental.

The key to the understanding of Japan is appreciation of her tremendous energy and will-power, which she would really prefer to exercise in peaceful ways. Japan's change from feudalism to modernism occurred almost overnight and in comparative peace. Compare this with the French Revolution and its reign of terror, or again the more recent revolutions in Russia and Spain. The West should recognize that Japan is in the midst of a great renaissance and understand that here is a great Oriental experiment for the improvement of human life.

The West must find standards for judging Japan that give the idea of her intentions, of the impetus behind her, of the long culture which has endured and which, though modified, has given new life to the nation. We must understand the creative spirit welling up and expressing itself in action as nowhere else in the East. Nothing can suppress the dynamic life of Japan. She is advancing and will continue to advance in her own way by her own competency.

The West owes a duty to humanity at large to understand Japan's purposes and to improve their knowledge of what Japan means to the world as an example to the Orient in terms of social betterment and progress. "New wine cannot be put into old bottles," and so Japan's aroused spirit may not be held within her old boundaries.

It was not Japan's fault that she was roused from her seclusion and isolation by American guns and her dormant creative spirit awakened. In 1868 the population was 30,000,000—in 1938, 73,000,000—with a yearly increase of one million souls she must

expand either commercially or territorially. Birth control runs counter to the deep-seated reluctance to interfere with the growth of the centre of her social structure—the family.

Agricultural improvement and the extension of arable lands has been applied to the maximum. The farmer, traditionally and actually the backbone of national welfare, is being progressively impoverished. Young men and women from the country crowd into the industrial and commercial spheres, leaving an increasing concentration of non-producers, the very young and the very old, in the rural areas.

Between 1875 and 1920 Japan added to her territory the Kurile Islands in 1875, the Loo Choo Islands in 1879, Formosa and the Pescadores in 1895, the southern half of Sakhalin in 1905, Korea in 1910, and, under mandate, the Caroline, Marshall, Marianne and Pelon Islands in 1918, a total of 112,000 square miles. By way of comparison it is interesting to note that the United States, within a shorter period of time, extended her sovereignty by more than 125,000 square miles—namely, the Hawaiian Islands in 1898, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippine Islands in 1899, American Samoa in 1900, Panama Canal Zone in 1904 and the Danish West Indies in 1917.

Unfortunately the territories annexed by Japan did not relieve the problem. Emigrants could not compete with the native labour, and climatic conditions were not attractive, to which must be added a reluctance to leave the homeland. When they sought to emigrate to other countries in which conditions were more attractive, they found the doors of nineteen countries legally closed.

Thus the great problem, so vital to Japan, remained unchanged. It was placed on the agenda and frankly discussed at the Conference of International Pacific Relations held in Kyoto in 1929, and at subsequent conferences, but on each occasion met with nothing more than academic consideration. Not only the members of the conferences but statesmen of the West entirely failed to perceive the urgency of the problem so fundamental in the formation of Japan's foreign policy.

The last possible solution and only alternative was an industrial expansion, a drive for efficiency in manufactures and a bid for a larger share in world trade, following in this way the course pursued first by Great Britain and then, in turn, by Germany and the United States. The peak of this effort was seen in 1936, when a total of exports of yen 2,800,000,000 was reached. Imports in the same year were yen 2,930,000,000. Though Japan was such a good customer and so, on balance, cannot be described as a menace, special restrictions on Japanese goods were imposed by the Governments of forty countries. Even the United States took

part in this campaign, despite the fact that Japan's purchases from that country in 1930 were twice as much as sales.

Thus confronted by barriers in every quarter of the globe, Japan decided that she must turn to Asia, particularly as a source of raw materials and as a market for her manufactures. Geographical propinquity, similarities in the written language and intimate knowledge of market requirements give Japan special advantages. Japan has relatively more at stake in China than any other foreign country. Her trade with China comprises 24 per cent. of her total foreign trade, whereas the United States' trade with China is less than 4 per cent. of her total and Great Britain's less than 2 per cent. Two-thirds of the foreign population of China are Japanese. It is not necessary to emphasize further the special position of China vis-à-vis Japan and the vital importance of her trade with China in relation to her economic life and her effort to support increasing millions through industry.

From the Washington Conference in 1922 to the resignation of Shidehara as Foreign Minister in 1931, Japan strove most earnestly to conciliate the Chinese and to accomplish her objectives by peaceful methods. She accepted in embittered silence the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 to make way for the Washington Treaties, which were supposed to prepare the ground for the reduction of China's armies and to promote peace in China, but subsequently forgotten by the guarantors. At the request of the other Powers, she agreed to return Tsingtao to China, abandoning many highly valuable economic and political concessions as a gesture of co-operation with the West and of sincerity and friendship towards China, in the hope of furthering friendly relations between the two countries and promoting the welfare of the Orient. She also agreed, though not without protest, to limit her navy to an inferior ratio to that of the United States and Great Britain, thus putting peace before "face"—a generous gesture to those who know the Far East.

But what was the result of all Japan's efforts to establish good relations with China? In 1927, when British and American gunboats were forced to open fire in Nanking to protect their nationals from being overwhelmed and their property from loot, the Japanese gunboats remained aloof, leaving their nationals unprotected. The Japanese policy was mistaken for weakness, and in the period after 1927 the Japanese contend that the Chinese increased their opposition to Japan. Well-organized anti-Japanese propaganda was carried on more strongly as the years passed by in the textbooks used in the schools, from the primary to the higher, in the military as well as in the economic groups.

Japan's political relation with Russia is another unsolved problem. Since 1857, when, through the action of the British Navy,

Russia was compelled to evacuate her settlement on the island of Tsushima in the Sea of Japan, Japan has always found herself opposed to Russia. In this long struggle others have interfered, such as on the occasion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 when Germany, France and Russia intervened to force Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula, which shortly afterwards Russia appropriated for herself.

The Russian form of government may have changed, but the urge to expand towards the East remains the same. The influence and position of Borodin and other Russian advisers in the councils of the Kuomintang and the spread of Soviet influence and tutelage in Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, with outposts spreading rapidly further east, raised the understandable fears of Japan. England has for centuries maintained that she cannot allow Belgium and Holland to be dominated by any other Power, and the United States has proclaimed her Munroe Doctrine. Similarly Japan can never allow the Soviet to encroach upon China.

Japan sincerely believes her true mission is to be stabilizer in the Far East. She hopes to fulfil this rôle by peaceful methods, but, if necessary, will not shrink from war to accomplish the task which she believes just as much to be hers as England believes in the "white man's burden."

The Japanese feel they are conducting a crusade aiming at the pacification of the Far East, but, as often before in history, the crusade falls far short of the ideal inspiring the crusade, and, to the sorrow and disappointment of their friends, the excesses of the Japanese armies on various occasions and their treatment of the Chinese population has aroused a spirit of enmity in China which will take many years and generations to pacify, and has succeeded so far in uniting the various factions in China as they have never been united before.

The military operations in China have inevitably clashed with the foreign trading interests. In the areas which the Japanese armies have won they have imposed many restrictions and controls and exercised discrimination against foreign interests, chiefly American and British. The Japanese viewpoint is that they are engaged in a life-and-death struggle and such mundane matters as trade should not count. Foreigners, on the other hand, whose chief interest in China is trade, are greatly incensed and upset at the roughshod way in which their rights, legal and traditional, have been over-ridden.

The Japanese armies, especially those who fought at Shanghai, feel they have gone to great lengths to safeguard foreign property, even though it entailed delay in obtaining military objectives and involved greater casualties, and they feel resentful that there has been no public acknowledgment of this on the part of Great

Britain or America, but rather every opportunity is taken to complain against the restrictions, which the Japanese feel have been imposed of necessity from military considerations.

And so the gulf widens, tension grows and incidents multiply. The majority of the Press in Great Britain and America have assumed Japan is the aggressor, and their criticisms have, in the minds of the Japanese, been unfair and biassed. It is not so much that they resent criticisms, but the tone and manner of them. This failure of the Press to comment impartially is of long standing. As far back as 1850 Lord Derby had cause to say with regard to the unjustifiable attacks on Prince Louis Napoleon: "The weakest part of the Freedom of the Press is exhibited in the domain of foreign affairs. If they aspire to exercise the influence of statesmen they should speak as such." Strengthening their belief that the British and American Press is biassed is the sympathy given to Japan in other quarters.

The Japanese are always ready to listen to fair criticism, and there has been much done which, if fairly criticized, would have been accepted and remedied by Japan, but as long as the tone of the Press and the spirit of their criticism is partial, it will have no influence on the minds of the Japanese.

The Japanese know as well as Western people that to invade another country's territory or to kill a man is not right. No one in Japan, even the military party, is enjoying bombing the Chinese, nor are they willing to risk their lives in such a campaign unless there is no alternative.

From the military point of view Japan expects to be able to dominate China or a large part of it. They have already captured Peking, Nanking, Shanghai, Hankow and Canton, and the railways connecting these towns with the coast, and with the help of their navy they can hold the ports, chief towns and railways, and China will not be able to drive them out, and neither Great Britain nor America will have the will or the wish to do so.

Many people think that Japan will be unable to stand the strain financially of this great venture, but so far the facts are proving the contrary. Japan, under the able direction of her Finance Minister, Mr. Ikeda, has introduced a system of control which limits and adjusts imports to balance exports. If the exports decrease, so must imports be cut down and rationed, but always with preference in favour of military and naval requirements. In this way the surplus of imports over exports for the nine months up to the end of September, 1938, has been reduced to less than six millions sterling, and this excess is more than set off by newly mined gold, to say nothing of the trade between October and December, months during which exports almost always exceed imports.

Japan's economic strength lies in the enormous difference in the standard of labour and living as compared with the Western world. Few people appreciate the great increase of industrial production in Japan during the last decade. Taking the monthly average of industrial production for the year 1928 as 100, we find the figures for 1937 ranging about 240. This phenomenal increase of 2½ times is not approached by a long way in either Great Britain or America, and coupled with that is the inherent willingness of the people to face cheerfully restriction and hardship, if needs must, for the sake of Emperor and country. Japanese industry, having been stripped of waste and luxury and reinforced by the introduction of substitutes through necessity, will, they claim, be fully equal to the task of supplying the requirements for the war in China.

Probably all individual effort will be more or less State-controlled and the economic policy or structure of Japan altered in such a way as to bring about complete marshalling of all economic effort of individuals for the sole benefit of the State. There will be no faltering, no wavering, until they have reached their goal.

On the other hand, the task of economic reconstruction and rehabilitation of China will be far beyond the resources of Japan unless she can receive help and co-operation from Great Britain and America, and this will not be obtained unless the peace terms to China are magnanimous and generous and recognize not only the territorial integrity of China, which Japanese statesmen have repeatedly promised to observe, but also take into consideration the new national spirit conceived in the agony of the present struggle—unless peace can be brought about on such terms the alternative will be that trade will dwindle and dwindle, and that vast area consisting of Japan, Manchukuo, Korea, Formosa and that part of China stretching down to the Yangtse basin become an economic wilderness like Soviet Russia, and the Japanese will find they have failed in their crusade. But if Great Britain and the United States will make a serious effort to understand the problems and difficulties of Japan there is a great rôle for them to play in assisting China and Japan to revive trade, build up good government and restore peace in the Far East.

WHAT OF THE WAR IN CHINA?

By O. M. Green

The fall of Canton on October 21, and of Hankow but five days later, provide an obvious landmark in the conflict between China and Japan at which to try to sum up future chances. More than that is impossible. The best-informed observers would not venture to predict the outcome. As was to be expected, the two disasters for China just mentioned gave rise to a crop of rumours of impending mediation. But these quickly evaporated under the stubborn impossibility of finding any bridge between the demands of the combatants. As a Chinese business man—the class which above all others might be expected to desire peace—said to the writer, "After Nanking, mediation might have been possible; now it is impossible." So the conditions of the struggle remain what they have always been: the Japanese cannot leave off, the Chinese will not. Both sides have still plenty of staying power.

Canton shook the Chinese badly. Nothing so incomprehensible has occurred in any war: that the Japanese should have been allowed, within twelve days of landing in Bias Bay, to march almost unopposed into China's chief and almost only remaining channel of communication with the outside world, vital to her not only for the inflow of munitions but for the outflow of exports needed to pay for them. No wonder that all over China it is firmly believed that Canton was sold by the local commanders.

But Canton has not affected the Chinese so badly as Nanking did. There is no doubt that they should have fallen back from Shanghai to the hills and lakes around Soochow at least a month earlier. When the Japanese took them in the flank by landing in Hangchow Bay, they were exhausted by their three months' heroic defence of Shanghai, and the retreat became a rout. A year ago it looked as if China were finished. But the Chinese, under General Chiang Kai-shek's magnetic inspiration, pulled themselves together with miraculous spirit, and from that moment have undoubtedly been fighting (except at Canton, where they hardly fought at all) with better organization, better co-ordination between the different armies, and, from the Japanese point of view, more exasperating success in holding off the enemy and making him pay the heaviest price. The capture of Hsuchowfu, the important junction between the east-west Lung-Hai railway and the north-south Tientsin-Pukou—which was specially necessary for Japan in order to complete her land communications

between Peiping and Nanking—took the Japanese over three months. The capture of Hankow took five. The Chinese defence of Hankow was particularly meritorious, as the Japanese, spread out over an eighty-mile front, in the attempt to execute one of their favourite turning movements, had the advantage of the Yangtze in the centre, not only for transport but to bring into play their naval guns, which the Chinese dislike more than aeroplanes. The Chinese, however, made every possible use of the hilly country in which the battle was fought, and if they suffered fearful losses themselves they undoubtedly killed or disabled thousands of the enemy.

The two episodes of Hsuchowfu and Hankow were, moreover, marked by conspicuous successes, at Taierchwang and Teian respectively, when the Chinese trapped four Japanese divisions and mauled them very badly if they did not actually annihilate them as they claimed. The moral effect of such successes, of which at one time China would not even have dreamed, is far greater than that of defeats which were known sooner or later to be inevitable. The skill, too, with which the Chinese have been able to extricate themselves from lost battles has been again and again remarked. In their main objective—namely, the rounding up and destruction of the Chinese armies—the Japanese have signally failed.

The war has now branched off into regions unfamiliar even to most foreigners in China. It looked at first as if the Japanese would be in Changsha, capital of Hunan, 200 miles south of Hankow, before Christmas; and in a moment of panic, pursuing the "scorched earth" policy, the local authorities burnt down half the city. From a sentimental point of view this is a peculiar tragedy. For centuries Changsha has been the home of the proudest, most cultured aristocracy in China. From its walls the last waves of the T'aipings were beaten back and subdued. It was till a few weeks ago the one perfect example of an old-world Chinese city. The official held responsible for its burning has been shot. But that will not restore its stately homes, its treasures of art and lovely temples. A sad story indeed.

But at the time of writing the Japanese advance on Changsha has been stayed and even turned back. Simultaneously, there have been strong reactions by the Chinese around Canton. It would be idle to describe these in detail, as the situation changes almost daily. But the announcement that General Chiang Kai-shek has now taken personal charge of the operations in Kwangtung is perhaps significant. It is known that the Japanese have lately been drawing upon their first-line troops in Manchuria, both for the campaign against Hankow and to cope with the guerrillas in North China; while, to meet the Chinese reaction at Canton

they have also brought up their troops at Amoy. Is it possible that the long-contemplated Chinese strategy of wearing down their enemy by forcing him to spread out over their enormous land is beginning to take effect?

This was the factor most strongly emphasized by General Chiang Kai-shek in a manifesto issued to the nation after the loss of Hankow. Foreigners, he said, attached far too much importance to towns. Hankow's capture had always been anticipated,* he said; it was upon the vast spaces of China that her people could confidently rely for victory if only they remained united and displayed that will to success which had hitherto been so conspicuous. If they were prepared to endure sufferings for a season, triumph in the end was certain.

Since this manifesto was issued the People's Political Council meeting in Chungking have passed a unanimous vote of confidence in General Chiang, with a resolution to pursue the war to the bitter end.

Still more noteworthy is the same pledge to General Chiang adopted by the Chinese Communist Party on November 24 in plenary session at Chungking. The Communist movement is undoubtedly the most important influence in China today, not even excepting Chiang's all-powerful personality. Since their expulsion from South China in 1934 the Communists, under their gifted leaders Chu Teh, the general, and Mao Tse-tung—sometimes called "the Chinese Stalin," which seems hardly fair to him—have established a local State in Shensi (North-West China) which has attracted adherents from all over the country. The violent Moscow ideology of ten years ago has disappeared; Communism now means no more than agrarian reform; the easy Chinese religious tolerance and preference for private property (though landlordism is forbidden) have reappeared. "Squeeze," the fatal flaw in Oriental government, is rigorously excluded, the officials being perfectly content to live on a pittance of fifteen or twenty dollars a month. The story of the Communists' reconciliation with Nanking is well known: no Chinese are more wholeheartedly devoted to expelling the Japanese. But there have been internal differences, the old-fashioned members of the Kuomintang distrusting the Communists' urgent desire to arm all the peasants of China. Hence the importance of the declaration attached to the pledge of loyalty to General Chiang—that the Communists promise to attempt no secret organization in the army; that China's position would never permit the establishment

* This, in fact, was told to the present writer nearly a year ago by a Chinese closely in touch with governmental circles, then just home from China. He added that General Chiang believed that in the province of Hunan would be seen the beginnings of the final discomfiture of Japan.

of a Soviet or Party dictatorship; and that all they desire is a true democratic republic in the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principles.

Years of practice have now made the Communists the most formidable guerrilla fighters. Outside Peiping, Tientsin and the railways they are already masters of Hopei; and a heavy Japanese expedition against one of their chief positions, on Wutaishan, in Shansi, though it captured some of the outer spurs of the mountain, could not dislodge them from their main strongholds. The Communists have been sending agents into east and central China to organize the guerrillas there. It is at least on the cards that they may prove the decisive factor in the war.

To these alarms the Japanese Government and military commanders present a calm and confident front. They say that guerrillas have never yet won a war and that in China their operations are so hampered and neutralized by hordes of mere bandits that the common people would thankfully welcome any government that gave them peace and order. This may be true of some parts, notably Shuntung, but not of all: and it may be just as difficult to get rid of bandits as of guerrillas, in order to make occupied China pay a dividend—which is for Japan the all-important desideratum.

Judged only by the map, Japan's successes in China are overwhelming. Peiping, Nanking, all the chief ports, most of the railways and the great trade route of the Yangtze, including the rich iron mines of Tayeh, are under her control. Her armies have invaded ten of China's eighteen provinces, not including Suiyuan and Chahar in Inner Mongolia. It is an impressive array; but its very magnitude is its weakness. It is the simple fact that away from the main towns and railways Japanese control is non-existent. They do not trust themselves outside the walled cities at night and there are vast tracts of the north and east in which the Chinese Government's writ runs and its magistrates function as if there were no war. The activities of the guerrillas within earshot of Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai, and the continual Chinese claims to successes in Honan and northern Hupeh (about which the Japanese broadcasts are ominously silent) indicate that the Japanese are having no easy time. The smallest Chinese province is about as big as England and Wales, most of them are vastly bigger. Accepting the Chinese estimate of 1,000,000 Japanese troops in China, that is a very small number to pacify and hold down such vast expanses of country, where railways are few, roads unfit for heavy military traffic, and the population, stirred to its depths by the ruthless bombing from Japanese aeroplanes, are consistently hostile. If we add to this the incalculable amount of capital destruction, the prospects of getting a return out of China that will even partly pay for the military occupation are

not bright. And it is never to be forgotten that Japan's adventure stands or falls by its capacity to pay an adequate dividend.

The outlook is blurred by divided opinions in Japan as to what should be done with China. Thus, at the one end, the moderate *Oriental Economist*, a financial monthly of the highest standing, says in its October number:

> "It is now up to Japan to provide the infant régime (in occupied China) with as many facilities as possible for its wholesome growth . . . China has a standpoint of its own, and it is essential that this standpoint should be correctly gauged and appreciated by those who will be charged with the direction of policy toward China."

This is the view attributed to General Ugaki, lately Foreign Minister, a man of undoubted breadth and length of view; but in September he was forced out of office by the extremist military faction because he insisted that Japan's policy in China must be controlled by the Foreign Office, and he refused to agree to the creation of a new China Office run by the Army.

Prince Konoye's eagerly awaited broadcast to the nation on November 3 did not help much to clarify the situation. As *The Times*' Tokyo correspondent drily observed, both the Premier's and Mr. Ikeda, the Finance Minister's statements were "as important for their implications and omissions as for anything they specifically said." Prince Konoye repeated that "Japan wishes to co-operate with the awakened Chinese people and create a stable East Asia," the peace of which "had been sacrificed as a result of the mistaken policy" of the Chinese Nationalists. However, he retracted his statement of January 16 by allowing that the Kuomintang might be admitted to share in the awakening, if the personnel of their Government were reformed: in other words, if General Chiang Kai-shek were expelled. The address ended with a chilling admonition to the Japanese people that if they thought peace was immediately coming with the fall of Canton and Hankow, they would do well to think again.

In the opinion of impartial onlookers Japan has made a capital blunder in declaring that she will have no dealings with General Chiang. The intention was obvious—namely, to detach his followers and achieve that split among Chinese politicians and generals on which she counted at the outset to bring her a swift success. But the very reverse has been the result, as is not surprising to those who remember how unfailingly during China's civil wars the favour of the Powers on any particular general immediately contributed to his undoing. No nation will take its opinions about its leading men from outsiders, and the more Japan denounces General Chiang, the more closely China clings to him.

Prince Konoye carried matters a stage further in announcing on November 3 the policy for the creation of her "new order in the Far East," as approved by the whole Government, the aim of which, according to *The Times*' Tokyo correspondent, is to combine China, Manchoukuo and Japan in one block, in which China would perform the helot's task of furnishing raw materials, Manchoukuo would attend to the heavy industries, and Japan would supply finances and military protection and enlightenment. At least one difficulty is that the Japanese have completely failed to induce any Chinese of respectability or standing to join the puppet governments they have set up in the occupied territory.

The most important part in the latest disclosure of Japanese policy is the direct challenge to the Western Powers. The Nine Power Treaty is declared outworn and no longer applicable; the Powers must recognize "the new realities" in China. This theme was the one clear-cut part of Prince Konoye's broadcast on November 3. It appears in the Japanese reply to America's severe protest against violation of foreign rights in China delivered on October 7. It is perpetually harped upon by all the Japanese papers. And *The Times*' Tokyo correspondent emphasizes, in a dispatch of November 30, that "it is significant that Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, on assuming office, omitted for the first time to give foreign ambassadors the customary assurances that Japan will adhere to the 'open door' policy."

Here we are down to fundamentals. There is no space here to deal with the incessant complaints by foreign Powers of the studied violations of their rights in China by the Japanese Army and Navy. Some of these, but by no means all, may conceivably be excusable by the usual plea of "military necessity," or may be due to the intemperance of an extremist local commander. But in respect of the "open door" and the Nine Power Treaty, the Powers cannot admit any compromise with the Japanese claim without base betrayal of China and, incidentally, surrender of all their interests in the Far East. It may be wise for Japan to recognize that the Powers (not even excluding Germany) are becoming gravely incensed by the evident Japanese design to monopolize all the China market; that they will not always be too preoccupied elsewhere to neglect the Far East; and that Japan's poverty in raw materials and money, on both of which the war has made heavy inroads, makes her peculiarly vulnerable if the Powers decide to take active measures to clip her wings.

The most suggestive factor as one looks to the future is the internal state of Japan herself, always the determining influence in her foreign policy. Nobody but herself knows how much the war has cost her in men, money and materials. So far as can be estimated, the ordinary and war budgets by next April will have

amounted, since the beginning of the conflict, to about £585,000,000; this should be multiplied by at least five to give the equivalent in English values, and it does not appear to include provision for the war next year. Most of the extra expenditure entailed by war and rearmament is being covered by loans.* The adverse trade balance has been greatly reduced, but only by the severest restriction of imports, which has already closed large numbers of the little factories that bear so big a share of Japan's exports. During the first half of 1938, according to the London Chamber of Commerce Journal, quoting figures obtained from Japan, imports declined in value as compared with the first half of 1937, from 2,142 million yen to 1,388 million; the decrease in raw cotton and wool amounted to 413·2 million yen and 209·4 million respectively. Exports continued to decline in all groups (except food, needed by the Army in China), the biggest loss, 19·9 per cent., being in finished goods. Cotton and rayon tissues were responsible for most of the drop.

Even more important than these ominous figures is the social ferment that has become more and more marked since the seizure of Manchuria. The "Young Officer" class, hardly even scotched after the Tokyo mutiny of February, 1936, are growing more insubordinate and pugnacious; it is said on good authority that even the great generals are afraid of them. In league with them, there are reports that some of the bureaucracy, whose abnormal powers are the evil legacy of Prince Ito's constitution, have worked out a scheme for transforming Japan into a fascist State. This was the basis of the passionate struggle that had been raging between Diet and Army for nearly a year when the war began, and even the war will scarcely reconcile the Diet to being reduced to the "rubber-stamp" impotence which Army and bureaucrats desire for it. It is not too much to say that Japan is going through a revolution more momentous even than that of 1868, accentuated by the awakening desires of the people for constitutional rights and liberties, the issue of which is a matter of grave anxiety to Japan's friends.

To return to the war in China, it is agreed by impartial observers that its privations have not yet begun to be seriously felt in Japan, though they probably will be a year hence. Even then, the intense patriotism of the Japanese people, their readiness to

* Since this was written *The Times* Tokyo correspondent has sent details of the Budget for 1939-40, approved by the Japanese Cabinet on December 2. Taking the present rate of the yen, expenditure amounts to about £215,480,000. But this does not include the China War estimates still to come and forecast at £291,600,000. The deficit amounts to £41,705,882, which, together with the war budget, will be covered by loans. Thus in the coming year Japan will be spending annually nearly one-third more than her total national debt in 1931, the year of the occupation of Manchuria.

sink all internal differences in the common cause, and their unexcelled capacity for stoic endurance is likely to carry them on for a very long time, if there is no interference from outside. Japan has never yet been defeated and it is unthinkable by her people that she can be.

On the other hand, the war has entered on a phase most difficult to be borne by people who never had any appetite for it and have been kept in darkness about its realities—no more glittering captures of familiar towns, no more victories in big positional battles, but only perpetual toiling after elusive armies and endless wastage from guerrilla attacks nipping off convoys and escorts, and effectually spoiling the pacification and dividend-yielding capacities of the occupied areas.

There are strong factors in China's position. In her loose organization there is no nerve-centre which can be grasped for the paralysis of the whole body. In the provinces that remain to her, Szechuan, Yunnan, Shensi, Kwangsi, Kweichow and the best parts of Kwangtung and Hunan, is immense natural wealth hitherto never developed as it is now being, shut off from invasion by mountains through which there is neither road, railway nor river. Here, too, are some of the best of China's fighting men; also many little arsenals camouflaged and dotted about the country, which can turn out a good supply of light weapons. And the "back doors" to Burma and Russia, though not to be compared with the Canton river, are not negligible and will be improved.

In China, too, the historical sense is strong. She can look back on even centuries of continuous fighting and chaos. Less than a century ago the T'aiping Rebellion raged for fourteen years, laid waste most of South China and killed 20,000,000 people. If Japan is strengthened by the thought that she has never been defeated, China remembers that she has often been invaded and in the end has always overcome her invaders.

THE DOYEN OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

By Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Two centuries ago hordes of Maratha cavalry swept from the Deccan into the rich Mughal province of Gujarat. The Mughal Empire was in the last stages of decay and no help was forthcoming from Delhi against the invader. The Marathas soon made themselves masters of the country, including the adjacent peninsula of Kathiawar. Mughal rule in those parts had long been decadent; as a consequence Kathiawar was in the hands of a crowd of Rajput chiefs, with an occasional Muslim; much of Gujarat, especially the less accessible hill-country on the east, was held on a semi-feudal tenure by Rajput nobles.

Later on, the Gaekwar, who had led the Maratha armies to the conquest of the country, shared it with the Peshwa of Poona, head of the Maratha confederacy. The Gaekwar set up his capital at Baroda.

Disputes soon followed between the Gaekwar and his overlord. Finally, as the best means of avoiding the loss of his principality the Baroda Chief concluded, in 1772, an offensive and defensive alliance with the British in Bombay. In 1802 fresh treaties were negotiated, by which Baroda ceded large tracts of territory in return for the British military guarantee. In 1817 the British overthrew the Peshwa of Poona and annexed his territories in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The tributary States, some hundreds in number, were shared between the British Government and the Gaekwar. The Baroda Government exercised little control over its tributaries, contenting itself with the collection of tribute by military force. The system led to constant trouble till in 1820 the British Government took over the Gaekwar's dependent chiefs, pledging itself to collect and pay over the tribute. This action on the part of the British Government crystallized what was only a passing phase in the political development of Gujarat and Kathiawar brought about by the weakness of the Mughal Government. The deprivation of their tributaries and the annexation of huge slices of territory to pay for the military forces maintained for their protection has always been a grievance of successive Gaekwars. Throughout the long association of over a century and a half unbroken friendship has been maintained between the two Governments; the British have never fought Baroda in the

field; yet, it is contended, the State has not experienced better treatment at the hands of the British than that accorded to other Princes who had challenged British supremacy. Nevertheless, Baroda has always remained loyal; its services were particularly valuable during the Mutiny.

Such is the historical background of the Baroda State. It has had the good fortune to be ruled for nearly a third of its existence (since 1875) by the present Gaekwar, who, by reason of his achievements, his position in princely India (he is second in order of precedence in the princely hierarchy), his character, his interest in all-India and Imperial politics, stands out not only as the doyen of the Princes but as an elder statesman of the first rank in India.

The Gaekwar might well be inclined to rest on his laurels. Yet despite advancing years there is no sign of a slackening of his zest for carrying on his policy of promoting the economic, social and political development of his people. Half a century of sustained effort has not exhausted his energies. Not content with his own State, he has of late played a part in the wider field of Indian politics, and he and his advisers, notably his able chief minister, Sir Krishnama Chari, have done much to clear the path for federation.

Indian Princes who endeavour to live up to the ancient precepts of Indian sovereignty closely identify themselves with the administration of their States and with the social and economic problems of the everyday life of their people. Many of them take the opportunity on public occasions of saying what they feel and think as regards the varying aspects of human life that come within their purview. The collected records of such pronouncements of Indian rulers, published from time to time, often throw interesting sidelights on the character, aspirations and philosophy of life of the speakers.

A series of speeches of His Highness the Gaekwar, the fourth volume of which has just been published under the editorship of his private secretary, Mr. C. E. Newham, illustrates the historical and biographical value of such records. Throughout the series there stands out clearly the Maharaja's set purpose to give his State an efficient and impartial administration, to promote economic and cultural progress. At the very outset of his career we find him interested in education, in the development of roads and railways. And soon one realizes why in later years, as the resources of his State developed, free primary education was made obligatory and other educational facilities provided for the common people. It redounds greatly to his credit that long before the question was taken up in British India the Gaekwar had passed a law abolishing child marriage and other laws allowing divorce among Hindus and permitting the remarriage of Hindu

widows. Much, too, has been done in Baroda to help the outcast to better things.

The last volume of His Highness' speeches covers a period of twelve years from 1926. Beginning appropriately with a speech in 1892 (evidently mislaid when the earlier volumes were compiled), replying to the toast of India and the Colonies at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, it ends with a short speech before the East India Association in London in April, 1938, in which he spoke wise words on the methods of administering politically backward people if you wish to lead them on to self-government, developing a theory he has long held that the new political edifice in India should be built from the village upwards. He concludes, in terms which should extort applause even from an Indian extremist, with an appeal to the British Government to give India an equal place among the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Other speeches show how he rises to almost every occasion. Words of wisdom and encouragement fall from his lips for the benefit of students of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, at a meeting of the Union of East and West, at the inaugural meeting of the World's Fellowship of Faiths, at a dinner given by the Past Graduates of Baroda College; so difficult a subject as the Reconstruction of Hinduism has no terrors for him. To speak at the opening of bridges, or at banquets to Viceregal Excellencies must have seemed easy by comparison.

The historians of a century hence will doubtless be able to form a more balanced judgment on the present attitude of the Indian Congress towards the Indian States than even the closest student of Indian affairs today. This much may be said, that when one considers the record of a ruler like the Maharaja of Baroda, the sweeping condemnation by the Indian extremist of the Indian States as relics of medieval tyranny argues a surprising lack of the moral sense; especially in a political party obviously drifting towards dictatorship. Most of the larger States are administered on modern principles; their rulers are as deeply imbued with the desire to see India a great, powerful and independent member of the British Commonwealth of Nations as any British-Indian politician.

Why should not such States as Baroda send representatives to the Federal Legislature, fitted to combine with members from British India, even those touched with the purest spirit of that democracy on which Congress pride themselves? The reply is obvious enough: because Congress could not rely on the States' representatives joining them in an attempt to break away from the Empire.

Congress feel that federation is imminent; they cannot be sure of the support of Indian India; it is for this reason that they are

making desperate efforts in many of the States to incite the people against their rulers. An attack is, it is believed, to be delivered on Baroda. One may hope that His Highness' subjects, recognizing all he has done for them, his sincerity in working for their uplift and happiness, may turn a deaf ear to the Congress agitator.

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OVERPOPULATION AND EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By J. P. Brander, I.C.S. (Ret.)

(The author has returned from a recent tour in India, Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma.)

The increasing educated unemployment in India has long been discussed by public men, but no one has realized, or at least openly stated, a main cause of the same. Hence as the diagnosis is faulty, the remedies so far proposed can have but limited success. From personal observation I am convinced that a main cause is the excessive size of the families of so many educated men. There are various reasons for this. One is early marriage. Again, the ideas of birth control and restriction of a family are strange to Eastern races. The Hindu considers it his religious duty to have a son, and so there is often seen in a family a long succession of daughters till the hoped-for son either arrives—or, after all, fails to arrive. Not long ago the sad case occurred of three out of eleven daughters of a Calcutta Hindu committing suicide for want of the necessary dowries. Among the East Indians of Western India large families are common. Their priests condemn birth control, possibly partly from a desire to keep up the number of Roman Catholics. One consequence is seen in the large number of convents needed to maintain the surplus female population. In Catholic Ireland overpopulation due to early marriages and absence of birth control led to the decimation by millions of the people in the famine of 1847.

Many instances of improvident multiplication of the human species in India have come to my notice, and these, too, on the part of men having a pay quite inadequate to support a large family or educate the children properly. One man having twelve children came to solicit employment for one of them. Families of excessive size are a common cause of dishonesty. The father is put to such straits to support and educate his children that he is driven into dishonest courses.

The other well-known results of excessive numbers in a family and also of the births in the family not being properly spaced out —namely, weak mothers, and weak and inadequately nourished and ill-educated children—need not be referred to here. The success of medical science in prolonging life, conquering disease and epidemics, and reducing infant mortality only makes the popula-

tion problem more difficult. Medical men commend schemes to save babies, but privately some of them tell one that what India really wants is periodic and extensive reductions of the surplus population by epidemics as in former days. From this point of view the well-meant penalizing by law under British rule of infanticide and abortion—viz., the methods by which primitive peoples prevent the growth of excessive population—has probably only increased the sum of human misery.

The facts stated above therefore drive one to the conclusion that the removal or weakening of natural checks on overpopulation, whether of the family or of the population of a country, necessitates the adoption of scientific birth control, if prosperity or even tolerable comfort of the family and the nation is to be secured.

Though Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has pointed out that Government can do little to remedy educated unemployment, many politicians blame Government for it, and call upon Government to provide posts for the young intelligentsia or solve the problem in some way. Yet when an educated man secures a post, he usually marries, if indeed he is not married already, and raises a large family. So in a few years the problem of educated unemployment becomes worse than ever.

In Europe the military dictators of the enslaved nations require the maximum production of human beings for cannon fodder, and are hostile to birth control, but in the free countries the educated classes realize that large families must result in unemployment, and have taken practical steps to limit their families. The French have been the leaders in this sphere. In Britain the large families of six or eight children of Victorian days now seldom occur, educated parents being usually content with two or three. It seems obvious common sense that every educated man should bring into the world only that number of children, if any, which he can feed and educate properly, and for whom there is a reasonable prospect of getting employment.

Educated men in India do not care to do manual work, also the income from manual work is usually small. Most of them want posts involving the direction of labour. But such posts are necessarily limited, and at present are much more limited than before owing to the decline by one half or so of international trade—a decline caused by pursuit of the economic self-sufficiency policy in so many countries, including India.

Though all possible measures should, of course, be taken by the State and other agencies to help educated persons to get employment, the facts stated above show that there is little hope of providing employment, except perhaps as manual labourers, for large numbers of the present generation of young educated men. The only permanent cure is for the educated classes to

follow the lead of the West, and restrict their families. It will, of course, take years to bring about the desired result. But the trouble will have to be tackled by both individual parents and the State. Hence Governments and philanthropic persons should, it is considered, disseminate knowledge as to the above-mentioned great cause of educated unemployment, and the need for curing it by avoiding excessive numbers in families, and should spread knowledge as to birth-control measures. This will be following the lead of progressive States like Mysore. I was informed when in Mysore that, owing to unemployment, suicides among students had taken place. It is thought that public money could be spent more usefully on this object than on some of the present Village Uplift schemes.

Overpopulation Generally

The increase of population in India in the last census decade by over thirty millions has attracted great attention and alarmed many persons. This increase is largely due to improvement in productivity brought about by science and technology. Dr. Alsberg, of Stanford University, California (*vide International Affairs*, November, 1937, page 922) points out that in India and Java the increase in productivity has largely gone towards providing for more people, and that in such circumstances the standard of living does not go up fast. Hitherto Governments in India for relieving the pressure of population upon the land and the means of subsistence have mainly relied on making new irrigation canals. But this remedy can only be a temporary one. Sooner or later the new canal areas become or will become fully populated. This phase is seen even now on the canal colonies in the Punjab, where swarming and unrestricted families are already causing living conditions to be harder. This Malthusian phenomenon of population increasing up to the limit of the means of subsistence was, it is interesting to note, realized in ancient times. In the Bible, in Ecclesiastes v. 11, it is stated that "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them." Nor can one take comfort for India in the fact that in the world generally, when the standard of living rises to a certain point, the rate of population begins to drop. In India the present unrestricted increase will, it is thought, prevent a rise in the standard of living, and, in fact, may lower it. There is, too, a serious danger in relying on the creation of more irrigation canals as the main remedy for relieving pressure of population. Internal political disturbances or foreign invasions, the troubles to which India has always been peculiarly liable, may destroy irrigation systems, and thus any time wipe out millions of people by cutting off their subsistence. The ancient and highly developed irrigation systems

of Mesopotamia, which supported a vast population, have probably been destroyed in some such way.

One constantly hears or reads that in India millions get only one meal a day and go hungry. If these facts are correct, few persons realize that it is only a case of a low-grade population increasing up to the limit of the means of subsistence, and that Government are not to blame. These conditions and results, now that the natural checks of war, famine, and epidemics are not operating, are bound to continue unless and until effective birth control measures are adopted generally, as, for instance, they are in France.

It seems high time, therefore, that Governments and public men now do some hard thinking on this subject and seriously consider whether, as perhaps the best, or one of the best, means of promoting in the minimum time the prosperity, comfort, and happiness of the people, they should not devote large public funds and efforts to remedying this evil of overpressure of population on the means of subsistence, with its accompanying circumstances of poverty, low standard of living, ill-health of mothers and children, and anxiety for the economic future of the children. Such action appears essential, and the most effective measures will, it is believed, be general instruction in clinics of adults in methods of birth control and regulation, and in arranging for the widespread supply of the necessary contraceptives at the lowest prices. Doctors and practical laymen seem mostly agreed that for the vast majority of human beings sexual restraint for the purpose of avoiding procreation is impossible, and, indeed, would be physically harmful. The aim should be to enable all parents to have healthy children, no more in each family than the parents can support, and with the births properly spaced out. When the problem of the individual family is thus solved there will be no need to worry about the larger question of overpopulation of the country. The children will be healthier, better fed, and better educated, and have little difficulty in getting employment. Concentration, therefore, on improving the individual family will be, it is submitted, the best means of improving the nation. The task will take generations. Much opposition will be encountered. Knowledge will take time to filter down from the middle and the educated classes to the poorer classes. But in such a matter time is not of great account.

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INDIA

WHAT ABOUT INDIA? By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E. (*Nelson.*) 2s.

(*Reviewed by* SIR STEWART PATTERSON.)

When I was at a well-known public school fifty odd years ago little time was devoted to the study of English history, and very little to that portion of it which related to our Indian Empire. A few salient facts regarding the latter were briefly referred to, such as the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Battle of Plassey, the Trial of Warren Hastings, and the Indian Mutiny. Precise knowledge of the dates of these episodes was of greater value for examination purposes than any knowledge of the events which led up to them. Later, at the Royal Military College, at that time, no history was taught at all except for a few chapters of Napier's *Peninsular War*. The neglect was no doubt largely due to the fact that very little interest was then taken in India, which was ignored by the general public and regarded by many of those whom fate might send there as a country which provided an occasional frontier expedition, excellent polo, pigsticking, snipe and duck shooting, and a chance of a tiger. It was also further due to the fact that at that time, and for a number of years later, there was very little interesting literature on the subject. Lee-Warner's *Protected Princes of India* induced early slumber even in a candidate for the Political Department, and Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, though very interesting, savoured perhaps too much of an armchair in the Athenæum Club. A reference to *Suggestions for Further Reading* at the end of the book under review shows that the void has been amply filled; the student at the Athenæum may devote his leisure hours to perusal of Heimann's *Indian and Western Philosophy* or *The Oxford History of India*, while the lighter-hearted member of the Sports may absorb the newly acquired Oriental atmosphere of 16, St. James's Square by study of *Land of No Regrets*, by Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, after contemplating, like Macaulay's Bengali, a portrait of Lord William Bentinck. But I strongly suggest that both these types of seekers after knowledge should not neglect to read *What About India?* by Professor Rushbrook Williams. It is a most interesting book, very easily read, containing in 168 pages a mass of information, from Hindu philosophy to modern economics, including all salient points of history, that only an expert writer with a thorough knowledge of his subject could give. The Professor is to be congratulated warmly on providing the public with a book which, when judged by bulk, can easily be carried in one's pocket and, when judged by value, in one's head. On the outside cover of the book is an emblem of a somewhat ferocious man, with a pronounced Aryan profile, wielding a heavy hammer on a yielding anvil. What about it? Who will be the hammer and who the anvil? Possibly at some future date the Professor will substitute another, representing the ancient Oriental symbol of sovereignty and the modern British emblem of peace and goodwill—the umbrella.

THE GLORIOUS FUTURE OF THE MUSLIMS (MUSALMĀNON KA RAUSHAN MUSTAQBIL). By Saiyid Ṭufail Aḥmad, of Aligarh. (Budaun, U.P.: *Nizami Press.*) Rs. 2/8.

(*Reviewed by* A. YUSUF ALI.)

This Urdu book on the history and future of the Indian Muslims is a notable contribution to an examination of the Muslim position in India. It is dedicated to the memory of the late Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, with whom the author worked for forty years in the service of Aligarh and the Aligarh movement. The object of the author is to produce a feeling of confidence in the minds of the Indian Muslims instead of the feeling of depression and despair which seems to prevail in some quarters in India. He takes an optimistic view of the future, and in order to justify that view he brings under review their long history, mainly from a political and educational point of view. It is written from a Nationalist point of view, and some of the opinions expressed are Leftist. But it is decidedly refreshing to find a tone of friendly controversy in him instead of the long diatribes which disfigure so much of the political literature of modern India.

His historical landmarks during the period of the East India Company cover the 150 years of the Company's commercial career, 1608-1757; the 75 years of its commercial and political career, 1757-1832; and the 25 years of its purely political career, 1833-1857. During the last period he notes the Muslim movements for social and religious reform, and the reasons why the Muslims fell back in modern education as compared with the high educational standards which they had maintained in the past. During the period of direct rule by the Crown he considers that the biggest factor in Muslim affairs has been the Aligarh movement, and he describes the ideals of its founder and the various personalities connected with it. Then comes the core of the book, in which he discusses the evolution of Muslim politics.

The author takes a wide view of national progress and national well-being, but his attempt to group fundamental rights under ten main heads and appraise their attainment quantitatively does not appear to the present reviewer to be very successful. Economics and politics, culture and national service, education and law and justice are not mutually exclusive spheres, nor can it be stated, even with a rough show of accuracy, that success has been attained as to 25 per cent. or 50 per cent., and that 75 per cent. or 50 per cent. still remains to be achieved. Rights and duties in organized life are correlative, and the attainment of one stage opens out a larger vista in which the realm of future efforts goes on ever expanding. You cannot by an equational formula say that if you have succeeded in winning 25 per cent. of your rights in 20 or 30 years, the winning of the remaining 75 per cent. may take 60 or 90 more years. The absurdity of such a position is perceived by the author himself, and he bases his optimism on quite other grounds.

His ideal seems to be that of complete independence, *Purna Swaraj*, and he is prepared to go the full length of the Congress programme, including civil disobedience. The adoption by the Muslim League of the independence programme seems to him to betoken a changed attitude among the Muslims towards the future. It is questionable whether his lumping together of the

Muslim League, the Liberal Federation, and the Hindu Mahasabha, on the one hand, and the Jamī'at ul 'Ulamā, the Aḥrār, and the Khudāi Khidmatgārs on the other, is justified either by facts, history, or similarity of aims or organization. To the first group he would deny the title of political organizations at all, as they are sectional. This is to confuse the meaning of the terms "political" and "national." And, in any case, there are two organizations called Jamī'at ul 'Ulamā with opposite political views, and it is unfair to ignore one and magnify the other.

The rise of non-communal parties, based on economic divisions, and the emergence of the Muslim masses as well as the Muslim religious leaders into the political field are hailed as hopeful signs for the future. In so far as they betoken more life and organization and a grappling with economic realities, these are certainly hopeful signs. But there is obvious danger in mixing up religion with politics. The half-baked economic theories of Communism, when presented to uneducated masses, may mean retrogression instead of progress, a confusion instead of a clarification of issues. It is surely wiser and more practical to improve and extend the facilities for education, and education of a realistic kind, in order to ensure correct judgments being formed on current questions, and effective steps being taken for the removal of abuses and the fostering of a national life of ordered progress.

REPORT ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD STATE.

(*Reviewed by* R. LITTLEHAILES, C.I.E.)

Mr. Abbott has found that what is often described in Hyderabad as vocational education can be more properly regarded in the English terminology as manual instruction. As this introductory criticism is applicable to other parts of India than Hyderabad his report is worth consideration in other states and provinces in that country, not only for that reason or with a view to its general adoption—that cannot be, because the vocational education most suitable to any locality is dependent upon its local industries, active and dormant—but because of the principles and axioms with which the report is interspersed as also for the mode of approach to the subject. He lays down that a good general education is the only sound foundation for an effective technical education; he states that vocational education ought not to begin until the decision has been taken by the pupil, or on his behalf, to enter a particular occupation; he stresses the importance of working as exactly as the nature of the material, the character of the task, and the fineness of the tools or instruments employed permit; and he calls attention to the necessity for close and continuous co-operation between education and industry. Mr. Abbott sets forth the industries carried on in the State, discusses their educational needs, and formulates proposals for meeting these needs based upon the State scheme of general education. Industrial schools, vocational high schools, a central technical college, advanced post-university courses and evening classes would, together with a central school of arts

and crafts directed by an Indian artist of high standing, and the already established cottage industries institute somewhat modified in scope and administration, offer provision for a complete scheme of vocational and technical education. The industrial schools located throughout the State are to admit only those who have satisfactorily completed at least a primary course of general education. The vocational courses, which include both practical work and theoretical instruction, are in their various stages to turn unskilled into semi-skilled or skilled workers, to fit workers to be foremen and charge-hands and to hold supervising posts. The vocational college is to confine itself to the provision of practical and technical training in mechanical and electrical engineering, principally with the object of training men to be capable of working, maintaining, and repairing plant and electrical and mechanical machinery. The cottage industries institute, established to develop both the business and artistic side of local industries, should be made of more value in the preservation and improvement of industries. Two suggestions are set forth as worthy of consideration—that skilled craftsmen in villages should be urged to train promising boys in their craft and that men engaged in a craft which appears to be decaying should be employed to teach that craft as part of the manual training in secondary and high schools. Commercial courses are disposed of in a few sentences; all authorities postulate a good general education as the starting-point, while to clarity, accuracy, and conciseness of expression is to be added instruction in the office arts and in the elements of commerce.

A standing advisory committee is recommended in the scheme for the administration of vocational education. Experience in India has shown that *ad hoc* committees, one for each of the industries for which educational provision is contemplated, are more likely to function satisfactorily.

While there will be general agreement with the principles enunciated in the report, its value would have been considerably enhanced by more detailed descriptions, discussions, and recommendations; in particular on the distribution of that part of the working population which traditionally follows a specified occupation and the consequent availability of suitable embryo labour, the inferior marketing of village industrial products and the superior organization of agencies dealing with imported goods, the reluctance of employers of labour to assist in training youths who may subsequently become their competitors in a limited market, the effect of the traditional Koran instruction in old-established Muslim schools in delaying the general instruction of boys who are to be employed in a skilled industry, the backwardness of India in adopting measures of state social service, the reluctance of men whose views really matter to serve on committees which have only advisory without executive or authoritative functions—all these and others are factors which directly or indirectly enter into a consideration of a suitable scheme of vocational education. But omissions such as these occur in any report which is drawn up for immediate practical application rather than for placing as a classic on our library shelves for occasional reference.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's State Railway. General Manager's Annual Report for the Financial Year ending March 31, 1938.

(*Reviewed by* Sir Gordon Hearn.)

There must still be some who remember "Willie" Pendlebury, for many years Agent to the Guaranteed Railway Company, which completed the first section in 1874. I met him first in 1901. His age was uncertain, but his son is said to have given it in 1911 as 85, which, of course, was an exaggeration. A proposal for a closer connection with the railway fell through, but I surveyed a railway to connect Hingoli with Khandwa. This nearly became a reality, and would have connected the metre gauge systems of Northern and Southern India. At Hingoli in November, 1911, I heard of the death of the father of the present Nizam, and the expressions of regret were deep and sincere. He was eminently a man of his word.

The railway has been acquired by the Hyderabad State, and the management has been fortunate not to be hampered by legal difficulties in British India in establishing motor road services for passengers and goods. Now, while the railway route mileage is 1,290, the State-operated road mileage is 4,017. Road services, mostly by Diesel-engined vehicles, carry 11½ million passengers, as against 8½ million travelling by rail; but receipts from rail passengers are much higher. The road services in 1937-8 operated on a basic fare of ½d. a mile, and the net profit was only ¼d. a vehicle mile, the lowest for three years. Nevertheless, the whole undertaking paid 8½ per cent. on the capital outlay. To the management has now been entrusted the development of air services and flying-grounds. There has been an Aero Club since 1936 at Begampet, a regular port of call on the Bombay-Madras service.

It is somewhat surprising that the Report complains of competition by private road services, even on monopoly routes, and more especially round the capital of the State. It is usually considered that easy-going oversight in British India is not found in Indian States. There are people who believe in healthy competition, but much depends on the interpretation of "healthy." Illegal competition usually ends in dissatisfaction of clients, but meanwhile earnings are filched from the State services.

The management is supporting the efforts of Mr. Yazdani, the enthusiastic Director of Archæology, to increase interest in the remains left by former kingdoms, whose territories covered portions of this great Deccan State. The road services may be extended to prehistoric Maski and Chalukhyan Kalyani. A new railway hotel at Aurangabad makes a centre for visits to the caves of Ellora and also to Paithan, where active explorations are in progress.

With the technical part of the Report this review need not deal, but in many particulars the management can show better results than the average of other first-class Indian railways. "It is becoming increasingly necessary," says Mr. E. W. Slaughter, the General Manager, "to take an active part in the commercial affairs and development of the State." So much for those who consider that railway managers are not alive to such considerations!

KASHMIR AS A BUSINESS CONCERN.

The scenic glories of Kashmir, its climatic benefits, its houseboat days, and its sporting occasions too often breed forgetfulness of its position as the largest State in India (it has 84,516 square miles to Hyderabad's 82,698 square miles, although the inclusion of so vast a region of gigantic mountains in Kashmir makes the comparison misleading, for against Hyderabad's population of over 14 millions Kashmir has only 3 millions). Kashmir is, however, rich in minerals—a survey is now being attempted—and has ancient industries which attracted the attention of Bernier in the reign of Aurungzebe. Moreover, Kashmir of all Indian States has direct intercourse with the world outside India. Ladakh, conquered in 1834 by Gulab Singh, the first Maharaja of Kashmir and Jummu, was once part of China's dominions. Gilgit in the north-west of the State is an important trade outlet into Central Asia. The eastern frontier of Kashmir marches with Tibet. For his services in support of the British arms in the Afghan War of 1841 and the Sikh Wars of that period, Gulab Singh was recognized as Maharaja of Kashmir in the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846. Gulab Singh died during the Mutiny, but his son and successor, Ranbir Singh, continued his father's policy, and in return for his troops' services to the British raj was offered an estate in Oudh. He declined on the ground that he had acted as an ally and not as a mercenary. It is interesting to recall this history, for Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General who recognized Gulab Singh's rule, was subjected to fierce criticism from some of his own countrymen in India at that time.

It was urged that he was surrendering to Gulab Singh the one territory in India where climatic conditions made permanent residence for the Englishman possible. It is probable, too, that visions of developing Kashmir's natural resources were present in the critics' minds. Lord Hardinge, however, stuck to his guns with the same determination as was displayed some sixty-five years later by his grandson on the Viceregal *gadi*.

Gulab Singh and his successors had no easy task. The people over whom they ruled—76 per cent. of them are Muslims—had been inured to oppression and corruption. Memories of invading hordes bringing devastation and pillage in their train seemed somehow to make the Kashmiri resigned to his lot. Gulab Singh, as befitted a Dogra prince and one who had been described as second only to Ranjit Singh in contemporary fame, was occupied with consolidating his frontiers. To Ranbir Singh it was left to deal with internal problems. Taxation was lightened, revenues were put on a regular basis, efforts were made to stimulate cultivation. A disastrous famine proved to be the turning-point in Kashmir's economic history. The whole system of government was revised and an era of advance began. Ranbir Singh's son, Pratap Singh, ruled from 1885 to 1925. In his long reign the Settlement was completed by Sir Walter Lawrence, education was given attention, irrigation developed and power plants erected.

In the last thirteen years during which his present Highness, the Maharaja Hari Singh, has ruled Kashmir, the complexity of economic and political problems has increased. At one time serious disturbances necessitated the despatch of assistance from British India. With the aid of distinguished

Prime Ministers the Maharaja has succeeded in gaining the confidence of his people—their affection for him has never been in doubt—and it may be said that a comprehensive programme of economic reconstruction and political development attuned to the special needs of the State is being developed. Reform of land tenure rights, relief of the peasants from indebtedness, establishment of co-operative credit societies, creation of local health committees, fostering of industries, improvement of communications, provision of better hospital facilities, removal of social disabilities, including the prescription of a minimum age for marriage and extension of the constitutional rights of the people, have now their places in the policy of the State Government. The Praja Sabha Legislative Assembly consists of 75 members, 33 of whom are elected, 30 nominated, and 12 officials. It has a creditable record of achievement within the limitations imposed upon it. A High Court established in 1928 administers laws modelled on those of British India. The Government has taken counsel for guidance on its administrative policy. A Commission set up in 1931 under Sir Bertrand Glancy reported on the grievances which had led to unrest. Its recommendations for the manning of the public services have been accepted by the Maharaja, and so the closer contact between the people and the administration has been strengthened.

Kashmir must necessarily derive much benefit from the visits of those who come to enjoy the amenities which it offers. There is the holiday-maker or sportsman pure and simple. But more serious travellers come in great number—botanists, zoologists, painters, geologists, scholars, and archæologists—who can find ample scope for their respective activities. As for the explorer, he must be difficult to satisfy if he cannot be thrilled by the prospect of scaling Kashmir's gigantic peaks or penetrating the mysteries of its neighbouring lands.

Against this background the Administration Report of the Kashmir Durbar for 1937 may be considered. Progress in the agricultural and horticultural departments is recorded. Rural welfare schemes continue to develop. Food control administration resulted in a serious loss on the year's working, but the remedy of retrenchment is being applied. Education cost Rs. 17.53 lakhs, medical services Rs. 8.38 lakhs. The important silk industry has suffered from Japanese and Chinese competition, but improved prices have brought relief. Forest area covers 10,149 square miles, and the timber trade is a valuable asset to the State. A Government resin and turpentine factory is under consideration. The wool industry has benefited from the expert advice of Professor Aldred F. Barker of Leeds University. His report is now the Government's guide to the improvement of sheep breeding and cognate matters. Woollen mills are starting the manufacture of woollen yarn and piece-goods. Arts and crafts are not neglected. The report states that the silk filature in Srinagar is the largest of its kind in the world—its average daily attendance is about 1,600 workers.

That the workers have means to ventilate their grievances is evident from the restoration of a four-year-old wage cut of 20 per cent. in response to "agitation." It would be satisfactory, however, to know whether the State's organisation includes facilities for factory inspection. The report

throws no light on that point, which has considerable importance in view of the emphasis laid on the development of industries. In other parts of the world silk filatures are by no means notable for attention to the workers' welfare, and it would be reassuring to know that Jummu and Srinagar filatures are under some sort of control in respect of child labour, sanitation, and the like. Are mechanical methods employed for reeling from the cocoons?

This question of labour conditions is pertinent also to the schemes for mineral exploitation. Already some mines—sapphire extraction—are at work, and the mineral survey should logically produce an extension of the industry. The creation of a department charged to secure decent working conditions for labour must therefore be an urgent need, unless it is already provided for under some administrative activity not specifically noted in the report.

Generally, however, the impression given by the document is favourable. It shows that the Maharaja and his officers are alert in their solicitude for the State's welfare, and it is to be hoped that they will continue to enjoy the complete confidence of the people in that regard.

E. Haward.

Education in Mysore.

The latest report on the educational administration of Mysore covers the year ended June 30, 1937. It deals with 7,731 institutions accommodating 339,696 pupils. This means that with a total population of about 6½ millions one out of every 2·9 child of school age was under instruction. Growing demands for High School and Middle School education are recorded. Particularly in the latter is a note made of the need for more staff and better qualified teachers. The English instruction in the High Schools requires the increased attention which is being given to it, owing to the progressive vernacularization of that branch of the educational machinery. The Deputy Director considers that the falling off in High School English standards is due to indifferent work in the Middle Schools, and he makes therefore definite proposals for raising the qualifications of teachers in that subject in the Middle Schools. The department is keeping an eye on the need for eliminating languishing schools in certain districts in the interests of economy. The 505 schools for depressed classes had 22,831 pupils under instruction. An admirable system of vocational scholarships for these schools has produced good results. Another satisfactory feature of the department's work is the development of libraries both in rural and in urban districts.

Physical culture is not neglected, but the report shows a lack of trained personnel. It militated against the full development of that important side of educational life. Fortunately the strength of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements in the State came partly to the rescue. The Girl Guides made 1937 their red-letter year, for in February they received a visit from the World Chief Guide, Lady Baden-Powell, who inspected the companies and talked to Guides and Blue-birds, the latter being of course the Indian

equivalent of "Brownies." There are nearly 13,000 Boy Scouts and over 1,000 Guides in Mysore.

The educational budget involves expenditure of nearly Rs. 66½ lakhs, or a cost of Rs. 1 : 0 : 7 per head of the population. Progress is being recorded, but it would seem that considerably more generous provision will have to be made for the training of teachers if Mysore desires to keep moderately abreast of the times.

E. HAWARD.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By M. R. Palande, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, M.T.B. College, Surat. (*Oxford University Press.*) 4s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR FRANK NOYCE.)

British administration in India has not been without its faults and the Act of 1935 may not be all that Indian aspirations could desire, but it is unfortunate, to say the least, that a Professor of History in an Indian college should couch his criticism of both in language which would be more suitable to the columns of the extremist Indian Press. One would have expected him to rise above denunciation of the "reactionary" character of the new Constitution. There is nothing in his views regarding special responsibilities, Upper Houses, the retention of advisers to the Secretary of State, the position of Indian States and of the Services and the like which has not been said many a time and oft in India during the last few years. It is to be hoped, though perhaps hardly to be expected, that some at any rate of the students for whom his book is primarily intended will be able to correct its prejudices from the book itself, for his careful detailed study of the provisions of the Act reveals—as does the experience of its working during the last eighteen months—how great an advance it marks on all that went before. Part V., in which Professor Palande gives an account of the structure of provincial administration, offers less scope for political diatribe and shows how much better his book could have been if he had written it in the true historical spirit. A striking example of Professor Palande's outlook is to be found on page 54, where, in discussing the Government of India's stores purchase policy, he say that "it is difficult to assert that the High Commissioner must be always accepting the lowest tender. Such an assertion would remain unproved and would be considered dogmatic." He is evidently unaware that in all cases in which the lowest tender is not accepted the fact has to be reported to the Legislature together with the reasons therefor.

POPULATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA. By P. K. Wattal.

(*Reviewed by* J. P. BRANDER, I.C.S. [Ret.].)

At a Conference on Population and Family Hygiene held in Bombay last March, Mr. P. K. Wattal, the President, gave an able and interesting address on Population and Unemployment in India. There are, he said, two schools of thought: one that of Professor Carr-Saunders, holding that increased

population does not cause increased unemployment, but rather stimulates employment; the other holds that continued extensive unemployment is a sign of excessive population. Mr. Wattal does not commit himself to either view. He stresses, however, the need for full enquiry by Governments as to the causes of unemployment, and the remedies. He quotes Indian census figures showing not only the well-known vast increase in population, but the startling fact that the number of unemployed males rose from seven millions in 1901, or 7·1 per cent. of the total able-bodied males, to seventeen and three-quarter millions in 1931, or 14·2 per cent.—*i.e.*, exactly double that of 1901. He mentions inefficient production, inequality of distribution, commercial and financial policy, and rent and revenue laws, as possible contributory factors, and concludes that there is an increasing pressure of population on the means of subsistence. He quotes statistics to show that the average rate of increase of crop production over the last 22 years is 0·65 per cent. per annum, while the population, large numbers of which have already too low a standard of living, has been increasing at nearly one per cent. per annum, the inference being that agricultural production has not kept pace with the growth of population. He appears to think that industrialization will not help much. For between 1911 and 1931 there has been an actual decrease, probably due to displacement of hand workers by machine workers, of two million industrial workers, in spite of an active policy of industrialization. There are thus two main tendencies: the first of the population to increase at a rapid rate, the second of the means of subsistence increasing, if at all, at a much slower rate. This, he considers, may lead to disaster. So urgent enquiry by Governments and remedial measures are necessary.

Mr. Wattal obviously inclines to the view of the second school of thought. Dr. Alsberg of Stansford University, U.S.A., an expert on population, takes a similar view, holding that in India and Java the increase in productivity has largely gone towards providing for more people and in such circumstances the standard of living does not grow so fast.

Among the contributory causes of the poverty of the masses or the slow rate of improvement are, in your reviewer's opinion, the following: the great increase in Government expenditure due to the substitution of a democratic for the former cheap bureaucratic system, and the development of the high protection of economic nationalism. This last results in decreased exports of agricultural produce, lower prices for them, and loss of customs revenue by decrease of imports, a loss which has to be made up by increased taxation, while also the public have to pay higher prices for the protected articles. Exports decrease because foreign countries cannot buy the produce of India if India will not import industrial products from them. Another cause of increased Government expenditure and taxation was the fixation of salaries and wages on the basis of the very high prices prevailing just after the War, with no arrangement to reduce them as prices fell to the pre-War figure.

Mr. Wattal has not gone into the causes of and remedies for overpopulation and unemployment, but they are fairly obvious, and apply to Oriental countries generally; in Egypt, for instance, commonly considered a very prosperous agricultural country, a decrease of prosperity due to overpopulation has been observed. The former checks on population effected by

infanticide, wars, famines, epidemics, and chaotic administration have been removed by modern administration and medical science, so population now increases rapidly up to the limit of subsistence. Temporary palliatives such as new irrigation systems have some effect, but the only permanent remedy is for Governments to promote actively general education and birth control knowledge, so that the removal of natural checks may be counterbalanced by careful regulation of the numbers of the average family. Years, in fact generations, will be required to produce a widespread result, but that this can be secured is proved by the case of France, where, as the result of general birth control, the population is not increasing, and the standard of comfort is fairly good. Tours by Mrs. Sanger and Mrs. How-Martyn in India in recent years produced evidence of a keen desire among many middle-class women for limiting and spacing births in their families, both for economic reasons and for securing the maximum health and strength of mothers and children, a most desirable object. In Bermuda, a British Crown Colony, the Government have started birth control clinics to remedy the evils of overpopulation and unemployment, so official approval and action have come at last. It is to be hoped that the Governments and public bodies in India will lose no time in following suit.

FAR EAST

THE ANNUAL REPORT ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF JOHORE, 1937. (*His Majesty's Stationery Office.*) 1s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT.)

The Report shows a revenue for this Malay State (of the size of Wales) that has only once been exceeded, namely in 1928, and an expenditure that has only once been higher, namely in 1935. Its revenue was £2,356,280 and the expenditure £2,146,404. The completion of the new mental asylum and of a new police depôt and the removal of the P.W.D. workshops from the sea-front mark the beginning of great town improvements at the capital, Johore Bahru. It is to be hoped that new Government offices and new military barracks will soon be put in hand, and that a style of architecture suitable for this beautiful little town may be selected and a harmonious scheme be laid down and followed. It cannot be long before the problems of its town slums and a larger market must be considered. For a State so affluent these are improvements not difficult to undertake. The slums were criticized by Rupert Emerson in his book, *Malaysia*.

The revenue from mining jumped from $490,356 in 1936 to $641,045, mainly owing to an unexplained increase in the "sand, clay and stone" extracted, which was valued at $1,663,120: further particulars would have been of value. There are several iron-mines leased to Japanese, and production suffered from trouble with the Chinese labour, the employment of Japanese labour on mines and rubber estates never having succeeded in tropical Malaya. The mining of bauxite was "an unqualified success." There seems also to be a bright future for tin-mining in Johore.

The percentage of reserved forest to the area of the State still remains at 15·4 against an optimum of 25 or more and action is obviously required.

It is pleasing to note that "the labourer, whether Javanese, Chinese or South Indian, lives and works in steadily improving conditions. . . . In methods of hygiene the Javanese labourer has probably assimilated more from the West than the other races"—a tribute to Islam and to the social services of Netherlands India.

The number of passes at the Cambridge Local Examinations has doubled in the last five years, a sign of increasing efficiency. But statistics show that female education has much headway to make up, if Johore girls are not to suffer in rivalry with their Singapore sisters and are to become suitable wives for the educated male.

Infant mortality showed a gratifying improvement. The biggest number of deaths (for all ages) was due to pneumonia, followed next by tuberculosis and then malaria.

I should like to have seen some reference to the Johore Malay Research Committee, which has produced a Malay Dictionary in Malay.

DREAMS OF THE WESTERN PARADISE

CHINESE GARDENS. By Dorothy Graham. (*Harrap.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* CONSTANCE VILLIERS-STUART.)

The Dream Mountains of the Western Paradise, a lovely memory of the far home of the race, haunting the great plains of China, have fixed the pattern of Chinese garden-design for three thousand years. Like St. Brandan's Fairy Isle, whose cloud peaks shine in that brief moment when the sun dips into the sparkling waves of the North Atlantic, the vision promises a blessed land of perpetual happiness and peace—just beyond the horizon.

Long before the Buddhist monks brought their version of the Western Paradise from India into China, the philosopher Laotzu had stressed the need of striving to live in harmony with the cosmic laws, and Taoist priests had urged the people to make pilgrimages to the high places, the caves of hermits and shrines in the far hills. So when at length Buddhism made its way down through the great mountain passes of the north-west, its teaching that contemplation was an act of grace and solitude a blessed interruption from routine was easily understood and assimilated. Some of the finest remaining gardens, so vividly described by Dorothy Graham, are those surrounding the Buddhist monasteries.

The two main types of Oriental garden-design, Chinese and Persian, are so distinct that it is worth while noticing their different origin. The Chinese stylized forest, made by the monks round their mountain retreats, where water, rocks and trees are all sufficient to suggest a subtle play of symbolism, is quite unlike the Persian and Mughal irrigated garden, derived from the hunting camp, set out on a flowery Himalayan Marg, where the short turf, watered by rills from the melting snows, is starred with

narcissus, crocus and iris. In Persia and India the garden is a brilliant open-air house, often with an upper terrace reserved for the ladies of the family. In China there is a sharp division between the house-courts gay with flowers in pots, the women's province, and the green landscape enclosure beyond, the special domain of the master of the house.

To make a garden after one's own heart, representing an idealized version of a natural scene, has been the ambition and solace of every Chinese official on his retirement. Unlike the Japanese garden that early crystallized into a rigid form, the Chinese pleasure-ground has remained a personal expression of its owner's taste, within certain prescribed limits. For the most part, the main design represents the three barrier peaks of the K'un Lun fringing the way to Tibet, the Mountains of the Western Paradise, ruled by the Princess of the Coloured Clouds. All inanimate objects having a male and female attribution, a balance must be maintained between them. Hills stimulate the imagination and represent the Yang (male) principle; water, conducive to calm, is the reminder of Yin (female) feeling. The Dragon, seen so often in every form of Chinese art, is the pivotal force, for it embodies the two extremes, the Yang and Yin, heaven and earth, light and darkness, fire and water. Rocks, the author tells us, were regarded as the earthly counterpart of the clouds. They were prized for their oddity and power of suggesting eerie remoteness. They were therefore arranged starkly to give full value to their curious shapes. Water, an essential in any Paradise, was also needed as the setting for one of the few flowers admitted to the scene, the sacred pink lotus, *Nelumbium speciosum*, equally beloved in India and China as the symbol of the soul's rise from earth to heaven.

The Buddhist belief that trees have souls has spared many that would otherwise have disappeared before the intensive cultivation of the peasant farmer. In Northern China, where there are few other trees, fine old cedars mark the temples and graves, some being of immense age. The Ginko, the maiden-hair tree met with occasionally in monastery gardens, is the only survivor in the world of the enormous fern trees of prehistoric times.

With their growing romantic feeling, the English of the eighteenth century became enthusiastic about the Chinese garden. Sir William Chambers, architect to George III., wrote *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* after he had been in China with the Swedish East India Company. But it was the strangeness, the whimsy, of Chinese gardeners, not their superb spatial arrangements or dignity of line, that caught the European imagination. A mountain hollowed by caves is the prototype of the mounds and grottos of the Chinese pleasure-ground. As Dorothy Graham justly points out, the false cavern of the Jardin Public along the Riviera, and many Continental royal parks, was the least happy of the ideas derived from this source.

Leaving the landscape garden and returning to the house-courts, the author gives a detailed list of the flowers that tell the seasons there. Flowering trees—plum, peach, pear, cherry—are followed by flaming azaleas, solid camellias, seemingly carved out of coral and ivory, velvet-dark iris, and the great ruby, rose and white Chinese pæonies, one of the few

flowers also admitted to the garden, where a series of narrow terraces are allotted to their display. Frail white lilies relieve the mid-summer heat in the courtyards with their perfume; as autumn advances plumed asters and coloured maples take their place in the porcelain jars; when these fail a marvellous procession of chrysanthemums brings the courtyard year to a close.

"When the chrysanthemums are gone, there are no friends left in the world," runs the classical poem. Only the dark rocks and twisted pines of the master's garden defy the winter snows.

These landscape enclosures, planned for meditation, are by no means easy to photograph successfully. The delicate greens of leaf and pool, nuances that delight the Chinese scholar's heart, cannot be caught by the Kodak. But wherever architecture gives the camera a chance the illustrations are good, notably the famous Jade Girdle Bridge in the garden of the former Dowager Empress, the window panel in the wall with a poetic inscription, and the moon doors and plum blossom on page 199.

There are no plans in Dorothy Graham's book, a real loss in a work on garden-design. Where the subject is unfamiliar plans are often difficult to obtain, but at least one should have been included, showing the typical Chinese lay-out of house-courts and garden-enclosure. To balance this omission, for those who can visit China, there is a very valuable list headed "Gardens that May Still be Seen."

Hangchow, Soochow, Yangchow and Peking supply most of them. Under the heading Nanking is the ominous note, "Hundreds of gardens were destroyed by the T'aipings, few are left." Canton supplies an instance of more recent vandalism in 1924.

How many, though, of the gardens cited will be left when the Japanese war is done? Every evening the wireless tells of more beauty destroyed. Life would be unbearable but for time's way of healing wounds—when all seems lost growing grass and flowers again in our hearts and gardens. In this charmingly written book we gain an insight into the Chinese ideal that remains unchanged through the centuries, "To turn aside from the current of life and seek solitude for the refreshment of the soul."

JAPAN'S GRAND OLD MAN. By Bunji Omura. (*Harrap.*) 15s. net.
JAPAN IN TRANSITION. By Emil Lederer and Emy Lederer-Seidler. (*Yale University Press.*) $3.

(*Reviewed by* O. M. GREEN.)

Among innumerable books prompted by Far Eastern questions in the past ten or fifteen years, these two are outstanding, and in many ways they form an excellent complement to each other. Mr. Omura's biography of Prince Saionji, last of the Genro or Elder Statesmen who made the Meiji Restoration of 1868, is as delightful as a novel; it is cast in most original form, the various episodes in Saionji's life being presented in vivacious dialogue between the statesman and his friends and fellows. Considering that these conversations must be purely imaginary, the greatest credit is due to the

author for the skill with which they are written to bring out the characters of the different speakers—Saionji himself; the saturnine Katsura; Yamagata, the solid, taciturn embodiment of Army supremacy; and the wily Ito, stroking his goat-like beard, whose true nobility was only realized when he went as Resident among the Koreans, who rewarded his far-seeing labours on their behalf by murdering him. And surely one must not forget the lovely, noble-minded Okiku, Saionji's first and indeed only real love. If this book were actually a novel, Okiku would rank as one of the finest creations of feminine character in literature. There was a legend in the Saionji clan which forbade him to marry any of his mistresses; the fact that they were accepted virtually as wives and that no taint of illegitimacy hung about his children throws an interesting light on Japanese customs. But even though she could not give him a son, one wonders how he can have let Okiku go, and what has become of her.

The fundamental liberalism of Saionji's nature is well brought out—as a young man back from nine years' studying in Paris editing a radical newspaper in Tokyo; as Prime Minister, reading Karl Marx to know what he said, and striving to get the Socialists recognized (but the Army broke his Ministry for it); as father, advising his daughter to choose her own husband instead of submitting to the choice of match-makers. He has always been indifferent to money, though other politicians and even Genro were making fortunes, and his own brother, adopted into the Sumitomo family, became head of the great firm of that name and a multi-millionaire. Truly a grand old man.

The book has an excellent glossary of peoples, places, and Japanese phrases. One suggestion may be made for future editions—namely, a short epitome of Japanese history since the Restoration, which would be welcomed by those not familiar with it. But as it stands it is a charming book.

Japan in Transition is a valuable, thoughtful work, worth a permanent place on the shelves of any student of history. The first few pages are somewhat heavy, but then the narrative moves along swimmingly. The authors begin with an extremely interesting analysis of the different influences—religious, social, and imperial—which have made the Japanese what they are. In this connection the 250 years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, during which Japan was rigidly cut off from the outside world, were of extreme—it might be said fatal—importance. While the rest of the world was undergoing tremendous changes, Japan was becoming more and more stiffened and hidebound in the artificial conventions of her native culture. The results of this division, when the West finally broke open her doors, are being felt to this day. More than in any nation, Japan's actions today can only be understood by a knowledge of her past. As the authors clearly show, the weakness of the Japanese structure is that there is no real middle class. Society is still run on feudal lines under a different name, and this form is perpetuated by the Constitution, which is hardly even ostensibly democratic. Events leading up to the present invasion of China are well displayed, with useful cross-references to China herself. The authors do not think that Japan's dream of conquering China can possibly be realized, and the prospects then for Japan are fraught with danger when "the industrial

proletariat" (the peasants, too) "begins to realize that it has no roots in Japanese soil and no hope of a decent living in an overcrowded country with increasing taxes and increasing burden of military service."

A Short History of the Chinese, the Four Hundred Million. By Mary A. Nourse. (*Williams and Norgate.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* R. T. Barrett.)

The Gibbon or Motley of Chinese history has yet to arise. A library of books has been written by Europeans about China, but they fall into two categories—the uninspired chronicler and the unreliable romantic. No one has written a history that has touched the imagination of the educated world.

Miss Nourse's admirable short history has the great merit of being interesting, and for this reason the book should be in the hands of everyone seeking to understand the background of the present conflict with Japan. It should be extremely useful to those going out to China, while few Far Easterners would fail to profit from the well-ordered narration of China's development.

Starting with a vivid picture of China of today, its geographical features and natural resources, the authoress takes her readers back to the legendary age, and to the beliefs about the gods and heroes which are still colouring the minds of Chinese people. Miss Nourse avoids the error of overloading her history. She gives an outline of the founders, the achievements and the leading figures of the successive dynasties, but the ground is not cumbered with names and events that made no permanent impression upon the life of the country. In this she is wise, for she concentrates upon the things and the personalities of real importance and she avoids frightening the novice by that bugbear, "difficult" Chinese names.

Miss Nourse deals particularly well with the neglected subject of China's contacts with the West, and she outlines the intercourse with Rome during the Han dynasty, the coming of Buddhism from India and the intercourse with Arabs, Turks and Persians during the spacious days of the Tangs.

Nearly half the book is devoted to the coming of the West, starting with the Portuguese settlement at Macao and the factories at Amoy and Canton. After a slow beginning the leaven of the Western world rapidly undermined the authority of the Manchus, but when the Taiping Rebellion expressed the national unrest and dissatisfaction, China, in Miss Nourse's opinion, was not yet ready, as Japan was ready at that time, for rapid reconstruction. Tsang Kuo-fan, the scholarly statesman and soldier who put down the Taipings, is Miss Nourse's hero, and he might, in her opinion, have set his country upon a slow and steady reformation suited to the national character. His death was a tragedy, and Li Hung-chang, upon whom his mantle fell, was not the constructive genius needed at that time. The reaction under the Dowager Empress, and the ready submission of the people to this strong-willed but ignorant woman, suggest the hostility of the Chinese people to change. Even the revolution of 1912 found them unready, and miseries of the civil wars were largely due to national ignorance and apathy. Not till the triumphant march of the Nationalist Army from Canton to Peking did

China show signs of awakening. Then, however, the process was rapid. The country had learned to hate the war lords and was willing to accept the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Government of Nanking. Province after province fell under the power of the Generalissimo, culminating with a bloodless triumph over Canton and a formal reconciliation with the turbulent war lords of Kwangsi. The process was hardly completed when the nation was called upon to defend its existence against Japan. There Miss Nourse ends her story. Whether she writes upon this epic struggle or whether she turns to one or other aspect of China's past history, her next work will be sure of a very cordial welcome.

Lords of the Sunset. By Maurice Collis. A Tour in the Shan States. (*Faber and Faber.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* Edwin Haward.)

It almost seems as if Mr. Collis ought to be divided into two: one part of him should be ordered to wander about the world and continue to delight his readers with gaily inconsequent tales of intimate conversations with ladies of quality, of casual peeps into inaccessible beauty spots in odd corners of the universe; the other part should be invited by the British Government to examine the working of the colonial commonwealth overseas and report on defects, injustices, and stupidities. For instance, in this latest book he tells how the Government of India deprived the Shan States of the revenue accruing from the income tax leviable on the silver mines. This has now been corrected by the separation of Burma from India, for the new Burma Government has not inherited that special vice of rapacity, and now the Shan States get their due. Yet it is disquieting to find that so crude an administrative unfairness clothed all too respectably in departmental correctitude could not find redress until a constitutional accident occurred. Mr. Collis, too, would discern the nicety of adjusting the legitimate activities of British trading concerns to the principle of respecting the rights of the local inhabitants. He would see that the tung oil industry's evidently attractive prospects came within the purview of local enterprise as well as within the balance sheets of enterprising companies.

His prescription cannot be bettered: "Right behaviour may be sufficient to solve all the problems within our Empire." Too often the alleged torpor of the Colonial Office is diagnosed in terms of the shareholders' interests. The solicitude of that department for due performance of its trusteeship seldom receives the tribute of active encouragement.

Affairs of China: A Survey of the Recent History and Present Circumstances of the Republic of China. By Sir Eric Teichman, K.C.M.G., C.I.E. (*Methuen.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* Edwin Haward.)

This workmanlike presentation of China's political problems is by far the best book on the subject coming from an English pen in recent years. The

author knows how to use his exact knowledge of the facts to guide rather than to confuse the reader. He avoids appeal to anything but commonsense judgment. In expounding the complexities of diplomatic history he concentrates on the simplest form of treatment. Perhaps he may be charged with over-simplification in recording the evolution of British policy, and especially its difficulties in securing more than grudging support from the British community in China. It certainly is a matter for concern that the divergence of views seemed to be intractable, and unfortunately there are signs that it is likely to persist at this critical moment of China's destiny with which the future of British trade in the Far East is closely concerned, as Mr. R. T. Peyton-Griffin has ably pointed out in the last issue of the Asiatic Review.

Sir Eric may safely be taken as a guide to Chinese affairs, and on the basis of his findings opinions regarding the causes and origins of the present conflict can be readily formed without fear of being misled. On the issues which affect China's relations with the foreign Powers—tariffs, Customs administration, finance, treaty ports, concessions, frontier disputes, and loan services—the reader will find a lucidly fair-minded mentor who, as his fascinating travel books show, can wield a graceful pen without despite to accuracy.

In the spate of books emanating from Western authors on modern China there have been some picturesque and, it is to be feared, highly imaginative accounts of the doings of the so-called Chinese Communists. Japan, playing up to the idiosyncrasies of Europe, has discerned in the Chinese Government communist tendencies. Those books in their naïve desire to exalt the "Reds" obligingly give Japan's theory the lie, for they set out to prove that the Chinese Government has been the persistent enemy of Communism. That, perhaps, is the nearest approach to truth achieved by their authors, for probably no other leader in the world than General Chiang Kai-shek has more consistently warred against Communism. The present fusion of the "Red" forces with the Chinese armies arrayed against Japanese invaders was directly due to the compact by which those forces secured Kuomintang respectability in return for their abandonment of the slogans and insignia of the Hammer and Sickle.

Far too great a prominence has been given to the doings of the "Reds." Sir Eric confirms this view. He admits that Chinese Communism has an appeal to the educated youth of China, but only as "revolutionary nationalism undiluted." "Remove," he says, "the nationalist grievances—the unequal treaties and the aggression of the Japanese—and the hammer and sickle lose for the Chinese much of their significance." He is even more definite here:

> "For the Chinese as a race are individualists and hard-headed materialists, with an agricultural society founded on village, clan, and family, and lack in their national character that strain of emotion and imagination which breeds religious or Communistic fervour. Left to themselves the Chinese are likely to prove as infertile a field for Communistic propaganda as for the teaching of the missionaries. But cir-

cumstances alter cases; and particular sets of circumstances have in fact driven a number of Chinese into the Communistic fold: amongst the intellectuals the complex of inferiority arising from the unequal treaties and the aggression of the foreign Powers; and in the Chinese underworld the hardships of misgovernment and the bitterness of economic stress."

Never has Sir Eric met a genuine Chinese Communist, but his experience leads him to conclude that, fundamentally a static people, the Chinese may "garb themselves in foreign clothes, take first-class degrees at universities in Europe or America, become generals, diplomats or politicians, industrialists or Communists; but they remain at heart Chinese and retain their Chinese philosophy of life." So if Communism does come to China—and Japan is doing her best to make it come—it will be "in form so moulded to the Chinese character as to leave little of the original intact."

Those who have been following the present struggle are certainly impressed by the comparative coldness of the relations between the Chinese and Soviet Russia. The latter may be giving assistance, but only on the material basis which has provided an equally good inspiration for aid from Italy and Germany. The economic ills of China cannot be solved by Communism. Therein lies the real answer to timid forebodings in the West.

PERIODICALS

THE ANNUAL OF THE EAST. (Knapp's *Annual of the East*, 160, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.) 4s.

Mr. R. W. Brock, the late editor of *Capital in Calcutta*, and now managing editor of the above publication, is to be congratulated on the result of the work that he has put into this sumptuous publication. It is beautifully illustrated, and the letter-press is not only readable but also full of information that should prove invaluable to administrators, business men and travellers in the East.

NEW INDIA OBSERVER. (212, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.) 10s. per annum.

This is a new weekly news-letter on current affairs in India. The third number appeared on December 1, and its contents are very varied and interesting, as is shown by some of the items: the proposed establishment of a military school at Ranchi, the gift of 16,000 volumes on Chinese and Far Eastern subjects, that belonged to the late Sir Reginald Johnston, to the School of Oriental Studies in London, Canada's liking for Indian carpets, archæological discoveries in India, and notable political and sporting events in that country. There is also a useful list of current engagements in London. The joint editors, Mr. H. S. Stark and Mr. H. F. Masson, deserve great credit for their enterprise.

La Revue Française d'Outre Mer. (Paris: 41, *Rue de la Bienfaisance.*)

The September issue of the authoritative journal of the French Colonial Union opens with an account of the scope and work of the colonial schools in Germany, and there follows an examination, by Mr. Henri Carton, a former Minister for the Colonies in Belgium, of foreign claims as seen in that country. There is an informative account of the various harbours in the French Colonial Empire, including Djibouti, illustrated with some fine pictures.

Het Britische Rijk. (Amsterdam: *De Zakenwereld.*)

Mr. van Santen, who was in England for some time earlier in the year in connection with its compilation, deserves warm commendation for this notable and profusely illustrated Special Number of his journal. It is honoured by a special message from the President of the Board of Trade, and contains over fifty articles on the manifold activities of the British Empire by leading experts. Recent developments in India are described by Mr. R. W. Brock, and Mr. Charles Morrell writes on the trade relations between British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies.

De Indische Gids. (Amsterdam: *De Bussy.*)

With the December issue this review, prominent in the study of Netherlands overseas problems, has attained its sixtieth anniversary. The present issue contains an important article by General C. J. Snijders on Ministerial Forces, a subject of great importance. The distinguished author's views on this matter are therefore of general interest.

CORRECTION:

Dr. Herbert Chatley wishes to point out that in his article entitled "Ancient Chinese Astronomy," which was published in the January issue of last year, on page 140, line 10, "east" should be read instead of "west."

THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1939

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S PLACE IN EMPIRE FILMS

By Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.
(Director of the Imperial Institute.)

I am very grateful indeed to the East India Association and the National Indian Association for this opportunity to interest their members in the films work of the Imperial Institute, with special reference to films of India. They have also kindly invited members of the Films Committee of the Royal Empire Society and the Dominions, India and Colonies Panel of the British Film Institute, and other organizations. Before going further, let me explain the "story" which I wish to tell you and how I propose to tell it.

First of all, I propose to give a short account of our films work at the Imperial Institute, which centres upon our Cinema and Empire Film Library. I propose then to show you one of our most popular Indian films, and, after that, to give a brief account of our Indian films and of their popularity with adult and juvenile audiences of the United Kingdom. Then a second Indian film; and, finally, I will try to suggest something by way of a conclusion, with an eye to further expansion of our films work for India.

First, then, let me give you a short account of our films work at the Imperial Institute. The Institute was founded as long ago as 1887 to be a memorial of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee. Its main objects were twofold: To help the Empire producer with technical information and advice; that is the science side of our activities. The other side is educational—to tell the story of the Overseas Empire to the general public visiting our Exhibition Galleries. And since the galleries, if they are to function

properly, must tell the "story" of the Empire convincingly and interestingly, it follows that our exhibits there must be selected and displayed as artistically as possible, to attract the public. So you see our twofold objective is Science and Art—Science applied to the development of Empire resources; Art applied to the portrayal of the life, scenery and industries of the Empire, for the education of the general public visiting our galleries (over half a million last year) and particularly of the many school parties sent to us by their teachers in order that we may supply both the "background" and the "atmosphere" necessary to supplement a lesson in Empire geography or Empire economics.

The work of the Imperial Institute went on, with ups and downs which need not be described here, until it received a great stimulus from the creation of the Empire Marketing Board. We are not concerned this evening with the technical and scientific aspects of the work of the Institute, although these also received inspiration from the Board, but only with the educational aspects. Here the support received from the Empire Marketing Board was substantial. An Education Sub-Committee of the Board was established with headquarters at the Institute and with the then Director, Lieut.-General Sir William Furse, as chairman. Close relations were cultivated with school-teachers, particularly in the London and Greater London areas. School parties visited the galleries in increasing numbers and the Exhibition Galleries began to develop artistic qualities with the addition of dioramas, photographic transparencies and so on.

The Empire Film Library

But the greatest service rendered by the Board was in collecting a library of Empire films and in building a cinema where the films could be shown. The cinema was constructed at the Institute in 1927, side by side with our Exhibition Pavilion; and the Empire Film Library was located at the Imperial Institute and entrusted to the administrative charge of the Director. It was recognized, however, that the galleries and cinema would be available for practical purposes almost entirely to the school-children of London and Greater London. To meet the needs of

provincial schools, the practice developed of sending out these Empire films on loan to schools throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom; and not only to schools but also to recognized societies.

When the Empire Marketing Board came to an end, the Empire Film Library passed to the control of the Postmaster-General, though it continued to be housed at the Imperial Institute and administered by the Director of the Institute on behalf of the Postmaster-General. Later, as the General Post Office developed its own Film Unit, the responsibility of the Empire Film Library was transferred from the Postmaster-General to the Director of the Imperial Institute, who was also asked to undertake, as agent for the Postmaster-General, the circulation of the G.P.O. Film Library. So I have now two Film Libraries in my charge, the Empire Film Library, of which the copyright still remains with the United Kingdom Government as the authority originally responsible, through the Empire Marketing Board, for collecting the films; and the G.P.O. Film Library which I administer on behalf of the Postmaster-General.

The Present Position

When we took over charge of the libraries in 1934, and of the clerical and technical staff entrusted with the work of the cinema and libraries, the total number of films was only 800. This number was increased in 1935, with the co-operation of High Commissioners and Government Departments and of the Travel and Industrial Development Association of Great Britain and Ireland, to 1,000. In 1937 we decided to make a special effort. During the course of a visit to the Union of South Africa I was able, with the co-operation of the High Commissioner, to interest the Union Government Departments concerned, as well as fruit and wine co-operative societies, industrial corporations and so on, in the work of the Empire Film Library, and as a result we received a considerable accession of South African films. Intensive efforts had also their result in securing for us more films from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This year, as a result of a recent visit to Canada, we

hope to receive still more Canadian films from both official and unofficial sources. And, finally, we have received grants, through the generosity of the Imperial Relations Trust, the Colonial Empire Marketing Board, and other authorities, which have enabled us to purchase either fresh prints of our existing films or prints of Empire subjects quite new to our library.

So we stand today in the following position:

(1) We hold altogether about 1,900 prints, covering 565 subjects, of Empire films.

(2) We circulate these films to schools and societies of the United Kingdom, of whom we have about 3,500 recorded on our registers as borrowers.

(3) The films are all non-theatrical in the sense that they carry no theatrical rights or royalties, and we make no charge to any of our borrowers save the cost of carriage. This exemption from fees or royalties is one of the conditions on which we hold the films on trust for the United Kingdom Government.

(4) We recover the expenses of this service, chiefly the wages of our technical and clerical staff, from Empire Governments.

(5) We rely on Empire Governments, local authorities, private firms, etc., to supply us with sufficient films to make good our annual wastage, amounting to roughly 10 to 15 per cent. of our total stock.

(6) But this rate is not sufficient, for the number of our borrowers increases rapidly every year, as more and more schools and societies receive grants for the purchase of projectors.

(7) Moreover, the number of silent films available does not seem to increase as rapidly as the number of silent projectors with the schools; for the 16 mm. silent projector is still definitely more popular, on account of its cheapness and ease of handling, than the 16 mm. or 35 mm. "sound" projector.

(8) We are, therefore, hard put to it to cope with existing demands. Indeed, the other day we were run clean out of the whole of our library of 1,300 prints. Not a single print was in stock, for as fast as prints returned from use they were sent out again to meet the demands of other borrowers.

(9) Undoubtedly, the existence of our library has done much to encourage schools to invest in projectors, for they know they can obtain Empire and G.P.O. films from us at the cost only of postage both ways. It is a magnificent national or rather Empire service. Generous help from the Imperial Relations Trust and from the Colonial Empire Marketing Board has enabled us to hold our own this year with increasing demands from our borrowers. But next year will repeat the predicaments of last year, unless more films are forthcoming or more grants from which to purchase them.

That is a summary of our present position with the Empire Film Library. I now turn to the question of Indian films for the

library, and will begin by showing you one of the most popular of the Indian films at present in our library. It is entitled "Romantic India" and is the copyright of the High Commissioner for India. [The film "Romantic India" was then shown.]

"Background" Films

The film you have just seen has its defects, of course—what film has not?—and yet it does succeed in giving an impression of the vast ranges of climate and soil, agriculture, industries and markets, races and character and life, which make up the India which we know and love, so far, at least, as a twenty-minute film can suffice for the purpose. From the point of view of the school classroom it is, I feel, hopelessly inadequate. It concentrates too much on the Himalayas on the one hand and Burma on the other hand. Yet it must suffice as an illustration of my main argument, which I venture to express now in the following general terms.

The chief objective of an Empire Film Library like ours is to provide the school-teacher or the educational or cultural society with what one must, for want of a better term, call "background" films. They are mostly short films, some only eight or ten minutes in length, some running to fifteen or even (as in the case of "Romantic India") twenty minutes, but usually no longer. They try to tell the story of some aspect or aspects of life within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as such they are documentary in the sense that they are, or try to be, true to nature or true to human nature; this, as contrasted with purely entertainment or fictional films. Of course, fiction also may be true to human nature, and indeed must be thus true if it is to be convincing. But the documentary must go deeper than that and must describe life as it really is and not mere lifelikeness.

Well, our problem is just how to get hold of the best types of documentary films of the Empire, each subject to the limitations of length which I have just described—eight to ten minutes minimum, fifteen to twenty minutes maximum. That is the length which the school-teachers prefer; they usually like to borrow three or four of our films at a time, bearing collectively on some one country or activity of the Empire, and by this means they get

their background story across in a series of short vignettes uniting in a display which may last for anything from half an hour to an hour.

And for obvious reasons we must rely on the Governments or corporations, producers or industrialists concerned, throughout the Empire, to provide us with the films necessary to get each particular story across. If only we had the funds, we would maintain a travelling film unit of "sharpshooters," if I might give camera-men that title without offence. They often have to be very nippy in getting just the right shot from the right angle, and the sharper and clearer the photographic result the better, so they might quite fairly claim to be "sharpshooters" on both grounds!

Need for Co-operation

But, to resume, if only we had the funds we would maintain our own film-unit or units and would send them round the Empire with a clear conception of just the kinds of film stories which the school-teachers want as backgrounds to the lessons of the term. Failing such a film-unit, I must naturally rely on the co-operation of the Governments and the commercial or industrial organizations of the Empire to supply me with the kinds of films we require.

And here let me say at once that we are, on the whole, admirably backed by the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments. Some inevitable gaps have occurred even in our United Kingdom and general Empire sections, and here we have received the generous support of the Imperial Relations Trust which last year granted us £1,000 for the purchase of films suitable to fill these gaps.

The Colonial Governments are naturally more handicapped in supplying us with Colonial films, for they have not usually sufficient funds at their disposal to embark on a policy of film propaganda; but in lieu of their support we have recently had the advantage of a special allocation of £400 from the Colonial Empire Marketing Board, which we are spending for the Board on the replacement of worn-out existing prints, and the purchase of new prints of the Colonial Empire. The Canadian Govern-

ment are particularly helpful, and also Canadian railways and industries. The Burma Government have given us sufficient funds to overhaul completely our existing stock of films of Burma and have promised to do their best to supply us with some completely new films which will be shot in Burma.

South Africa, Australia and New Zealand are well represented in our library. In addition, we get good support from such world-famous organizations as the Port of London Authority, Imperial Airways, Messrs. Cadbury, the British Commercial Gas Association, the Asiatic Petroleum Company, besides the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways.

India's Contribution

And how does India figure in the Empire Film Library? Let me say at once that the High Commissioner, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, fully recognizes the valuable rôle which our library fulfils in lending its Empire films to schools and societies of these islands, and so telling the story of the Empire to the younger generation—yes, and to hundreds of adult audiences too—year by year. He has placed at our disposal all the films of India which he can spare for our work. But, alas, national propaganda through films is an expensive hobby, and the Government of India are not alone in preferring to spend their publicity funds on other forms of propaganda—as, for example, on participation in exhibitions and fairs. Yet the film is the best possible medium by which to get one's story across; and what a marvellous story India has to tell! To my mind it is a story of contrasts—the icy ramparts of the Himalayas and the torrid yet rainy and fertile plains; great rolling rivers contrasted with sandy deserts; aeroplanes, railways, the motor-car and the bullock-cart; great modern mills and factories side by side with corresponding village industries which have existed since India began; dress, diet, customs, religions, languages as diverse as any to be found in the rest of the world. And yet a unity, an "India," running through the whole. What a story to tell, against how wonderful a background of natural scenery, of historical romance and adventure.

And yet I do not remember ever to have seen a single Indian film which perfectly tells this story. The nearest approach to the Eastern mind, which I can think of as told by the film, is "Song of Ceylon." That is the sort of note to strike, reminiscent of Fielding Hall's "Soul of a People." But, so far as I know, the perfect, or nearly perfect, film of the Indian soul has yet to be made. Let me now show you one attempt, this time of an historic Indian City State, Udaipur. [The film "A Central Indian Town—Udaipur" was then shown.]

Emotional Stimuli

And now let me try to draw together very briefly the threads of the argument. A schoolboy once remarked very wisely, with an intelligence beyond his years, that "When a man is wrapped up in himself he makes a very small parcel." That is very true, and the recognition of this truth lies at the back of all education. It is only when we cease to be "introverts" and begin to project our minds outwards towards the conditions and the interests of other people that our education really begins. That projection of the mind lies at the basis of every successful lesson in history or geography. We were never meant to be "introverts," with minds working round and round upon ourselves like silkworms spinning their own cocoons, but to take an interest in the world around us. And if in the world around us, how much more natural and more real should be our interest in peoples of the British Commonwealth across the sea who are at least disposed to regard us with friendly eyes and with whom we share the ties of a community of tradition under the Crown.

Every lesson in history or geography should have behind it some sort of emotional stimulus which will help it along and see it through. That is just the stimulus which a really first-class "background" film can provide. I hope I have said enough to convince you that the work of the Empire Film Library is of the order of a great national and Empire service. It is worthy of your support; and if any of my audience can put me in touch with new sources of supply of really good films, of the character which I have described, preferably short 16 mm. films either

sound or silent, which tell adequately the story of India or some part of India or some aspects of the many-sided activities comprising Indian life, I shall be very grateful for the introduction.

As I have said before, the High Commissioner supports our work to the best of his ability in giving us an annual subvention, on behalf of his Government, and in making us grants from time to time for the purchase of new prints of Indian subjects to replace those worn out. Moreover, we receive good support from the Empire Tea Market Expansion Bureau, who possess some first-class films.

My hope is that the Government of India, either themselves or through the Indian railways, will revive the policy of producing new film material of India; and secondly, that private producers owning good films of India will agree to place them with the Empire Film Library. Indian films are very popular with United Kingdom audiences. At present we have only 50 prints of Indian subjects, compared with 35 for New Zealand, 143 for South Africa, 49 for Australia and 391 for Canada. We could treble our existing stock of Indian films and yet fail to meet all claims for them from the 3,500 borrowers on our registers.

SPEECHES ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a reception by the East India and National Indian Associations at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, W. 1, on Thursday, January 12, 1939, the guests, some 350 in number, were received by Lord and Lady Willingdon, Lord and Lady Hailey, and Sir Selwyn and Lady Fremantle. Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, spoke on Empire Films and India.

Lord Hailey, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., presided, and in opening the proceedings said: I know there is one thing that you are all expecting me to say immediately. How very pleasant it is that we should be offered an occasion like this on which to enjoy the joint hospitality of the East India Association and the National Indian Association. It gives us a chance of meeting so many old friends, and reviving so many happy memories of what I know to very many of us has been the most pleasant part of our lives.

But that was not our sole purpose in meeting this afternoon. Sir Harry Lindsay, whom we all welcome here back from his tour in Canada, will tell us something about the educational and social value of the film generally, and especially the film in connection with India. I suppose there is nobody who will not agree at once that there must be great value in the collection of a Library of Empire Films for the purpose of exhibition not merely to the public but throughout the schools of the Empire. I remember myself how impressed I was when Sir Stephen Tallents first spoke on the subject in his book, "The Projection of England," and the encouragement given to it by the efforts of the Empire Marketing Board. I was much struck, too, by the fact that the fine Colonial Institute at Amsterdam—perhaps one of the largest in the world—makes a regular practice of exhibiting their Colonial films throughout the schools of Holland, and that it is, indeed, obligatory to pass an examination in Colonial subjects. I was very much impressed, again, when I was in Africa, by the fact that the Carnegie Corporation had financed an experiment in the preparation of films on purely African subjects, obviously one of the means of development and education. I remember, indeed, seeing one of their films, which had been taken locally, exhibited on the shores of Lake Victoria.

It is true that India does not seem very largely represented in the type of films which are prepared by authority for exhibition in the outside world. I except those, of course, prepared by the Railway Board in India, which are excellent films of their own class. Why is it, I wonder, that we are so modest in what we do in this direction? Why is it that we take so little care to exhibit to the outside world what we have done for India, and what India has done for itself? Is it some queer form of pride? Is it some conviction that so long as we are satisfied, it does not matter what anyone else thinks? If so, I am sure it is a mistake.

We must realize what other nations have done. There is the constant exhibition of Colonial subjects in France. There is great attention paid to

that class of subject, as I have just said, in Holland. I am sure that more ought to be done in this direction by the Government of India and by the British Government.

Of course, though India is not widely represented in films meant for exhibition in the outside world, it is true that the different local governments have begun to use the film of late as a means of education and propaganda. I remember that in the Punjab we ourselves started an official film agency. We had a considerable number of motor-cars taking films about the country for agricultural and health propaganda and similar purposes. We actually started our own studio in Lucknow—and achieved some success in preparing films; one I particularly remember was of the pilgrimage to Badrinath, and though intended mainly to show what we were doing for the sanitation of the pilgrim route, has many pictures of the Himalayas. Films prepared for the purpose of exhibition in the Empire would not only have the effect of preserving a record of work done in India; they would have a strong educative influence throughout the world. And they would also have another very desirable result. We might hope to put an end to the use that is now made of India by film producers. India is at present used by them for the presentation of some sort of pseudo-romantic interest. They very seldom manage to bring home to their world audiences what India is, what life its people lead, or what contribution they are making to the civilization of the world.

Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., then spoke on "India's Place in Empire Films," and showed two films.

Sir Malcolm Seton: I have the very pleasant task of asking you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Hailey for having presided, and to Sir Harry Lindsay for the delightful entertainment he has given us. I should also like to combine the East India Association with a feeling of gratitude to the National Indian Association under the guidance of Sir Selwyn Fremantle for co-operating in what I think you will all agree has been a very pleasant afternoon.

What Sir Harry Lindsay said about the evanescence of films is, of course, rather tragic and rather important. I never realized it until my old friend Mr. Gould told me that the wonderful colour-films taken at Lhasa, which he showed at the Royal Geographical Society two years ago, were steadily fading and could not be replaced.

I am not going to say anything about the films we have seen this afternoon except to remark that one would have liked to see also the feeding of the wild boars at Udaipur. It was such a very delightful film of Udaipur that one ought not to complain at all, but I really do think that His Highness the Maharao ought to have been given his correct style, considering the ancient lineage of his line, and not described as a Raja.

We also owe a debt of gratitude to Lord and Lady Willingdon for having been kind enough to come and receive the guests. (Cheers.)

STOCKTAKING IN INDIA

By Miss Cornelia Sorabji

Now that, in England, we are stocktaking in actual conditions and in capacity both personal and national, it might not be inadvisable to do something like this with regard to India; and to do it simply as a matter of history, without implication of blame. The progress from a law-abiding Conservatism which was almost stagnation to the Third-International attitude, must amaze the leaders of fourscore years ago, if things of the earth are still of interest in the shades.

Exploitation from without was first evident in 1887 when the Maratha B. G. Tilak used "Nationalism" as a firelighter, and a secret society educating in *lathi* practice and swordplay as easy fuel, for a local conflagration. From Bombay the flame spread all over India; and by 1905 was openly tended—the incendiaries using the (carefully prepared) "temper" of local discontent as recruiting slogans—*e.g.*, "The Partition of Bengal," "Own Country," "Non-Co-operation," "Civil Disobedience," "No Tax"—which resulted in such tragedies as the agrarian and tea garden riots, Chauri Chaura, the Moplah Rebellion, and so on. Nor was ignition always local. Take the Sikh trouble of 1916—the fire was lighted in San Francisco.

"If only we had the right leader!" was the cry of our hearts. But Gokhale was dead, and Gandhi, of whom we had hopes, was himself exploited. Had he gone from village to village upon his return from South Africa, preaching his philosophy of the victory-of-the-spirit based on the teachings of the New Testament and Tolstoi—who can say what might have happened? But he tossed his "No Violence" and other watchwords to the rebels to be used as lettering on the flags of battle by hotheads who could not understand or appreciate his high ideals.

The result was inevitable; especially as all the time the student exodus to Europe had been equipping the revolutionaries with the temper and implements of carnal warfare . . . "Gandhi had

evoked forces which he could neither direct nor control." And the students proved apt pupils—witness "*The Constitution of the Hindustan Socialist Revolutionary Party*, General Headquarters, Bengal" (a copy of which interesting document lies on my table as I write), with its unyielding discipline, its fearsome oaths, its admirable organization and its inexorable practice.

By 1935 five hundred leaders trained in Moscow were at large in India—teaching, propaganding, enrolling. In March, 1937, the Home Member told the Legislative Assembly at Delhi that some forty to fifty Indian students had been trained at Moscow in 1935-36 for work in India. The tale of crimes committed by this body of Terrorists (as they were called) is ghastly and dastardly reading; and we must remember that the numbers given are limited to what the police could discover. But with the advent of the reforms, Government had got the situation in hand. Many of the leaders and their dupes were safely in prison or detention camp, and Terrorist authorities had called off assassinations in preparation for a mass revolution later on. There was a double reason for this—"The police are too good for us and we get knocked out," "concentrate on the collection of arms, money and men" (Terrorist orders); and since the aim of the Congress was, equally with theirs, "complete independence" and since the Congress had accepted office and had put release of the revolutionaries and this "Independence" in the forefront of their programme, they could afford to wait.

The alliance of the Congress to Terrorism had come about in this way: In 1930 Gandhi, no doubt with a view to preventing violence, offered to secure complete independence to the country within three years if leadership of the consolidated forces of disruption were given him. The three years pact was the response. But Gandhi failed to fulfil his promise; and in 1933 leadership returned to the Terrorists; but alliance and identity of aim remain.

From time to time Gandhi's gentle voice is heard pleading patiently, but his new slogans of social or industrial reform are, equally with his old political slogans, converted into violence and hatred. As has been indicated, however, Terrorism is now

quiescent. And we are brought up to date in our survey—to the inauguration of self-government.

The Present Position

The Congress-controlled (eight out of eleven) Provinces are doing on the whole very good work; and this although they are faced, speaking generally, with two handicaps:

(*a*) They are trying to run the English parliamentary system practically with one party—*i.e.*, the Congress.

(*b*) The elected members of this body, Cabinet and ordinary members of Assemblies alike, are controlled from without—not by the electorate but by (the left wing in most cases) the Congress central executive.

In the result such things happen as happened in the United Provinces and Bihar in March, 1938—orders from the central executive to down tools unless the Congress demand for release of "political" prisoners (men convicted after due trial by the regular Courts of Justice of crimes such as murder, arson, dacoity, etc.) was conceded by the Governors forthwith. . . . And the orders were obeyed—at a time hazardous to the public interest with the budget session immediately due, and worthwhile schemes in hand for relief in departments vital to the peasantry and the peoples generally. . . .

It was said before the India Act, 1935, was passed, that responsibility would generate capacity and ability. That is not true as a slogan; but it is true of the right type of individual—the individual worthy of responsibility. The Congress has proved this. But even the right type of individual must find it hard to make a success of his job under the conditions described above.

Eight Factors

Now then to our stocktaking. Politically we get:

(1) A large proportion of English-educated Indians representing the Government in the provinces—a body pledged to complete independence (Dominion status has long ceased to be an ideal), and to unquestioning obedience to the dictatorship of the central

executive of this political party. Even Prime Ministers who act independently of orders are compelled by the dictator to renounce office, the support of the Governor notwithstanding—as we have seen lately in the Central Provinces.

(2) An electorate illiterate and absolutely ignorant not only of the politics of the party, but of any politics whatsoever and certainly of the fundamentals of the Western democratic institutions upon which model the constitution of the New India has been set up. An electorate secured almost entirely by promises—*e.g.*, the cancellation of indebtedness to State, moneylender or landlord; but with the ability through sheer credulity and mass action to storm the newly elected Assemblies for fulfilment of these promises—as happened in Bihar when crowds of peasants invaded the Assembly during its spring session (1938).

(3) A body of (mostly English) educated youth, students, undergraduates, professors . . . being Terrorists and ex-*détenus* let loose upon the country on release from prison and camp—a body susceptible to mass hysteria, and with ill-formed and confused ideas of the political principles behind their allegiance, going further than the alleged Congress programme as believed to be held by Mr. Gandhi; openly associated with the Third International, and indeed known as a recognized limb of that body—allied for the nonce to the Congress to which it owes its liberty, but despising non-violence and attracted by the outstanding qualities of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. This man is yet another, and to my mind the most capable and outstanding, of the Congress personalities—a man of peculiar charm and culture who is as honest as the day in announcing his intentions and dispositions. "I am a man of violence. I love violence and am prepared to get what I want by violence." He calls himself a Socialist; but as one of Gandhi's lieutenants said to me: "He thinks he is a Socialist, but between his brand of Socialism and the Communism of the Terrorists there is a very thin line. The Terrorists follow his lead now because he is nearest to their ideal. But the tragedy will happen when the Congress gets entire control of India, as it must do, with Nehru as dictator."

Nehru is constructive by nature and ability and will want to

justify his position. But the Terrorist following will be too strong for him. They have no use for construction; they want chaos—to "smash down" all existing orders of whatever nature, and see what follows.

Liberals and Landowners

(4) A body of English-educated men in business and the professions who represent what we may call the National Liberal Party. But these men have comparatively little influence in the country, partly because the law-abiding have in the years of change attended chiefly to their business and have little real aptitude for the game of politics. They are bound to go under; as is another still smaller body. I refer to the men representing landlordism, conservative to the core, and, save in exceptional cases, not interested in the welfare of their tenants; living mostly in towns enmeshed in the pursuits of the leisured. Landlords are almost the bull's-eye of the Congress target; they have been threatened with abolition, their properties parcelled out, their incomes depleted or annihilated by incitation of the tenantry to non-payment of rent.

These men are already in a panic. The British Government has the power to protect them to a certain extent for the moment. But I know of instances where the better-disposed landlords are holding their hand from necessary and nobly undertaken improvements on their estates, saying "What's the use? We had better safeguard ourselves by sending our money out of the country to provide for the exile which stares us in the face."

(5) A very large body of orthodox Hindus untouched by Congress politics and uninterested in anything but religion as based on the Shastras and Hindu codes of law, conservative to the extent of decadence in most cases in all their works and ways,* roused only to resist Congress attacks on orthodox Hinduism—*e.g.*, in proposed legislation. This body has in itself the right qualifications for providing another party, the right foil for the working of the alien Parliamentary system. But it is not politic-

* That this need not be so with orthodox Hinduism is nobly exemplified *inter alia* by the Maharaja of Mysore, who combines strict orthodoxy with a high level of progress as known to the modern civilized world.

ally minded, and attempts made by progressive orthodox Hindus in this direction have died of inanition.

(6) The great Muslim community with its gift of statesmanship now crystallizing into political independence of the Congress. In the Coalition Government of Bengal this cleavage has certainly been an advantage; the Muslim element has represented sanity and stability, and, being unhampered by dictatorship from without, it has been able to achieve progress with peace in the hitherto most difficult province in India.

(7) The comparatively small bodies of Parsees and Christian Indians may be neglected. Speaking generally, the Parsees as a whole, and the Christian Indians as a majority, are on the side of ordered government and loyalty to the British connection.

(8) The independent States of India may also be left out of this consideration. Till they enter the Federation they cannot have any part in the domestic affairs of British India. When they do enter, the fact that they must to a certain extent exercise such control, will provide a new menace *inter nos*. It is safe to predict, however, that on the question of complete independence they will to a man be against severance from the Empire.

The Women of India

The secluded women and the masses of the illiterate may be omitted in our stocktaking, except as representing, with the entire body of the peasantry, a trust for which the British Government would surely not deny responsibility. But the majority of the English-educated and those who officer the social services and professions generally—some of these being Terrorists also—are Congress; a proportion of the illiterate captured by Gandhi is also Congress. There is great ability among these political women as is evinced by Congress representation in the new Governments. And Congress has been generous in giving women their opportunity.

It seems pretty obvious that one piece of co-operative work ahead is the recapture of the good material inherent in men and women discontents, in ex-convicts and *détenus*, for wholehearted citizenship. Sir John Anderson, lately Governor of Bengal, made

a great contribution to peace and stability in the creation of training camps and factories for *détenus*, where boys and men had a chance of making good. They responded immediately to a scheme which, regarding them still as citizens, not only trained them for the trades and businesses of their choice, but gave them a financial start and guaranteed a sure initial market. There is no reason why the Congress should not revive such camps.

Thus far then, a brief summary of the political situation. Let us now turn to details in the departments of Provincial Administration.

Finance ought to come first: but of this it is not yet fair to judge. One thing, however, can be said—the boast or hope that the *swadeshi* machine would run at less cost than the British machine seems unlikely to be fulfilled. The reasons for this are many: Hasty rejection of revenue under the old system by, *e.g.*, the Congress policy of prohibition, or by what H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India calls "economic Nationalism," as explained in his latest (1937-38) report; expenditure on experiments, *e.g.*, education and social service; and in two Provinces expenditure which should be personal, debited to the Government. According to my information, Ministers in a certain Province are given private secretaries in addition to their official secretaries and assistants, these individuals also being paid by the Government at rates proposed in the original Congress scheme for Ministers themselves.

In another Province, Ministers when on tour get anxious about their families and run home to see that all is well, the extra "T.A." being debited to Government!

Passing now to Education we find experiment given a high place in the programme. There is first the primary education (Wardha) scheme under which the infant is to pay for his education by the sale of his handiwork. That proposal has already been discussed in this Association.

The vernacular as a medium for instruction has always been the rule in primary education, and the villages. It is to be extended to secondary education and the university. Lest any in this audience should fail to realize what this single measure involves

in the higher reaches—let me repeat what I gathered last February from Dr. Paranjpe, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University.

In his opinion the decision to apply the vernacular to university education is suicidal. At present, with English the medium of instruction, education is inter-provincial throughout the country, serving students from wheresoever who happen to be in a particular geographical locality. The contact this implies is beneficial, making for friendship and unification. Under the new scheme students will be circumscribed: they must be repatriated or do without a university education. The tendency will be as in other directions, to split us up into self-contained provincial units with little to cement us or to forward the vaunted "national" aspiration.

Again—what of equipment? Text-books in the various vernaculars are lacking, and already the Government has ordered translations involving expense and delay. For these books cannot be ready in a day, and Dr. Paranjpe's opinion was that by the time they are ready the Government will have realized their mistake and restored the old medium of instruction!

At the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, I heard of yet another damage to existing arrangements. This college, one of the best women's colleges in India, is financed by Americans and officered by Indian and American professors (more Indians than Americans) on equal salaries. The students and professors come from all parts of India. The new rule means that the staff must be disbanded, adding to unemployment; and disbanded without any certainty or assurance that Urdu-speaking women, possessing the necessary professional qualifications, can be found.

In regard to welfare work and social service generally in rural areas the Congress experiment seems more startling still. Terrorists and "ex-political" prisoners as a whole are to be employed at a wage to work in the villages, implementing the Congress primary education and uplift schemes: doing the general work of supervision and inspection. Training for such work is considered of no moment whatever. "What! Do these men not know how to read and write? What you know you can teach. And if you

are in health yourself you can teach others how to avoid disease . . ." as Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said.

The Cultivator

Regarding agriculture and the lot of the *ryot*, the chief item of betterment is help promised in resistance to payment of rent and the abolition of taxes, with side issues as to spinning and weaving when the fields lie fallow, and propaganda against seeking lucrative work during such empty seasons at nearby mills and factories. . . . I could go on indefinitely, but will content myself with a final "mixed bag."

Those of us who have visited the criminal tribes settlements scattered all over the country know the splendid work being done among these sadly handicapped fellow-citizens, chiefly by the Salvation Army and other religious bodies. It is work which demands a specialized intelligence, a balanced mind, and a high standard of sympathy and judgment.

One of the earliest of these settlements has just been arbitrarily torn from the missionaries in charge, and made over to salaried employees of the Government, innocent of special aptitude or training for the work. The missionaries are forbidden to do any moral uplift work in that area, and no other religious or moral teaching has been substituted for their earnest and successful efforts in this direction. To the credit of the Congress Minister who applied this policy it should be said that he granted interviews to the despoiled missionaries after his plans were carried out, and explained that he knew Government could not supply anything like the workers who had founded and run the settlement. But "the difficulty is you have made about 150 Christians, and this proselytizing must stop!"

The missionaries did not contest the right of the Congress Government to do as it pleased, but begged for a chance of training the new workers, and propounded a scheme they had in hand for possible industries and labour in these settlements for the future. The Minister has promised to hear them again on these matters—a contingency full of hope in its indication as to how negotiation and selflessness and genuine concern for the work of

one's hands may help the India that we served even in new and bewildering circumstances.

Rights of Property

Of another calibre is what has been described as "the main feature of Congress policy—liquidation of private property and suppression of individual freedom." To cite a few instances. In the Bombay Presidency, property legally bought during the civil disobedience campaign is being compulsorily acquired by the Government for restoration to the original owners who refused to pay the land revenue. Tenancy legislation in most Congress Provinces is of an ex-proprietary character—rights being taken away without compensation.

In Madras the Hindu tongue is being forced upon an unwilling people. In Malabar orthodox Hindu temple trusts are being interfered with, altered and diverted from original uses by the votes of an artificially created political majority. When the executive begins to over-ride the law, things have begun to look grave indeed. The spate of proposed legislation directed against Hindu religious law and custom is another instance of this tendency.

Unreality

Now—lest I mislead—let me pause to explain. The British Administration made over to Indian control in the Provinces a running concern when the Act of 1935 came into operation. And the average tourist naturally finds the machine still running. He is amazed, and rightly so, at the facility with which Indian Legislative Assemblies have assumed the etiquette, language and formulæ of ancient English parliamentary tradition, and at the high level of speeches made in the Assemblies (my countrymen have always been good at formulæ and rhetoric). He realizes that schools, colleges, hospitals, all the services of a great administration, are in being. He meets at Government House and on public occasions intelligent men and charming women who are probably public servants and would seem to justify trusteeship at its highest. The "100 days ticket" tourist returns to England smug with com-

placency having left fulsome and debilitating flattery behind him on the Indian trail.

What's wrong then with India?

Shortly: no good business man when stocktaking for the future limits examination to his show windows. Or, in one word, what is wrong with us—wrong, but not past remedy—is unreality. In politics it is the power outside the system of representation, controlling the elected representatives of the people.

You have been given instances of how this works out in practice. In relation to specific work in any department politics can be equally detrimental—creating an obsession.

"We can do nothing till we have complete independence; the alien out of the country!" And in emergencies hands will hang idle. "If we had complete independence, *Purna Swaraj*, we could put this right. What's the good of attempting anything now, with the British Government sitting in Delhi?"

Let me give you an instance of this attitude in action, or inaction, as exemplified by the Minister of Local Self-Government, Sanitation and Health in a Province—a Minister who is one of the best of the Congress products. Cholera had broken out in the villages. The Minister was anxious to get to the infected area to distribute relief. But what is the statement made responsibly and publicly: "I could not go. There were no suitable roads. That was the fault of the Government of India. Do you not see that we cannot help our own people when they are dying and in need, because of the alien Government still in the country, because we have not complete independence?"

Now this excuse ignored the fact that since the time of Lord Ripon and the Local Self-Government Act of 1881 roads and local necessities have been under the control of local authorities, of district boards, of Indians themselves. It was one of the first measures of self-government to be conceded. Again the Minister's statement ignored the fact that the previous Government had managed to reach the villages in that very Province, in those same districts, with help of all kinds—medicines by caravan, workers by ox-cart when roads were impassable; agricultural and farm teaching by demonstration trains, poultry trains, and so on.

I have seen this with my own eyes, when an Indian, oddly enough a cousin of the Minister to whom I refer, was in charge of village work under a British administrator.

This seems a little matter, but anyone who has been in authority will realize the uselessness of the worker under an obsession. Then again, as I have shown, experiment based on ignorance or the desire to condemn by changing existing arrangements clogs the wheels.

The Services

But as yet the machine is running, and running on the whole well. For this, apart from Congress individuals who are making good, we must thank the momentum of the past, the Indians who, trained by the British, have caught the British predilection for efficiency, and, not being politicians, are saved from the handicaps which I have tried to enumerate.

It did one's heart good to see these men in difficult and lonely jobs scattered all over the country. I call to mind chiefly the Indians in charge of the canal colonies, and the splendid reclamation work they are doing. One of these men in far outposts told me that he had returned to India from England hating the Indian Civil Service to which he had just been appointed—yet unable to escape from it—"Not fair to my father." He said he had spent the first few years of his service in hatred and bitterness. Then his superior officer, an Indian, spoke to him straight. If the Service were useless in the hands of Europeans—well, he had now an opportunity of showing what an Indian could do. At any rate the superior officer said he had no use for slackers. "Get interested in your job; quit talking!" He did. The man I met was the result.

I like that story, don't you? Like the dealing of the evacuated missionary with the Congress Home Minister on the subject of criminal tribes settlements—it lights a candle in one's mind.

Candles of Hope

And, despite the necessity to examine all our cupboards and storage bins in basement and cellar (not only our show windows),

my stocktaking leaves me an optimist. There are many candles of hope alight in my heart. Perhaps my tale of woe has presented you with some I have overlooked, and of this the discussion will, I trust, inform us. There must be many here eminently qualified for the post of linkman.

My own candles or torches are these: First, what about an Ashridge Bonar Law College for each Province? Finance would be a difficulty, but if our Ashridges were only winter camps, officered by volunteers from England (or the Dominions and America) and run as conference camps are run in England, might not the money difficulty be overcome? The fact that we need elementary teaching and right thinking about the bare political vocabulary which we use so glibly in India is inexorable. It is pitiable that Fascism, Communism and Democracy should be running side by side as ideals within one political party, the members of which do not realize the differences between these systems.

Next, the restoration to worthwhile citizenship of Terrorists and political prisoners generally. Could Sir John Anderson's training camps not be extended?

Lastly, about these and other details concerning our experiments, would it not help if some kind of liaison group of Indians and Englishmen were called into being so that things might be talked out? The groups should include experts if possible, but in any case they should comprise men of goodwill and of tact and good manners, who could make it clear that these "conversations" were not intended as an encroachment upon Congress control, but as friendly co-operation between, as it were, the retiring older partner and his young successors. Talking things out the right way does help, as we discover in private life, and the will to understand is preferable, is it not, to aloofness based on the fear of a charge of interference?

This game of politics and self-government is after all new to us in India. Should not the games-master be at hand ready to offer direction, brave enough to claim to act as umpire?

The need for specialized training, propaganda by wireless and by a wise and restrained use of the Press, to correct wrong im-

pression, might be part of the work of this liaison group. Its possibilities are endless.

Before I close I should like to say one word about the British in India during the transition period since 1912—of their loyalty to a measure which in many cases individual officials did not approve; of the wholehearted assistance given as secretary or subordinate to Indians appointed to the substantive jobs to which in a graded service these British officers had themselves just, maybe, become entitled; of silence under misrepresentation or misunderstanding—in a word of cheerful and helpful co-operation and of a genuine will to secure success to the experiment.

The Civil Service, the Police, individuals in business, the professions, the social services, women—to all of whom we owe so much for the state of efficiency to which that running machine had been brought. Of these some day a saga remains to be written, to the praise of God, and of an Empire based on the principles of democracy.

In the unknown future, of which nothing can be predicted, what is the line of action to be taken by the British and the Congress which would be most helpful to internal peace and prosperity? That is a question which might usefully be discussed by an audience such as this.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 24, 1939, when a paper entitled "Stocktaking in India" was read by Miss Cornelia Sorabji. Sir Gilbert P. Hogg, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (late acting Governor of Assam), was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Miss Cornelia Sorabji requires no introduction to an audience like this, either in the East or in the West. Her wide experience, her interest in everything that pertains to India and her close study of the question fit her more, I think, than anyone else I know to deal with this subject which she has chosen for herself this afternoon. I feel sure that we shall all be intensely interested in the result of her "stocktaking." I should like to say that after the address is over the meeting will be open for discussion, and I have no doubt Miss Sorabji will be quite ready to answer any questions which we may care to put, and to enlighten us even more than I know she will do in the paper she is about to deliver.

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI then read her paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I feel sure that we are all deeply indebted to Miss Sorabji for this interesting survey of political conditions in India. It has been sharp and rapid and has covered almost all aspects of the political situation which prevails in India today. Miss Sorabji has touched on a large variety of subjects—a body pledged to independence and an electorate easily misled; terrorists were mentioned; landlords are apparently on the run. There was a "mixed bag," to use Miss Sorabji's own expression, which included orthodox Hindus "behind the times"; the liquidation of private property is thrown in, as well as the over-riding of law by the executive. Miss Sorabji suggests a wise and restrained use of the Press—not a very simple proposition. In the end Miss Sorabji asked what was wrong with India, and gave the answer, Unreality. It seems to me that there was a great deal of reality in what Miss Sorabji said. It is very easy to criticize when a new experiment is being made. I think it is incumbent on us to remember the immense difficulties which the political leaders in India have to face in every province. I need not mention the lack of experience in democratic methods and ways of government and the absence of political education. Ministers now in charge of Provinces have an extremely difficult task. They have to control a body of followers who have not yet become accustomed to discipline, and indeed I might illustrate that by a story which recently reached me from India. A certain Minister loaned to one of his supporters his set of false teeth, and to make matters worse he has not since been able to remember to which one of them it was he gave them! I do not say that such are the only means whereby a party is kept together in India, but I quote that merely to illustrate the great difficulties which every Minister in India has to face.

Now, Miss Sorabji has mentioned those items which do give cause for anxiety in the mind of the onlooker—the liquidation of private property, the fact that landlords appear for the time being to be on run, the stirring-up of feeling between class and class. Undoubtedly all this gives cause for anxiety to everyone who has the interest of India at heart, but might I suggest that in a stocktaking we must look at the permanent assets. We must not confine ourselves to what may be called perishable and wasting assets—those in the show window, those which are immediately obvious to the onlooker. In many cases the real assets are unseen and they must be sought for in more detail.

Amongst the great assets of India I first of all place an industrious and skilful peasantry, which is able to wring a living out of the soil under conditions which would baffle the agricultural classes of any other country in the world. In these people we have a permanent asset. These people bear a very large share of the burden of India whatever the politicians may say or may do.

Then again I think we might count as one of the great assets of India a judicial system, both civil and criminal, which I venture to say few Indians would ever surrender. This great system goes on day by day, week by week and month by month. The courts are open to all. The system provides as far as is humanly possible for the redress of grievances in law courts. That system, in my view, has become part of the life of India. I do not believe that any Indian, whatever his politics may be, would ever propose to abandon that great judicial system, both civil and criminal, which has been established throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Then there are other assets which I might mention very briefly, as I do not wish to take up the time which is allowed for discussion; these include a free Press and freedom of public speech. Of these, perhaps, it is best that I should say little. They are highly controversial subjects. Miss Sorabji has suggested a wise and restrained use of the Press, but how that is to be secured I am sure there are many in India would like to find out. Then, finally, let me mention one great asset which has never been fully and adequately recognized. I mean that great body of the Indian services who do the day-to-day work ungrudgingly in every Province—the provincial services, the subordinate services and the clerical services, whose loyalty and devotion to duty is one of the most striking features of official life in India. I am sure those of us who have worked long with Indian colleagues, and call to our minds those officers, both executive and ministerial, who have served us in past years, will agree that their loyalty through times of stress and difficulty, when great strain was placed upon them by outside political forces, stood the test to a degree which has always astounded me and, I think, a great many other officers. That, I think, is an asset which India still possesses today and which, although it has been inadequately recognized in the past, will, I believe, help the Indian administration of the future through many of the difficulties which have still to be overcome. So when taking stock, as we look at the goods "in the window," as Miss Sorabji has described the items to which she has given her attention, I think we should remember also those permanent assets which will stand

the test of many years to come in the India of the future. And for myself in attempting to answer Miss Sorabji's question I would say that I look forward to the future with optimism. When the wasting assets have passed away there will still be much that will survive, and I believe that under this new reformed Government there is every prospect that the different political parties in India will yet learn to use their assets wisely and profitably. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I leave the meeting open for discussion. I believe that Sir Michael O'Dwyer would like to say a few words.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I would like to emphasize what our Chairman has said as to the great value of the address we have heard from Miss Sorabji. She has given us a most courageous and clear exposition, and that exposition is all the more convincing as coming from a lady whose love for her own country is only equalled by her devotion to the Crown and the British Constitution. Like you, sir, I agree that she has done a great deal to bring us face to face with reality. And what is the reality? Some of us find it rather discouraging. The reality to my mind is this. The Congress is the largest political party now in India, and what is their policy? We have got to see what objects they have in view and they have left us in no doubt. That policy, as Miss Sorabji has said, is complete independence and severance of the British connection. When the elections were completed in 1936, to make sure there should be no backsliding, the leader of the Congress Party assembled the elected delegates in Delhi and there made them swear an oath of loyalty to the Congress ideals of independence and severance of the British connection. Subsequently these gentlemen went to their various legislatures and there took the oath of loyalty to the King-Emperor, his heirs and successors, an oath of complete allegiance. Now which is binding—the oath to the Congress or to the King-Emperor? What has happened? In everything that has since occurred we find the Congress leaders absolutely carrying out their policy of getting rid of the British connection. We see it in the tearing down of the British flag, the hoisting of the Congress flag, the repudiation of honours by the King-Emperor to loyal Indians, the decision not to co-operate in any way in festivities on the King-Emperor's Coronation, the demand for the withdrawal of British troops from India, the endeavour to undermine the loyalty of the Indian Army, and, finally, in the late crisis, when the whole world was in a state of turmoil, when all the rest of the dominions and colonies rallied to the support of this country, what was the policy of the Indian Congress? I read to you briefly their resolution: "British policy is helping in the drift to Imperialist world war. India can be no party to such a war, and will not permit her man power and her resources to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism. The Congress therefore entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large-scale manœuvres and air raid precautions. In the event of any attempt to involve India in a war this will be resisted."

They would take no part in an Imperialist war—whatever that may mean—and denounced any efforts then being made by the Government in India to help recruitment for the Army and prepare measures of defence,

and refused in any way to assist the British Government in its difficulties. That is the declared policy of the Congress, and there is no getting away from it. Their real policy is to get rid of the British connection, and what would then happen? Most of us think it would mean civil war. I am reminded of a story in Ireland in 1922, when the last of the British troops had left Southern Ireland: an old lady was standing on the pier, and, as the last soldier embarked on the transport, shouted, "Glory be to God! The English have gone, and now we can fight in peace." That is what would happen in India: when the Congress has driven the English out "they could fight in peace"—and on what a scale! Having secured control of eight Provinces, the Congress wants control of all India, Indian India and British India; but three things stand in their way—the Indian Army, which is efficient and loyal; the British troops, which they want to get rid of; and the loyal Indian Princes. Those are the three great loyal assets still left in India and which we have got to support. The Congress say now we have got also to establish our régime in the Indian States, and they have set themselves with the greatest assiduity and considerable success to carry on a programme of sedition and unrest in the heart of the Indian States. And what States have they chosen for these machinations? Those which are the most loyal and the best governed—Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Travancore and so on—because, I suppose, they realize that if they can shake the authority of the rulers of these States the rest will be an easy prey. You may say that the policy of the Congress is not to interfere directly in the States: that they would leave it to the States' subjects under their approval to establish their own Congress. But let me tell you what is the policy laid down here in London by the Congress leader, Mr. Nehru, in his speech on October 22 last as regards the Congress attitude to the States. This speech was reported in the Madras *Hindu* on November 2, and it is remarkable that not a single English newspaper has contained a word about this very significant speech. This is what he said on October 22: "The States were enemies within the household of a free India—Fascist cells dotted over the whole country. It would be easy to make a list of the enormities of the Princes. There prevailed in the States a complete totalitarianism, and the problem had to be faced in a world contest."

At the same time as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was exciting the people here against the Indian States, Mr. Vallabhai Patel, his chief lieutenant, addressed the Baroda States Congress, denouncing in the most unmeasured invective the authority of the State and of its officers. The position of these States is very difficult. They are the greatest loyal asset we have left in India. They have never failed us in any emergency, and these States in return are guaranteed by the Paramount Power their integrity and security against external interference and internal disorders; yet we are allowing the agitators from British India to carry on their nefarious activities and endeavours to upset the administration of these States, to set the people against the rulers and thus to bring them under Congress control. Surely the rulers of these States have a right to say to us: "We gave up much of our authority to the Paramount Power and you in return guaranteed our integrity and

security. How are you carrying out that guarantee? You are now allowing your agitators to enter our territories and stir up sedition here leading to bloodshed and disorder. Is that the way for the British Government to carry out its pledge?" What answer can the Government here make if these rulers claim that we should discharge our responsibilities? Surely it is time to realize that the campaign for complete independence and severance of the British connection is absolutely seditious and inconsistent with our duty to the peoples and Princes of India, and it is time we set ourselves to make it clear that we will support those great assets in India in addition to those referred to by our chairman—the Indian Army, the non-Congress Provinces, the loyal sections in other Provinces, and, finally, the loyal Indian rulers. If we do this, we can still hope to discharge our duty to India and to the people of India, which is our fundamental obligation.

Mr. LALKAKA: The very frank and brilliant address of Miss Sorabji and the equally frank and spirited remarks by Sir Michael O'Dwyer leave little to be added. My own contribution to the discussion would be to remind the audience that what Miss Sorabji has brought out in her paper today was not kept back from the people in England when the India Bill was being discussed. Even in the East India Association time and again a voice was heard here and there pointing out the consequences of that experiment —that experiment which took no account whatever of the psychological reactions of the Indian people—and today we are faced with those grave dangers to which Miss Sorabji has drawn attention. What are we going to do about it? The Act is there and we have got to accept it.

There is no doubt whatever that the situation is serious. The only thing that can be done is to use the safeguards. On no less than six occasions they could have been used; but whether we use the safeguards or not, let us for all that we value in democracy clear our minds of cant and realize that democracy is something you cannot just pack in boxes and tranship to any foreign land. Democracy is not a plant which can be grown in every soil. You have got to look at the psychological reactions of a people, and that has not been done. Sir Gilbert Hogg among the multiple assets referred to the peasants of India. It is because we have at heart the real interest and welfare of the peasant that we feel, and with regret have got to admit, that in pursuit of a mirage, in pursuit of theories that would not bear examination, the real interests of the peasants have been betrayed. Let those who talk glibly about democracy remember that whatever room there is for improvement in the lot of the Indian peasant, his lot before the establishment of British rule was much worse. What happened was that while slow but steady progress was being made, in the name of democracy, and in spite of everybody saying "you cannot put the hands of the clock back," the whole machine was put into reverse gear, and the only thing that can save it now is a strong impartial Government at the Centre. And let us get this notion well fixed in our heads: that the British Government alone for many years to come can do this and bring peace, prosperity and security to India, and save the situation.

A few days ago an editorial appeared in *The Times* on the present

Ceylon constitution and the trouble that has arisen there. In it the writer glibly observed that the Ceylon constitution, based on the L.C.C. system which is working smoothly in London, has not worked at all well in Ceylon. *The Times* then let drop one admission to the effect that this was so because conditions which governed the success of the scheme in England did not obtain in Ceylon. Is it not pertinent to ask what then did Lord Donoughmore, Dr. Drummond Shiels and their colleagues exactly mean when after protracted deliberations, and investigating the whole question on the spot, they recommended a scheme which has proved to be a failure? Could it be that in their zeal for democratic forms of government they overlooked the prerequisites which go to make such schemes a success and, conversely, the absence of which always spells failure and disaster? May it not be that such admissions may have to be made about India, but unfortunately made when the whole thing is too late?

In the interests of India and Britain alike let us get rid of this idea that all is well in India, and that whatever disappointments and difficulties may face us, we are pursuing all this towards the end of a great and noble goal. What has that goal turned out to be? Soviet dictatorship, terrorism, jobbery, corruption and all that is a negation of what your forefathers did for India and for the glory of their nation and for the glory of God.

Miss KINNAIRD: I would like to ask one or two questions. Where do we find any statement that the Congress is committed to antagonism to the Government? I know for a fact that Mahatma Gandhi is very keen on the connection with England being maintained. That is a different position from what Miss Sorabji takes up. Then Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is not the leader today, and therefore if you want to be up to date you must quote the present president of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Bose. We all know the tremendous difficulties with the terrorists, and we all know that Sir John Anderson was sent specially to try and bring some peace in Bengal. In how many provinces are there terrorists? And why was it that Sir John Anderson came down two or three days before his holiday was due in order to meet Mahatma Gandhi and get his help amongst the terrorists? And why did Sir John not dare let them out of prison until Mahatma Gandhi, representing the Congress people, if not the Congress as a body, had been consulted? It does not look as if the Congress people were subversive to the Government. It is owing to them that Bengal is at last in a state of greater peace. I should like to know why these facts and many others were omitted, and why there should be talk of prohibition as a failure. The Ministries are being very careful in only introducing it gradually—and prohibition is very necessary, as anybody who knows India knows what a great anxiety it has been to have to run these drinking places in order to get revenue. I have seen the places where prohibition does great things under our own civil officer in co-operation with the provincial Prime Minister, who was also the landlord of the district. I do not think a meeting like this ought to jest at prohibition.

It is something for another Province (Bombay) to have succeeded in having one day a week prohibition (the British are excluded owing to our

British proclivities), and this day is pay-day, so that the wives and families of Bombay workers are benefiting.

Miss SORABJI: Mr. Chairman and my very patient audience, I thought I was being so nice and fair-minded and loving towards the Congress—and I am terribly surprised at the attitude of my questioner, Miss Emily Kinnaird, whom we have all known and loved for so many years. What comforts me is that she has apparently completely misunderstood the language that I used.

"Where can I find the statement," she asks, "that Congress is antagonistic to the Government?" What Government does she mean? The Government in most of the Provinces is the Congress itself.

Miss KINNAIRD: I meant the statement that the Congress was committed to severance from the British Government. Mahatma Gandhi always says he does not want that.

Miss SORABJI: In answer to that, I can only say that the present President of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Bose, has over and over again asserted this fact in print and in public speeches. It was the subject of a resolution at the last full official Congress session at Haripur in 1938, and it was reaffirmed as the Congress aim and objective, in answer to questions on the subject, directly put to him in public by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress representative in London last autumn. I think we may do the Congress wrong in not accepting as true the public statements which they make.

In relation to Mr. Gandhi, may I just say this much—that he has repudiated leadership of the Congress. The President and political leader duly elected by the party is, at the moment I speak, Mr. Subhas Bose.

In answer to the question why I said that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was the leader of the Congress—may I ask reference to my paper, where I describe him as "the most capable and outstanding of the Congress personalities." I did not say that he was "the leader of the Congress." I wanted to pay him a tribute for his wonderful charm and culture, though not President of the Congress. But he surely does speak for the Congress, and was here to represent it, when he assured me in no uncertain voice, as I have said, of the Congress demand and objective in regard to connection with the Empire. But as Miss Kinnaird is so clearly in touch with the Congress, I should advise her to refer the question directly to the President.

In answer to the question why I spoke of "the demand for release of the terrorists in all Provinces," may I again beg reference to my paper? The incident of 1938, spring session, is quoted as a demand to the Governors of the two Provinces of the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. I was in India at the time, and happened to be visiting both these Provinces during the crisis. It was about the time of the big Congress Conference at Haripur, just before the budget session was due in the Provinces, that the ultimatum (release of the terrorists) was put before the Governors.

It will be remembered that the earlier Congress demand had been for the repatriation of these men from the Andamans to their several Provinces

in India. Those of us who are acquainted with Congress methods were not surprised that the next move should be a demand for unconditional release.

The time at which the second demand was made was most disconcerting to the Congress Ministers themselves, who had worked so hard to make the budget session a success, and now saw it in jeopardy. But the Congress Executive had to be obeyed: so the ultimatum was put before the Governors of the two Provinces I have named.

"Release the prisoners, or we down tools!"—*i.e.*, release, or cessation of administration. We know the answer made by the two Governors. They said that the terrorists had been tried by Courts of Justice of competent jurisdiction and had been found guilty of major crimes such as murder, arson, etc.; that they were not like political suspects in internment camps, and that they could not be released at will. But the Governors offered to meet the Congress thus far. If it were thought that these men had not had a fair trial, the Governors promised to have the record of the cases examined, and to release such of the prisoners as were found worthy of release upon reconsideration of their cases. That was not enough. You know the rest.

I happen to know that some of the Ministers of the United Provinces were unhappy at the order. They wanted to carry on. But the order from the Central Congress Executive was inexorable. What the Ministers thought right for the people, for the Government entrusted to them by the electorate, was nothing to the private body which was the Congress Central Executive, sitting outside the Congress Government. That is my case.

I have tried in the short summary represented by my paper to make you see how difficult it is for the Congress Government to run, to work, in the conditions stated—even with the best intentions in the world. If you are controlled by a dictatorship from without, it is very hard to carry out your good intentions. That is what I was trying to say.

I was trying to say also that it is not fair to the untried Congress Government in the Provinces—it is not fair to these people, to leave them altogether unaided and alone in the running of an English machine which, in a way, is new to them. I do not know how you are to help them without antagonizing them: it must be tactfully done, but it is not, to my mind, fair to let them make mistakes and not try to save them, in some way, from perpetuating mistakes. That is why I suggested a liaison group of people of goodwill who could talk things out—say, for instance, experiments such as those in the Departments of Education and Social Service. These experiments go to the heart of those of us who have served India with all our devotion, and who love her and serve her still as far as we can. It is so silly to waste time on experiments which experts could tell you could not possibly succeed.

Now, that liaison group might help us there. They might be able to say: "Don't waste your time: we have proved that wrong. There *is* work to do, but you must have some sort of specialized training before you can undertake or direct it."

That, again, is why I suggested the adoption and suggestion of Sir John Anderson's training camps. I saw the *détenus* at these camps and talked to them.

I have taken some pains to examine and collect the information upon which I have based my paper. Year after year I have visited all the prisons and camps in India—including the Andamans. I have talked with the men. I knew some of them as boys, in their own homes, and my heart has been wrung by the waste of lives of promising young lads misled by people who professed to be serving their country. I think that these young boys have a great deal to be said for them, not only in reference to deliberate exploitation, but in the lost opportunities of their upbringing. For one thing, their imagination has never been developed. They have never played the games which boys play in England, they have never played at pretence—at being pirates or Red Indians. If they had been taught when young to work off surplus energy, and employ imagination in some such way, they might not now be so deadly serious in the terrible game of actual killing—in the use of the grim weapons of their destructive policy.

I speak of what I know from personal contact with them. They have killed with little or no compunction. Devastation has aroused no impulse to mercy or remorse. . . . This is where we can help, is it not? They are fundamentally sound and normal. We could help by taking the waste material, and making out of it worth-while citizenship.

As to the tourist: I was trying in my paper to show you some of the things which the tourist had not seen—points which in the nature of things are understandably hidden from the average tourist, from the passing stranger, in any country.

Naturally, he sees nothing but what is in the shop window. I tried to supplement that, to show you what was to be found in store-rooms and basement, in bin and cellar. And all this also must be taken into consideration in our stocktaking—must it not? Reality must be faced. Let us face the facts, unafraid, in order to find a way of helping.

As I said, there are many candles of hope alight in my heart. And our Chairman has lighted some more for me. He spoke of assets. Perhaps the liaison group would help to make more of these assets. We were reminded that our patient peasantry furnished a constant asset. That is true. But if the peasantry is distracted from working on the soil by political propaganda—by instigation to unrest, to antagonism to landlordism, to refusal to pay rents and debts—do you not see how disastrous it might be, how our assets would be in danger?

That is the point I want to emphasize in almost every relation of life in India at the moment. Exploitation, perversion for political party purposes, for internal dissension in the interests of a self-determination built on hate—not on love.

One more reference from Miss Kinnaird was about prohibition. She referred to my "attack on prohibition." Did I make one? All that I said in effect was—and here again I refer her to my paper—that it was difficult for Congress to run the financial machine inexpensively or less expensively

than the British Government ran it if (among other things) it refused sources of revenue open to, and used by, the late Provincial Governments. And I mentioned as a fact, without criticism, that one such source of revenue rejected by the Congress was represented by the policy of prohibition.

What is wrong with us in India besides unreality is, to my mind, that we are building, or trying to build, our new kingdom in India upon hatred. We cannot build that way, can we? I have learned that through a long and happy life. You cannot build anything lasting and worth-while on hatred. We have got to build on love and understanding and on the presumption that people are kind and of goodwill: and on the presumption that what has been given to us, whether by God or man, has been given with the best of intentions. It is only then that we can succeed.

Look at us in India; and test the observation in our "own-country" campaigns. Take, for instance, the fight about Manchester cotton-goods supplied to India. I was in India throughout that sad time. I saw the small trader ruined. I saw the shops of the poor Indians who had stocked cheap Manchester goods in answer to the demand of their poorest of clients looted or gutted. I saw the silly methods used by the Congress politicians. People dragged out of trams or attacked on the roadway—Indians all of them—if they were wearing clothes seemingly of English manufacture, the clothes burnt before their eyes, no compensation given, and no mercy shown for the state of men inconvenienced thus on their way to business.

We tried to help the situation in the Bengal Home Industries Association. I was on the committee, a foundation member. We existed to forward indigenous productions. We had no prejudice against homespun, as such. Individually we preferred handicrafts for our own use—if we could afford hand-woven materials. Myself, I had always been an advocate of Indian weavings, and had long used more Indian-made materials than many of the Congress supporters. But one denied oneself in other ways to be able to afford the lovely Benares homespuns and tissues. Homespun is a luxury in every country. But what was wrong with the Congress campaign was, we saw, that those who were the poorest were forced to buy homespun, which was far more expensive than the Manchester machine-made stuff, for their one garment—were forced to buy or go naked. For the poor have no margin for choice, or for self-denial. They did not know where their purchases came from: they bought the cheapest.

Our Association tested that question of cheap production. Could we make our contribution to peace by helping to produce cheap *swadeshi* homespun, *saries* and *dhotis*, the garments worn by the poorest Indians? Even though we supplied the raw material, and in some cases the looms, we could not get the price down to less than *twice* the figure at which the machine-made garments were selling. Handicrafts cannot compete with the machine. To weave four yards of stuff it took an entire family, sitting close at the loom, all day without intermission. A machine in one day produced during working hours in the mills across the river 400 yards.

That, you see, was the difficulty. And the Congress would not look at the simple practical fact, because it was actuated in its campaign more by

hatred of Manchester than by love of our country and care for our people. The like is the trouble with our other causes of dispeace, our other schemes sheltering under national slogans—the desire of party politicians to change or crab what the Western connection has done for us in India.

I cannot go on—but examine the question for yourselves. Take, for instance, the Ottawa Agreement, for which Indian traders and manufacturers to my knowledge were so grateful. If only we Indians could realize the basic fact for ourselves, we would study to increase our supplies of love and understanding and so make a success of our great experiment of self-government.

As I have tried to indicate in my paper, I believe the Congress will make good; but, in my opinion, for reasons stated it cannot make good without the friendly co-operation in these early years of what I have called the senior partner.

Sir Malcolm Seton: I wish to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to our speaker and chairman. We all of us know a good deal about Miss Sorabji's work in India, and we are really indebted to her for coming here to talk to us today. I think it has been a most interesting meeting. We recognize her eloquence and sincerity: to say what she did required real courage. It is so very easy to say soft things about India if you do not happen to be conscientious. Miss Sorabji told us the truth as she saw it, and we are grateful to her. We are also grateful to Sir Gilbert Hogg, and I think you will all join with me in congratulating him heartily on the honour which His Majesty has bestowed, and in thanking him for coming here and for the very interesting remarks he made. I beg to propose this vote of thanks. (Applause.)

NEPAL: "THE LAND THAT LEADS TO PARADISE"

By Mrs. Marguerite Milward

"I think you will find it is something quite different." This was said to me by the Nepalese Minister in answer to my question: "What is Nepal like?"

Western influences have never been allowed to penetrate this little country, it is still a picture of the Middle Ages. No Muhammadan or Christian missionary has ever entered here. Wedged in between Tibet and India, 450 miles long by 150 broad, it remains in splendid isolation still partly unexplored, completely encircled with mountain fastnesses, and bordered all along one side with giant snow peaks.

Nepal possibly means "the country cherished by NE," for Ne-Muni was the patron saint of Nepal. But Silvain Lévi has suggested a prettier meaning from Chinese and Tibetan sources: "The Land that Leads to Paradise." No one who has looked from the valley at the surpassingly wonderful view of the Himalayas can think the name misplaced. The great massif which contains Mount Everest is only fifty miles away, the serrated peaks like fingers pointing upwards, all icy blue touched with gold, make a radiant vision not of this earth.

The country of Nepal is half Terai, and half densely wooded hills and mountains. As in olden times there are still many small rajas living in the hills; they have no power now, and the title is only complimentary. The Gurkha tribe, so important in the history of Nepal, was just such as these, but little is known of them as a nation before the invasion of 1742. Tradition says that a Rajput Prince of Udaipur quarrelled with his people and came to seek fortune in the great mountains. In 1559 a descendant of his seized the little town of Gurkha, which gave its name eventually to all the people of the valley.

But it was not until the ninth king of the Gurkhas that covetous eyes were turned to the Valley of Nepal, reigned over at that time

by Yaksha Malla and foolishly divided up into three little kingdoms much too near each other for any hope of peace. The whole of the valley fell into the hands of Prithwi Narayon, king of the Gurkhas, in 1769. Fighting was in the Gurkha blood and they were still not satisfied. China, annoyed at their pretensions in Tibet, sent a punitive expedition, and the East India Company on the other side, trying in vain to come to terms, started a distressing war which ended at last by the Treaty of 1816. The authorities preferred the little Gurkhas to fight with us rather than against us, and a clause in the Treaty provided that three regiments should be recruited from the valley to be officered by the British.

The Journey to Katmandu

Last June I started for the beautiful forbidden land. I was quite unable to get any correct information in Calcutta about my journey, for no one ever travels to Nepal. It was a surprise and relief to be met and hospitably housed at Roxaul, the terminus of the British line. The Nepal Light Railway took me next morning to Amlekgang, forty miles away, crossing, out of season, the terrible fever belt that borders the Terai, an unpleasant experience. The Tharus are the only tribe immune from the devastating malaria called *awal*, they live all the year round in the jungle and are used as shikari by the Nepalese.

At midday the train arrived at the foot of a picturesque line of tree-covered hills where motor lorries were waiting to take goods and passengers to the pass. The road, a triumph of engineering, crosses over ghats and across rushing torrents; at one place a tunnel 785 feet long, 10 feet square and pitch black. At the foot of the mountain, Bhimpedi, the road just petered out at the twenty-seventh mile. An enormous carrying-chair, sent by the Maharaja, and eighteen coolies replaced the lorry, and the adventurous part of the journey to Nepal really began.

In alternate storm and sunshine, up a rough and steep track of five miles, we reached Sisagarhi, an old fortress still manned. In the early morning lovely views came out of the mist over the winding valley to India below us, and showed a quaint village of red roofs clinging insecurely to a ridge in the hills. I took out my

camera, and the coolies were just as charmed with my view-finder as I was with the "pipe of peace" they were handing round. It was an elaborate affair with terra-cotta bowl to put tobacco and hot cinders in, like a hookah much smoked in Nepal.

The journey by chair began with an arduous climb over the Pass of Chisapani to the richly cultivated valley of Khuli-Khani. The high road from India to Nepal is only a narrow pathway up precipices and across torrents. What Nepal has achieved in spite of her isolation is miraculous. Heavy goods are transported along the track, even pianos and motor-cars. Time is no object in Nepal. Eighty or more coolies shoulder the poles and stagger along. They reminded me of tiny ants shoving and pushing loads. Immense sheets of corrugated iron swayed down the hill-sides taking entire charge of little coolies fastened to them. A ropeway high above me, fourteen miles in length, goes direct to Katmandu across the mountains. Virgin jungle, dense tropical growth, every shade and shape of fern, red rhododendrons and orchids made the pathway beautiful, and in the midst of this semi-tropical world the cuckoo sang long and clear. Further on is a richly cultivated valley, the bed of the Marku river, the terraces all cut and flooded for rice planting. Men, women and buffaloes, all kneading the black mud, were working in the valley like a hive of bees.

Three suspension bridges crossed and recrossed the river without which communication could never be kept open. The village of Chitlang has carved houses like palaces; this district is called Little Nepal. The hill out of the valley to the Pass of Chandragiri is a precipice. The coolies carried me ten hours from 7.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. I could not walk a step by that time, yet hated to see my dripping, struggling beasts of burden. Every time they dropped me suddenly (as was their wont) I handed round cigarettes or took their photos, a very popular move. They smoke with their hands made into a tunnel, never the cigarette direct. The luggage coolies rested by balancing their loads against the rocky roadsides.

The last gradient, 30 to 45 degs., brought us to the top of the pass. But monsoon clouds rested low on the snow mountains,

and the immense range of the Himalayas with Daulagiri massif was blotted out. My first glimpse of the Valley of Nepal, however, was all that I had dreamed of. Katmandu, shining like a jewel in a setting of green encircled with purple hills. A tall obelisk made a landmark and white palaces sparkled in the sun. The valley, like the Promised Land, got further and further away as we descended. In semi-darkness we twisted round and round a zigzag track, the steepest place of all, with high forest trees towering to the sky I could not see. This was the most wonderful part of the journey. When we emerged from the gloom, Katmandu was still smiling in the sunshine. At Thancote a motor was available to finish the remaining seven miles, and I arrived at last.

The Valley

The valley, hub of the State, is a green oasis, oval in shape, doubtless, like the Vale of Kashmir, once a lake, measuring only fifteen by twenty miles and situated 4,500 feet above the sea. Legend says that one called Manjusri sat in contemplation by the side of the beautiful lake covered with lotus and saw in a vision the future of the valley as a great religious centre. So he struck a pass with his sword in the mountains to drain off the waters, called Kot-Bar to this day, where the sacred Bagmati river leaves the valley rapidly in a silver trail. This is always known as the Valley of Nepal with its three ancient capitals set in a frame of hills and blue mountains. Little red-brick towns and villages cling to the folds of the hills; shrines, Hindu and Buddhist, shine out everywhere. Huge granaries are built to guard against famine, for cultivation depends entirely on the monsoon.

The last census of Nepal gave the population as five and a half millions. Then came the terrible earthquake of 1933, which reduced the valley almost to ruins: not a temple or a palace without a crack, and masterpieces of art and architecture were crumbled to dust.

Katmandu, the seat of Government, is named after a picturesque old house made from one enormous sal tree and dated 723, but foundations of the city must date from Asoka's time. My

first glimpse of the city gave me a thrill of delight. Never have I imagined such houses—pillars, roofs and windows all rich with the beautiful woodcarving which is the supreme art of Nepal. The upper windows, like little closed carriages in wood, are full of mystery—little purdah ladies looking out from them like pictures in a carved frame. There is metalwork, too, and every kind of casting and terra-cotta sculpture full of detail and fantasy. The Newars, who may have been the original inhabitants of the valley, were great artists; everything is decorated. As early as A.D. 637 the famous Chinese traveller described the Newars as gifted with considerable skill in the arts. They are still the metal-workers of Tibet.

The dark red palace where the ancient Malla kings dwelt is six stories high. The balconies at the top are filled in with sloping lattice-work which links up with Travancore architecture. A great carved gateway had been accidentally left open, entrance once of kings, now a stable-yard full of bulls and rubbish, carved windows of exquisite workmanship falling down in a state of decay and dust. The earthquake shook it dreadfully, and much of the Durbar has been so ruined that it had to be cleared right away and part of the square left empty. It is difficult to picture its glory before the tragedy, but the buildings that are left are supremely beautiful, decorated with deep wood-carving and often a lovely peacock design in the middle window. In contrast, the Hanuman Dhoka is guarded by a grotesque figure of Hanuman gaily painted, and in the middle of the square the hideous Kal Bhairab holds court. All the gateways are guarded by pairs of mythological cat-lions, delightful beasts.

A lovely corner house was pointed out to me, perhaps the most striking of all the domestic architecture with white walls and black deodar wood windows. This corner is famous for the Kot tragedy in 1846, for it was here that a pitiless queen ordered the massacre of thousands. Katmandu has suffered many wars and vicissitudes as well as earthquakes.

The buildings in the capital are a mixture of styles; the great Singa Barbar, palace of the Maharajas, has an impressive modern façade and a long drive with ornamental water very French. The

enormous reception hall, richly decorated with brocade and mirrors, has pictures and bronzes of King George and Queen Mary at every turn, and photos of different parties for shooting, the Maharaja's favourite pastime. The Terai is one of the best of hunting-grounds, and in one expedition alone he bagged fifty-nine tiger besides other big game. On the stairs were large realistic wall paintings of shooting incidents, including the famous one of King George aiming at a tiger in mid-air from the back of an elephant; his marvellous shots are still a legend among the people.

Bhatgaon, another ancient capital, eight miles by rough road from Katmandu, was once a strongly fortified city entered by picturesque gates. Bhupatindra Malla, a very progressive prince, built the magnificent Darbar and the greatest of the temples in 1679. The Golden Gate, much acclaimed, is a great achievement in metal casting, and the seated figure of Vapendra Malla praying to it on the top of a lotus pillar is lovely indeed. It is in these figures that the Nepalese excel. A speciality of Bhatgaon are the processions of fantastic animals and people on the sides of temple steps. Greatest example of these is the "Nyatpola Deval" towering up with five superimposed roofs, five pathways round the temple and five pairs of figures up the steps. At the very top are the gods Baghini and Singhini of unknown strength, and at the base are two giants with shields called Jaya Mall and Phatta, supposed to have the strength of ten men. In between are elephants, lions and sardulas, the idea is that each is ten times stronger than the last. Mr. Longhurst, in his book *The Story of the Stupa*, propounds the theory that these superimposed roofs of the pagoda are developments of the umbrella.

A Nepalese Festival

During my visit a great festival took place at Patan, the third capital, the Machendrajatra worshipped alike by both Buddhist and Hindu, for it is supposed to bring the rain so necessary for the crops. As it is timed for the south-west monsoon, the gods appear to be answering a prayer. The earthquake wrought terrible havoc in Patan, the sacred temple of Machendra, originally Buddhist,

being rent from top to bottom. This festival began with the inauguration of the new temple rebuilt by the Maharaja after exactly the same pattern. Wherever possible old carved pieces have been utilized and copied, but new work can never have the distinction of the old.

Darbar Square was packed with people, every inch of temple roof and wall being covered. They sat waiting patiently to see their beloved ruler, H.H. the Maharaja Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, G.C.I.E., Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal. He appeared, of course, on an elephant, looked benignly at everyone, called out a welcome to me and threw rice and coins into the frantically cheering crowd.

Every type was represented here, and I only wish I could have distinguished all of them. The Gurungs and Magars are much alike, and the sturdy fighting race we know so well are drawn from these. Perhaps the Magars are the most picturesque with white puggarees and curious knotted scarves. The Limbus, very Mongolian in character, wear cross-over blouses, like all Nepalese, tied on one side with a bow; there are no buttons in Nepal. Wide swathed belts and long tight trousers give a Greek appearance. Common to all is the *kukuri* knife tucked into the belt and stuck with little odds and ends. The Limbus and the Rais used to be called Kiranti, and are an ancient people. Little seems to be known about the Newars, traders and cultivators and great artists. Are they a Dravidian race?

Patan was *en fête*, gambling booths were erected and everyone was wildly excited. Gambling is the ancient pastime in Nepal, but the results were so many suicides in the lake of Katmandu that the present benevolent rulers put a fence round and forbade gambling by law. On special highdays and holidays His Highness himself announces that the people may gamble for twenty-four hours, more or less according to the festival. A cloth is placed on the ground, a squatting circle round, coins and cowries scattered about. At four corners of the ring are men who make the bank, they hold sixteen cowries in one hand. The gamblers bet how many will lie upwards and how many down after they are thrown.

The City of Patan

New and old Patan are full of wonders. The streets in the old city are impossibly narrow, many have an uneven raised brick pavement with a drain each side, a lot of little black pigs act as scavengers. The most ancient Buddhist temple here is the Maha-Buddha. It is in Hindu style with one tall tower all in terra-cotta. How it was baked and fitted I cannot imagine; this was once a great Newar industry. The present temple has been entirely rebuilt since the earthquake from the ancient drawings and measurements and is a wonderful achievement. Some remains of the original carving have been assembled in the courtyard so full of life and genius that one realizes that the disaster was irretrievable.

In the great Durbar Square are many quite antagonistic styles of architecture. One of later date all pillars and cupolas, and opposite one of the most beautiful of all the Nepalese pagodas. It has long struts or bracket pieces all carved with many armed gods and goddesses and queer griffins at each corner. The carving is tinted with bright colours with marvellous effect. Silvain Lévi suggests that the pagoda really began in India, made of wood and long since perished, and that it was adopted in China and Tibet at a later date than Nepal, and maintains that there were no pagodas in China before the seventh century. This temple is dedicated to Krishna, and two great elephants with riders guard the entrance.

The Maharaja received me for the first time in a palace at Patan before the Machendranath festival called the "Showing of the Shirt." First the god, a rough hewn block of wood, was taken from the temple and placed in a car, then the car, with a beam twenty-five feet high, dragged along to an open piece of ground—a great sight. This ceremony consists of showing the shirt of the god to the people, and the whole valley came to worship. The shirt was held up high by a priest who walked round and round one of the tiers of the chariot. The Maharaja attended on a white horse and received all the Europeans. He showered rice and money in the crowd as on the previous occasion. Then came the King of Nepal in a closed car with several sons. He is regarded as too sacred to be concerned with mundane affairs. He wore the

long black frock coat, which seems traditional, and an immense yellow dahlia. He only stayed a few moments in front of the temple car and the ovation seemed small in comparison to that for the Maharaja. But, then, the people rarely see their king, and the government is entirely in the hands of the Prime Minister, whose title and position are hereditary.

Buddhist Remains

Ancient Buddhist remains of great archæological interest await the excavator in Nepal. In the thickest jungle or terai Dr. Fuhrer in 1895 found an Asoka pillar by what seemed to be the merest accident. These words are clearly cut on it, "The Buddha Sakyamuni was born here." Perhaps the ruins of the earliest Buddhist vihara and railings could be brought to light.

Six stupas or mounds covering sacred relics are attributed to Asoka, who came to the valley in 225 B.C. Four of these are quite simple and unspoilt as when they were first set up at each corner outside the city of Patan, which was founded by Asoka's daughter. The two great chaityas of Swayambhunath and Bodnath were probably of a later date. They are in direct communication with Lhasa and under the control of the Dalai Lama. Ever since the early days of Buddhism the valley has been a great place of pilgrimage.

The great stupa of Swayambhunath, "the Self Existent," is placed on a high hill west of Katmandu, and dominates the landscape with its gleaming gold finial and great all-seeing eyes which look far out over the valley. Legend says that the hill sprang up on the spot where the last lotus flower (emblem of purity) rested when the valley was drained of its waters. Who knows whether the Master himself did not climb to this hilltop? It is probable that he visited the land of his birth. The main entrance up a flight of 600 steps is guarded by three colossal Buddhas, very primitive and simple, sitting in the shadow of old gnarled trees. On the top of the steps is a lamaic symbol of protection in shining brass, the Vajra or thunderbolt of Indra. On its ancient base are carved twelve realistic animals of the Tibetan calendar. The big white mound itself, sixty feet in diameter, has changed but

little since the early days, but Nepalese talent has spread itself in the direction of the ringed and gilded Thi and finial and the seven shrines to the Dyana Buddhas. Young Nepalese maidens take round dishes of offerings and stop at each shrine. In one corner is a little temple to the Hindu god of smallpox. For when this dread disease was rife in the valley the Buddhists, having no god of their own, borrowed one from the Hindus. This strange intermixture of Buddhism and Hinduism, which one finds in all temples and festivals, gives a rare sweetness and tolerance to the people of Nepal.

In the midst of a fertile plain green with paddy and sugar cane stands the second great stupa with a curious gold headdress quite out of keeping with its simplicity. This is Bodnath, built, Silvain Lévi suggests, about A.D. 496. A circular path winds round the stupa with a sort of step pyramid to climb up by. A ring of high houses in a semi-circle forms a vihara for the Tibetan pilgrims who come in their hordes across the snows and the almost impassable barrier of the Himalayas because of their faith. An old Tibetan lama takes care of the shrine. On all four sides of the gilded pinnacle the same great arresting eyes are painted with a question mark underneath.

One of the most holy places in the valley is Nilkantha, where a colossal statue of Vishnu Narayan lies asleep immersed in a pool of water. The kings of Nepal, however, cannot come here to worship because the king himself is an incarnation of Vishnu, and if he looked upon himself he would die. So an exact copy, slightly smaller, has been made at Badaji, where kings may worship with impunity. Visiting this shrine I imagined myself in Fontainebleau. The same well-kept greensward, a pool of fat carp and bags of grain being sold to visitors all in the cool shade of great forest trees. Only the clanging bell of a little Hindu temple broke the spell. In a little artificial pond framed with every shade of green foliage lay Vishnu Narayan asleep, so deeply asleep there would seem to be no awakening. He lay upon the eternal serpent Ananda, the waters lapping round him, two hands covered and two holding conch and mace, the feet crossed, eyes closed in utter relaxation and peace; worshipped alike by Hindu

and Buddhist, who both seem to find their Nirvana in the sleeping god.

A Visit to the Maharaja

Moved, I think, by my love and appreciation of the arts of Nepal, H.H. the Maharaja deigned to show me his most priceless treasures of all, the two Maharanis. It was a dazzling interview, pink *saris*, diamond crowns filled with flowers, a blaze of jewels, even the famous diamond bows of the Empress Eugenie. Not to be outdone, the Maharaja donned his celebrated headdress with bunches of emeralds that hung like grapes, and a bird of paradise plume at the back.

His Highness talked with me in perfect English; first about the long-existing friendship between England and Nepal, then of the Mutiny and the instant help of 4,000 men and afterwards of Maharaja Jung himself at the head of 8,000 more troops. Next we talked of the Great War and the magnificent contribution of Nepal, of their sympathy and friendship all through those dark years. It was a serious diplomatic conversation, and I felt (awful thought) that I represented to His Highness for the nonce the whole of the British nation. I fortunately remembered the earthquake and the miracle of reconstruction he had worked. He replied that when he saw the utter destruction of the valley—no house left standing, every temple cracked or fallen—he thought it would take fifty years to rebuild. He told me how he had moved the Maharanis to a small and humble dwelling in the valley, and had refused to live in palaces while his people were homeless. No cracks were repaired at the Singa Darbar while a single refugee was without a home.

Later I learnt that when the earthquake took place the Maharaja was shooting in the Terai many hours away, and that he rode back at top speed to his capital. Arriving at Katmandu, he ordered the great bell to be rung, and assembled all the population, then spoke and wept with them and encouraged them for two hours. The Viceroy sent seven aeroplanes, imploring him to come to India for safety, but he refused to leave his people. With great courage and energy he began at once the task of rebuilding

and repairing the three priceless cities, all veritable museums of art.

I can never sufficiently thank H.H. the Maharaja not only for the help and sympathy which he gave me in my studies, but for the wonderful way in which he received me. I have never known anyone like him, so kindhearted and generous, with time for everything and everybody, working day and night for his people. Truly he is the embodiment of the spirit of Nepal.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 7, 1939, when Mrs. Marguerite Milward gave a lantern lecture on "Nepal: 'The Land that Leads to Paradise.'" Lieut.-Colonel Sir Frederick O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O., was in the Chair.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before we come to the opening of the meeting, which I am sure we are all looking forward to, there is one matter of which I have to speak to you.

You will have seen in today's paper the announcement of the death of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, a Vice-President of the Association. The Council thought it would be suitable that we should send a telegram of condolence. I feel sure that you will agree. His Highness was a very good friend to the Association. We have often enjoyed his hospitality, and we know what a remarkable career his was. The text of the telegram, which will be sent to the Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari, is as follows:

> Public meeting of the East India Association today passed resolution asking you kindly to convey sincere condolences to Her Highness the Maharani, His Highness the Maharaja Pratapsinhji, and the members of the family, on the demise of India's senior and most revered Prince. It recalls his many years' active interest in and support of the Association's work as an honoured Vice-President. It can express no better wish for the new Ruler of Baroda than that he should follow the noble example set by his illustrious grandfather.

I think you will probably agree with that, and I will ask those members who are in agreement to signify by rising in their places.

The motion was adopted by a silent vote, all standing for a few seconds.

The CHAIRMAN: I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mrs. Milward, who is well known as a sculptor, more especially, I believe, of the more primitive types, or at any rate those are some of her very finest works of art, I have been told. She has recently visited Nepal, and will now tell us about her journey there and back and her stay in Nepal and show us some pictures of the country.

(Mrs. MILWARD then read her paper, which was illustrated by lantern slides.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting lecture, and we have seen some very delightful pictures. I always think when I see these pictures that it is hardly possible to believe that one can go into a city in this modern world and see such an amazing collection of antiquities as exist out in Nepal. They are not merely placed here and there in museums, but are part of these amazing buildings, dating back to the third century before Christ. There they are: each one a museum piece, exceptionally beautiful,

strangely out of the conception of our modern architecture, with these wonderful stone pillars, which I think are one of the most striking features, and these queer stone animals and mythological figures adorning the steps of the temples. At each corner one turns some fresh vista comes to view, which is so utterly remote from our ordinary conception of life or building that it is almost unbelievable.

I do not think we could have seen a more beautiful selection than Mrs. Milward has shown us today. I should like to congratulate her very much on her photography and her choice of subjects.

Another reflection which will have occurred to us is that the great earthquake occurred in the early months of 1934. I was myself shooting with the Maharaja in January of that year when he made that big bag of fifty-nine tigers. I left him shortly before the earthquake occurred. Nepal, which was in the very centre of the earthquake zone, suffered terribly. His Highness sent me photographs, showing the destruction which had been wrought in Katmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. It looked as though it was completely irreparable, yet now we see, only four years later, what wonderful work the Maharaja has been able to do in rebuilding these exquisite cities, and the care and pains which have been taken to restore each temple as far as possible to its original appearance. This work has been to a very great extent successful. It speaks most highly for the great pains and love which have been lavished on their cities by the Nepalese under their paternal ruler.

I would like just to say one word about the rulers of Nepal. The King is a sacred figure, kept apart as the Mikado was in the old days in Japan. In the early years of the last century the office of Prime Minister was made hereditary by the great Jang Bahadur, who came to our assistance in the Mutiny, both by sending troops and himself taking charge of the troops in the field. The succession passes not from father to son. You will understand that to have a young child suddenly made Prime Minister of a country would be an impossibility; therefore the succession passes from brother to brother or the oldest male relative.

This present dynasty of brothers is one of the finest ever known. In my time it was Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung. He was Prime Minister for nearly thirty years, a man of the highest character and ideals and a great friend of Great Britain. It was he who placed the whole resources of his country at the entire disposal of the King-Emperor on the day of the outbreak of war with Germany. They showered gifts upon us, and it is reckoned that during the course of the war no less than 200,000 Gurkhas served with the Allied troops. (Applause.)

He was succeeded by a brother, whom I also knew, Sir Bhim Shumshere Jung, and finally by this last of the dynasty of brothers, Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung, all of them in their way great, tolerant, just and greatly respected rulers. They are good friends and allies of the British Empire, and it was my great pleasure and privilege just before I retired to negotiate and sign a new Treaty to take the place of the Treaty of Segauli of 1816.

Mrs. Milward told us that she for a short time in her conversation with the Maharaja acted as the representative of the British Empire. I think we may say that in her we had a very worthy representative. (Applause.)

Sardar Manick Lal (Chargé d'Affaires, Nepalese Legation): I have listened with great interest and much pleasure to the paper on Nepal read by Mrs. Milward. I felt myself transported to my country when I saw those excellent slides. The lecture, with the help of the slides, gives one a good general idea of the nature of the country, its principal cities, its people and its arts. It is remarkable what extensive knowledge of Nepal Mrs. Milward acquired during her short visit there. I have seen in an Indian journal photographs of sculptured heads Mrs. Milward has done of different tribes of India as well as some of those of Nepal. These heads are very characteristic of the tribes, and I take this opportunity to congratulate Mrs. Milward on her success.

I hope I shall not be trying your patience if I say a few words about Nepal. Nepal is the only Hindu kingdom in the world, and it has always been independent. It is a mountainous country, with the lofty range of the Himalayas on the north. The middle portion is the range of mountains called the Mahabharat, with many fertile valleys and towns; and the hills of the Churiya Range, on the south, slope down to the level plain of the Terai. The country is mainly agricultural, the chief crop being rice, which forms the staple food of the Nepalese. There are large forests of valuable timber, where tigers, rhinos, elephants and leopards are found in large number.

The important part of the country, which Mrs. Milward has rightly called "the hub of the State," is the Valley of Katmandu, which is Nepal proper and where are situated the three principal cities of Katmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. This is the centre of Nepalese art and culture. Here may be seen magnificent specimens of Nepalese works of art in wood-carving, stone, terra-cotta and metal-work, as well as beautiful temples, shrines and pagodas side by side with fine modern buildings. Every street in these three principal cities can boast of many of these temples and shrines—in fact, they may be called "Cities of Temples."

The severe earthquake of 1934 caused extensive damage to these ancient monuments to Nepalese art and architecture. We thought then that it would be very difficult and take many years to rebuild them; but His Highness Maharaja Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana—who is the present hereditary Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal—proved himself equal to the great task. He distributed gifts generously, both in money and in kind, to the stricken people, and also made extensive loans to those in need of them. He devised ways and means to supply building materials and labour to rebuild the ruined houses and temples and to reconstruct the devastated cities and towns. The result was that in about three years improved cities and towns, with new buildings and restored temples, rose in place of the old. The Maharaja has since been generous enough to grant full remission of the repayment of all loans made at the time of the earthquake, and this benevolent act has been greatly welcomed by the people.

It would have given the Nepalese Minister in London—Lieut.-General Krishna Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana—great pleasure to have been able to attend this lecture, but he happens to be abroad at present. I shall,

however, send him a copy of Mrs. Milward's paper, and I am sure he will be very interested to read it.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Milward for the excellent lecture and delightful slides, which I believe all have thoroughly enjoyed.

Sir Louis Dane: I have never had the pleasure of visiting the forbidden land of Tibet and the hidden paradise of Nepal, but perhaps I have conduced in a humble way to the opening up of lands where Sir Frederick O'Connor and Sir Francis Younghusband won some of their many laurels, and also to putting the relations of Nepal on a more friendly footing than they had been for some time and so facilitated Mrs. Milward's journey.

At the time of the Durbar of 1903 rumours had reached India that the Russian Buriat agents were in Lhasa and somewhere along the Nepal border. Also there was considerable trouble about trade arrangements, and Lord Curzon was trying to put our relations with Tibet upon a better footing.

All this was going on while the Coronation Durbar of 1903 was in progress, and that great man Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere came down as a guest of the Government of India. Lord Curzon was taking a great interest in the details of the Durbar himself, and had actually adopted the very unusual measure of saying that on this account he had not time for the usual State visits and return visits to the Indian Princes. I met Sir Chandra Shumshere at the station, and I looked after him as Foreign Secretary. I was struck with the marvellous man he was. Much to my surprise, he at once opened up the subject of the serious misgivings he had of the movements of these Russians on the Nepal border, and expressed his desire to see the Viceroy. It may seem curious that Nepal should be so concerned about the movements of a few Russian agents in Tibet beyond the main Himalaya; but it must be remembered that, as Mrs. Milward has mentioned, a Chinese army penetrated to Nepal in the eighteenth century and imposed a treaty on the State which had thereafter to send a tributary mission to China. Sir Chandra no doubt remembered this, and knew how much harm a few foreign agents can do in the great whispering galleries of the East, and this was why he was anxious, as Lord Curzon was, to eliminate any risk of foreign interference on the Tibetan frontier of India.

I went to Lord Curzon and humbly submitted that I thought he ought to see Sir Chandra. Lord Curzon said, "I cannot possibly do it. I have not seen any of the great Indian chiefs." I then gently reminded him that Nepal was not in India, and that his receiving a distinguished foreign guest would in no way affect his attitude as regards the other visitors. He was very unwilling, but eventually said, "I will see him for ten minutes."

The Maharaja was invited, and, like another great man, he "came, saw and conquered," and the ten minutes expanded into an interview of an hour and a half. During that time all relations with Nepal were put upon a very satisfactory basis. Since the time of the great Maharaja Jung Bahadur, they had been rather frostily polite only, but thereafter they became most cordial and intimate, with the happy results that Sir Frederick O'Connor has shown.

You saw in the map how the Nepal kingdom dominates all our military and civil routes in Northern India. It would have been quite impossible to have conducted any arrangements in Tibet with an unfriendly Nepal because it absolutely flanks the entry to Tibet. The Maharaja was only too ready to give his assistance, and he gave it with a full heart. The Maharani was ill at that time and wished to get good medical advice. He took her down to Calcutta, but unfortunately it was too late to cure her. But the good relations then established with him have lasted ever since.

Before his time, when there was a change in the office of Prime Minister, there was generally a good deal of disturbance and frequently a considerable amount of bloodshed. I do not know how far the story I have heard is true, but it is rather amusing. It so happened that the Prime Minister, Sir Deb Shumshere, and his brother, Sir Chandra, were on very friendly terms. One day it occurred to him that a change might be desirable, and he went up to the Prime Minister's palace and waited for him. They had tea, and Sir Chandra said, to put it colloquially, "On the whole, I think I could run this show better than you."

The Prime Minister replied, "Possibly you could, but I am here." He said, "One can be here today and there tomorrow." And he offered him a comfortable retirement with a large allowance at Patan or Dehra Dun or elsewhere. The Prime Minister was sensible and accepted the Dehra Dun alternative, and that is how the Maharaja Chandra succeeded.

That was about the first time that the change of succession to the office of Prime Minister in Nepal was not attended by any disturbance whatever, and it shows what a wonderful man Sir Chandra was. It was a great grief to me when he died, but I am delighted to hear that things have been continued on the same lines, and that Nepal is not only flourishing, but is open to distinguished travellers like Mrs. Milward.

The CHAIRMAN said the meeting should not close without a few words from Mr. Kenneth Keymer. His father, the late Sir Daniel Keymer, was a close friend of Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung and carried out business relations with Nepal in this country. It was satisfactory that Mr. Keymer, who lately revisited Nepal, was following in his father's footsteps and maintaining those happy relations.

Mr. KENNETH KEYMER: I was particularly interested when I heard the "text" which Mrs. Milward had chosen, that Nepal is "something very different." I first went to Nepal in 1931, and, as considerable developments had taken place since then and there had been the great earthquake, I went again in the spring of 1938 in some considerable trepidation. I was, however, most glad to find that Nepal was still very different.

Much progress there certainly has been—the great social reforms of recent Maharajas and big engineering developments of which I can speak from personal experience. It is, however, interesting to note that the Durbar resolutely determines to operate such developments itself, very rightly believing that outside concessions would not be in accord with the "Paradise" to which Mrs. Milward has referred.

Following the earthquake the present Maharaja has run a wide, new road from Katmandu Durbar Square to the Maidan, and I recently read an article where excessive zeal to indicate Nepal's progress made this road sound like a modern shopping centre. We have the Bond Streets of London and Paris, but I am glad to say that even that new road is still Nepalese.

Mrs. Milward has shown us Nepal as it is and as lovers of art and lovers of Nepal hope and believe it will long remain.

Sir MALCOLM SETON: I am sure you will all be ready to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Milward for her delightful lecture, and to Sir Frederick O'Connor for presiding.

We sometimes show our appreciation of our lecturer's paper by subjecting him to a very lively cross-examination. For Mrs. Milward we have nothing but appreciation. She did reveal, certainly to myself, some aspects of the country which perhaps we had not realized. Most of us know something of the political and military importance of Nepal; but what I think some of us were not quite prepared for was the wealth of the artistic treasures of Nepal. We are most grateful to her for showing us these really wonderful slides and making us appreciate what the country is.

Sir Frederick O'Connor also we desire to thank very heartily for coming here and giving us the advantage of his knowledge of the country.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

A RECENT VISIT TO INDIA AND BURMA

By Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Muirhead, M.C., M.P.
(Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma.)

One of the things which I found most difficult during my recent tour in India and Burma, countries which I was visiting for the first time, was to avoid saying, "What a beautiful day!" The whole topic of the changeability of the weather and the comparative infrequency of beautiful days in England forms one of the most common topics of conversation between all classes. How often was I tempted to greet the sunny morn in India with such an expression of appreciation, until I realized that the cloudless days were at that season of the year the ordinary rule of things. But when one did comment on the pleasantness of the weather or expressed an opinion that such-and-such was a nice place, the remark was invariably snapped out, "You ought to be here in the hot weather." If somebody admires a particular locality in England or expresses appreciation of a beautiful day in spring or summer, we do not automatically say, "You ought to be here in the winter!"

But the hand of Pagett, M.P., does indeed lie heavy on the land of India, and I realized how much that country must have suffered from him. I want, therefore, to try and put my tour, and the impressions derived from it, in proper proportion. I am a great believer in bird's-eye views, provided a proper sense of proportion accompanies them.

On assuming my office as Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma I realized that I had been to neither country. As there was not much happening in the Parliamentary field at home in connection with those countries, I felt anxious at the earliest possible moment to go and get a little first-hand atmosphere; to be able, when I returned home and the office files were laid in front of me, to conjure up pictures of the various sides of Indian life. I went

out with no particular mission, although the Press, to begin with at all events, were under the not unnatural impression that I was sent for some definite object. Nor was I pretending to make a detailed study of any particular aspect of Indian conditions. It was a bird's-eye view and nothing more.

My itinerary was briefly as follows: Landing in Bombay in the middle of October I spent a week in and around Poona and Bombay, then passing north I spent two days at Kotah and Bundi en route to the North-West Frontier. Eight days on the Frontier took me, with the final aid of an aeroplane, from Peshawar to Quetta, taking the Khyber Pass, Kohat, Bannu, Razmak, Wana, Jandola and Dera Ismail Khan on my way. After five or six days in the Punjab I reached Delhi, where I spent a week. After five or six days in and around Lucknow I visited some ten of the Indian States in Rajputana and Central India, putting in as well a visit to Agra and Fattipur Sikri. I flew from Jhansi to Madras, spent six days in that Presidency, and then, with a day's stop to see Bhubaneswar and Puri, to Calcutta, from which centre I enjoyed, *inter alia*, two days of perfect weather at Darjeeling. Darjeeling may be considered a joy-ride, but there is, I think, a real value—which I found at Peshawar, Darjeeling and on the Burma Frontier—in seeing the link up between India and Burma and those parts of the great Asiatic continent which lie outside it. From Calcutta I flew to Burma, where I spent a fortnight, flying home from Rangoon with a four days' stop in Palestine.

I said that I was not pretending to study any particular aspect of life in detail. Obviously one of the most valuable parts of the tour were the personal contacts which I made, and I find that the persons whom I met and whom I thought it worth while noting down in my diary amounted to between 500 and 600.

Modern Communications

Now for my impressions. One of the things which I think impressed itself most upon me was that the impact of modern communications represents a new and unprecedented element in Indian life. We are apt to talk about the effect of modern com-

munications in this country. But viewed against the Indian scene their effect and potentialities struck me enormously. The roots of Indian life lie deep in the past. For centuries life and customs fundamentally have been little changed. One is therefore apt perhaps to imagine the pace of the future to be related to the pace of the past. But modern communications step in. It is no good saying that wireless and newspapers, the motor car and the aeroplane are merely developments of the older forms of communication, walking and human speech. They represent, to my mind, an entirely new element of which none of us has any real experience. Who could possibly have believed for a moment, fifty years ago, for instance, that as great inroads would have been made into the caste system as have been made? What I have said is not meant merely to justify any proposal, however new and extravagant. I simply mean to emphasize that we are in the presence of a new and unprecedented element and everyone, however long his Indian experience, must to some extent consider himself a pupil.

The Coming of Democracy

In the political field another general consideration which impressed me was this. There seemed a tendency on the part both of those in office and those in opposition to consider that what was the case now would be the case always. Oppositions, for instance, seemed to me somewhat weighed down by the fact that at the moment they were in opposition and the other person was in power. They did not seem to appreciate that one of the main features of democratic government are the changes and chances which bring fluctuations of fortune to political parties often unexpectedly and in a short space of time. Then I realized that here was a nation embarking on the big experiment of democratic government without having any long history of democratic government behind it. What makes us in England humble when in office and hopeful when in opposition is the realization from our past history of startling changes in popular support and political power. Similarly, people in India must realize that it is of the essence of democratic government that there should be majorities and minorities, not necessarily permanent ones, and it is no argu-

ment for a party to use against a particular form of constitutional advance such as Federation because it may, at the outset, put the majority power into the hands of somebody other than itself.

The opinion most strongly expressed to me throughout the length and breadth of the country was lament at the antagonism between Moslem and Hindu, an antagonism which I was led to believe was much on the increase. This antagonism seems to go far outside the bounds of mere religious feeling, and to represent an antagonism on many points which I think can be summed up in the phrase, "mode of life." Discussing with an official the possibility of trouble arising in a certain part of India, I asked him on which of several different lines of cleavage the trouble might arise. He replied, "On whatever lines the trouble may start—if it does, it will be on a communal basis in forty-eight hours." Having regard to the repercussions of this within India itself as well as in the Moslem world outside no one can lightly disregard it.

In the political development in India the actual structure and functioning of governmental machinery must not be overlooked. When we consider that in this country, with all our experience behind us, the machinery does often creak and groan and appear in need of long overdue adjustment, it is not surprising that there should be creaks and groans in India. A disturbing factor, to my mind, is the very heavy strain at present placed upon Ministers, particularly upon Chief Ministers. To keep a party or political combination together is often a task in itself, and on top of this comes a heavy burden of departmental administration. Superimposed is often a daily flood of interviews with members of the Legislative Assembly and others with personal or local points of view to press. In the end little, if any, time can remain for quiet thought, and this is the time when clear thinking was never more needed. I am sure this physical aspect of governmental machinery under the new Constitution wants tackling very seriously.

No one, I think, can withhold admiration for the part which is being played by the Services in these early days of the new Constitution. Never mind whether the new Constitution was inevitable, desirable, better or worse than what had gone before. I am

not here to argue that. The fact remains that it has produced a profoundly different state of affairs from that to which many of the senior members of the Services had long grown accustomed. One sees cases of men in the I.C.S. finishing under present conditions after thirty-five years of service. Thirty-five years back from now takes one into what must have been a vastly different life in India, and to work the present Constitution must—human nature being what it is—at all events have been very difficult for many. It must have called for a great deal of mental readjustment. All the more credit therefore for the spirit in which they have responded. I gathered the impression that the views of members of the I.C.S., on a comparison between life under the new Constitution and life previously, differed very considerably in individual cases according to the particular Ministers with whom they might have to deal. The personal element meant a lot.

The Countryside

But India's problems are not all a matter of politics and constitutions. Nothing interested me more both by nature—for I am a countryman myself—or from its importance to India, than the problems of agriculture and rural life. I have been reported, quite truthfully, as having said that the most abiding impression of India is that of the bullock cart in all its phases. No period of the day remains more clearly with me than that of "cow dust" time in an Indian village. I took every opportunity I could of getting out to the fields and the villages, either for the day or staying with a Collector. There are, of course, great points of similarity between country life and country people in all parts of the world. There is a sort of Esperanto of habit and characteristic which seems to transcend the different boundaries of language. Agricultural life is still largely dominated by the old saying that the greatest benefactor is the man who makes two blades grow where one grew before. Nobody looking at the low standard of Indian feeding would deny the importance of better and more economical methods of production, bringing with it a larger volume of produce. On this point there seemed to be the need,

common to some extent to the whole of the agricultural world, to get the results of scientific research across to the actual cultivator.

The line on which this is being done in India is decentralized demonstration, going as close down to the individual village as possible. But the last decade has taught us over here the immense value to the cultivator of a strong and co-ordinated marketing system for the produce after it is produced. I do not think that the need is any less in India. The oppressive hand of the money-lender on the Indian village is, of course, well known. Much legislation is now being passed or contemplated with the object of lessening or removing this burden. It is not as easy a subject as it looks, and however successful this legislation may be, the problem will only, to my mind, be half solved. In order to encourage the cultivator to the fullest possible production you must try to ensure for him first that he will get, and with a great measure of certainty, his fair share of the ultimate price for which the produce is sold, and secondly that the producer of good-quality produce shall get his corresponding reward for quality. In this country we have only within the last ten years really tackled our marketing system.

I am fully conscious of the immense difficulties which present themselves in India. I do know, however, that work is being started mainly along the lines of better grading of produce with the object indirectly of meeting the last point which I have made. I am certain, however, that the marketing system is one to which a great deal of attention ought to be devoted. When I visited a famine area at Hissar in the Punjab, where I was told that one of the worst famines for very many years was anticipated and saw the relief measures in operation, I realized what a great gulf of improvement there was between the old and present-day conception of famine and its effects. Throughout India there is a widespread movement in the direction of what is known as "village uplift," a phrase which denotes every effort to improve the sanitary, social and recreational life of the village. This is all to the good, and I saw some interesting examples of it. But I am under no delusion that such a movement operating in such surroundings will need, not spasmodic, but sustained, effort. This is

all part of the influence of modern communications, to which I alluded earlier.

With this is inevitably closely linked education. The need for more education of a primary type is obvious. Hitherto the tendency not merely in India but generally for education to produce is an urge to indulge in some new occupation. The ambition of the educated Indian to migrate to a clerical occupation is a strong example of this. The effect which one wants to see education have in India is to try and teach a man—and indeed a woman, for the importance of female education was constantly brought to my notice—to live his own normal life better, and with a greater sense of appreciation, rather than necessarily to change it for something else. This particularly applies to the effect of education in the Indian villages which must for so many years still play an enormous part in the Indian structure.

Indian Labour

I naturally took opportunities of looking at labour conditions. Some instances of the housing conditions in the big cities are, of course, deplorable. It is not, however, with housing, wages or conditions as such that I wish to deal, but chiefly with the matter of labour organization. The first instinct of the employers of every country has been to think that they can get on without labour organization or machinery for collective discussion. Analogies are very imperfect things, but this is certainly true of England, and at a very recent date the United States of America, yet in the end organized labour and collective machinery have to come. In India there appears to be a vicious circle. The genuine workers in industry are, for the most part, illiterate, and few amongst their number are fully capable of running a labour organization. Consequently to run an organization outsiders are imported. These outsiders are often not of the best type and are classed as agitators by the employers, who refuse to recognize them. Thus the vicious circle is complete. I am not here to suggest a remedy in detail. I can only say that I am convinced that fuller labour organization and machinery for collective discussion not

only will come, but should come, and rather than that they should grow in an atmosphere of antagonism one feels that employers should judge by the experience of ourselves and other countries, and by taking the long view should do their level best to encourage such organizations and such machinery.

The Burma Scene

A fortnight in Burma made an interesting finish to my tour. Many of the points that I have touched on in connection with India are applicable to Burma as well, but anybody who has been to Burma will know that she has a character of her own. Not that that means that Burma has a flat level of similarity. I could not see much connection between the very mixed population of Rangoon and that of, say, the hill tribes of the Shan States. There is at the moment a good deal of unrest in Burma, but it is very difficult to pin down that unrest to any one predominating cause. The reasons stated in the recent report of the Committee on the Burma riots throw some light on the situation. These reasons are briefly:

(*a*) The unsatisfactory conditions of land tenure.
(*b*) The effect of Indian emigration, particularly of Indian labour, and the participation of Indians in the economic life of Burma.
(*c*) The marriage of Burmese women with foreigners in general and Indians in particular.
(*d*) The Press and other political influences, to which must be added as a contributory cause the influence and apparent lack of discipline of many elements among the pongyis.

Perhaps some of the disturbances, particularly such things as strikes of schoolboys and students, are due to the fact that interested parties look upon riots as one of the recognized weapons in the political game. But there are naturally other more fundamental causes. A situation where a vast amount of land is in the hands not only of absentee but alien landowners cannot, in these days of economic and nationalist thought, fail to give rise to constant difficulty.

I travelled up the new road which leads from the railhead at Lashio to the Chinese frontier, and indeed went ten miles along

the continuance of that road into China itself. The possibilities of that road are, of course, considerable. From whatever aspect one considers it, this eastern frontier of Burma seems likely to become one of the most important of our Imperial frontiers, and in many respects its potentialities for the future interested me even more than the great history of the frontier in the North-West. With regard to the goodness of the road, I am not a road expert and have never seen Burma in the rains. One has, however, got to relate the quality of the road to the comparatively moderate amount of traffic which is likely to use it in the near future. I can only say that the improvement of the road is being rapidly pushed on with, and from the small amount of comparison available to me the road on our side did not appear to be inferior to that in China.

International Affairs

I cannot close without making some reference to the opinions which I met both in India and Burma on the subject of the international situation. It will be remembered that I landed in India only a fortnight after the crisis. It would be idle to deny that some sections of opinion in India were undecided as to how they would have acted in case of war. The ideological conflict between dictatorship and democracy, between big country and little, made a great appeal. This was particularly emphasized in the comfortable security of the post-crisis period. On the other hand, the idea of accepting England's decision to go to war and following her into hostilities of her own making would have proved unpalatable to some of the same elements. How to square this circle was a problem which had undoubtedly been exercising the minds of many people very severely, and I did not gather that they had been able to perform that difficult task. Munich relieved them of the immediate necessity.

From Burma I flew home, with a stop of four days in Palestine. As I flew from Rangoon to Karachi and looked down from above on hundreds of little villages and hamlets, hardly connected, it seemed, with the outer world by even a faint footpath, I seemed to get as clear an impression of the isolation of much of the Indian

population as if I had been on the ground on foot; indeed, in some ways clearer. And I felt once more at the end, as I had felt so often during the progress of my tour, that here was a vast country in many ways and in many parts still unchanged, but face to face now with the new and unprecedented element of modern communication.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

A Social Meeting was held at the Rubens Hotel, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, on Thursday, February 16, 1939. After tea Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Muirhead, M.C., M.P. (Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma), spoke on his recent visit to India and Burma. The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., was in the Chair.

The Chairman: We are privileged today to welcome here Colonel Muirhead, the Under-Secretary of State for India, who has just paid a visit to India, and I am sure we shall be delighted to hear of the impressions which he received during that visit. It must have been extraordinarily interesting for him to be able to study on the spot some of the problems with which he is confronted in his work here and to see something of the country with which he is now so closely associated.

Colonel Muirhead then gave his address.

The Chairman: I am sure that you have all enjoyed as much as I have done the extremely interesting address which Colonel Muirhead has just given to us. He said that he had really gone to have a bird's-eye view of India. I think, if I may say very respectfully to him, that that bird had an extremely wide and keen vision.

I think also that you will agree with me that it appears really wonderful that in what after all was a short tour, Colonel Muirhead should have put his finger upon the spot of so many of the problems which confront India and realized how they impinge one upon the other. He has shown to us that he had the keen receptive power which enabled him to bear in mind and to be able clearly to give us an impression of the facts which he heard and the scenes which he saw during his trip in India.

He went, as most people do, from Bombay up to the North, and perhaps I may tell him that I thoroughly sympathize with him with regard to the incident of the sheep. I also was offered two or three sheep when I went up to the Frontier, and in my mind's eye I saw them becoming a fruitful flock in my Sussex fields which would always give me happy memories of India. But I am sorry to say that they are only a very distant memory now, as, like his, they returned to their rightful fold.

I was delighted to hear that Colonel Muirhead went down and paid a visit to Madras. So many people arrive at Bombay and go up to the North and pass all along the northern part of India and then go off to Burma. I have had many friends who have done that. I said to them, "But you have not come down to Madras." They say, "No, we have always heard that Madras was a very nice quiet place, but it is not exactly on the route, and we had so many other interesting places to see." But, as Colonel Muirhead said today, I am sure that any visitor who does not do that misses the opportunity of seeing the great difference which exists between the various parts of India.

Colonel Muirhead spoke to us of the political situation, and we listened with the greatest interest to him, because it is not easy to follow merely from the Press what is taking place in India. I could not help smiling at one of the descriptions he gave of the Ministers being over-burdened with interviews. It recalled to me a story of what happened at a shoot of one of my uncles. One of the guns unfortunately shot a beater in the leg, and the beater made a tremendous noise and was very upset. The keeper went up to him, and all he said was, "Now you know what the poor hares feel like!" (Laughter.)

I felt that it was almost what a Governor might say to a present Prime Minister, because I remember the days of the meetings of the Legislative Councils in Madras when most of one's morning and the whole of one's afternoon was taken up with interviews with members of the Legislative Council or of the Legislative Assembly. I feel I am in a confessional as regards what they came to see one about, but it did take up an enormous amount of time and my sympathy is entirely with the Ministers for being over-burdened in this respect. I know how difficult it is to give an answer to so many of the people who come to see one.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer, and that is to the tribute which Colonel Muirhead paid to the members of the I.C.S. There were many of us who foresaw the difficulties which would confront the members of the I.C.S. under the new Constitution. But I have no doubt of this: that all of those who knew them and who served with them felt perfectly sure that they would do their very best to help to meet those difficulties, that they would serve with the same loyalty in the present and in the future as they had served in the past, and they would render every assistance that they possibly could to the Ministers and to the administration under the present circumstances, and I am sure that they have justified the opinion which was held of them. (Applause.)

As representing for a time Madras, I was, of course, very interested in what Colonel Muirhead had to say about agriculture, because Madras is essentially an agricultural province.

I hope that co-operative societies may do much to assist in marketing, because, as Colonel Muirhead has said, that is one of the great difficulties of the agriculturists at the present time. Those societies were only just started when I was out in India, but we hoped then that they might render agriculture a great deal of assistance in the future.

Colonel Muirhead said he was not an educationist. Neither am I. But I do agree with every word he said in regard to the system of education, and I am perfectly certain that every effort must be made to provide special forms of education and to interest the people in India in that form of education which may be able to assist them in the future.

As to the desire to obtain degrees, I think I have already told you that as Chancellor of the University of Madras I gave 1,200 degrees in one afternoon, and I suppose only a hundred recipients would profit by those degrees in the future. But they were all anxious to get them in order to go into the Government service or into the legal profession. I always had the greatest difficulty in trying to persuade parents to put their sons

into engineering or the other various professions, or to get them to interest them at an early age in agriculture.

I would on your behalf offer our most grateful thanks to Colonel Muirhead for having spared the time to come here and visit us this afternoon and to give us this impression of his journey. I think his was almost a case when you might say

> East and West, South and North,
> The Under-Secretary flew fast,

and certainly in his time he did cover an immense area of ground. I feel confident that he will find that the impressions he has received, the knowledge which he has gained, and the contacts which he has made in India will be of the greatest service to him in the work which he is so usefully performing. (Applause.)

Sir Malcolm Seton: It gives me very great pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Colonel Muirhead. As I have told him this afternoon, he is the twenty-second holder of the post that he at present occupies since I first came into contact with Indian affairs. I think he is very fortunate in beginning his career with such an extremely interesting tour.

Some years ago there was a rather detestable phrase in common use about India as to the angle of vision. I suppose even the poor India Office clerk is allowed to have an angle of vision of his own, and when Colonel Muirhead was speaking I could not help reflecting what an enormous help it must be to his private secretaries that he has done a tour like this!

It is very easy to minimize the effect of an Indian tour. Having had the privilege of a rapid one myself twenty years ago, I know perfectly well that it does an enormous amount for a man, if only—and I am sure this was implicit in Colonel Muirhead's speech—as a revelation of the friendship and hospitality which accredited visitors to India meet wherever they go, a memory which is not easily effaced.

I am not going to discuss the paper. We have enjoyed it greatly, and he has touched on many difficult subjects. Apropos of what Lord Goschen just said about education, I hate education and always have, just as much as Colonel Muirhead. But I remember the late Sir Herbert Risley saying to me once: "The Indian, particularly the Bengali, is a very logical man. He says a university is an institution for granting degrees. Therefore the more it grants, the better that institution is." So I think Lord Goschen is to be congratulated on having been face to face with such an admirable institution in Madras.

I would also ask you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Lord Goschen for coming to preside. He has taken a very friendly interest in us, and we are always glad to see him here and grateful when he is able to spare the time. (Applause.)

THE WORLD CHRISTIAN MEETING AT MADRAS, 1938, IN ITS BEARING UPON INDIA

By Rev. William Paton
(International Missionary Council)

It is not altogether easy to deal with such an occasion as the recent world meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Tambaram, near Madras, in December, in addressing such a body as the East India Association. On the one hand, the meaning of such a gathering as that which met at Tambaram can only be fully apprehended in relation to those ultimate principles of the Christian religion in which the world-wide missionary movement is necessarily founded. On the other hand, the Association, while some of its members hold those principles, comprises many who do not, and is united upon a common basis of interest in India and Eastern questions rather than on any religious or even philosophical agreement.

Nevertheless, a meeting such as was held from December 12 to 29 last in the beautiful buildings of the Madras Christian College has a secular meaning also. The coming together of people from all parts of the world at a time in world history such as that through which we are now living has a secular meaning and aspect. Similarly, the total fact of Indian Christianity has a secular aspect as well as a religious and theological ground. I propose therefore to discuss in this paper first of all the significance of the world meeting of the International Missionary Council, looking at it as a fact of recent history which claims the attention of thoughtful people, and, secondly, to consider the bearing of this meeting, held as it was in India, upon Indian Christianity.

A World-Wide Range

May I briefly outline the nature of the gathering and the range of countries represented in it? There were present in all, counting delegates appointed by national organizations, co-opted members,

students, stewards, business staff—in fact, all the people whose attendance is made necessary by a meeting of this size—471 persons, of whom roughly half came from the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands, and half from Great Britain and the British Dominions, the countries of Europe and the United States. Here is one of the points that may arrest the eye of the secular historian. This is the first meeting, so far as I know, to be held under Christian auspices in which the delegates coming from the older Church life of the white countries in the West were not greatly in excess of the delegates from the younger Churches which have grown up among the Oriental and African peoples. The fact that what is called in America a fifty-fifty proportion should have been possible reveals a truth of some importance—namely, that the growth in ability and maturity of the Christian Church in these lands has now been sufficient to enable them to produce leaders able to meet on an equality with those who represent the older Christianity of the West.

The variety of backgrounds and environments from which the delegates came was as great as could be imagined. There were numerous delegates present from the ancient countries of the East, possessed of cultural traditions much more ancient than anything in the West. Such delegates from Japan, China, India, to mention only a few countries, met with others from the African territories or the Southern Pacific Islands where Christianity has grown up, not, of course, in a vacuum of culture, but in contact with the complicated unwritten civilizations of tribal humanity. There were again the contrasts between the governors and governed, a contrast no longer only between white and coloured, for Japan has emphatically entered the lists as an imperialistic power.

One of the minor but quite striking aspects of the meeting was the opportunity afforded to people from contiguous areas of the earth to meet together. There were, for instance, delegates present from eight republics of Latin America, and it was possible for a series of meetings to be held which enabled these people to meet together as they had literally never been able to meet before. The same thing held true of those who live and work in different States of the Muslim world, regions as diverse as Egypt and Java.

The same thing held true in a marked degree of the Continent of Africa. I think I am right in saying that there has never been a meeting, secular or religious, in which so many African territories were represented, most of them by native Africans. Nearly all the African territories governed by Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal were represented, as well as Liberia and the territories of the Union of South Africa. A similar meeting of contiguous areas took place among the representatives from the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and here it was a noticeable fact that Australia and New Zealand, as they have shown in other gatherings, made clear their vital concern in the problems of the Pacific basin. In the same connection I might say that for many members of the meeting a new fact was the large extent, variety and significance of the island world of South Eastern Asia. The Philippine Islands and the Dutch Indies present problems distinct on the one hand from those of continental Asia, and on the other hand from those of the South Pacific Islands, where a very primitive culture is found side by side with white commercial development. It is not known to many Englishmen that there are nearly two million Christians in the Dutch Indies, and one of the benefits of international co-operation is that the wisdom and experience of the Dutch Churches and colonizers can be brought into the common stock of Christian thinking.

A World Community

The central issue which the International Missionary Council met together, after over three years' preparation, to consider was the growth of the Christian Church, particularly in the lands of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands, but always in view of the total task of the Christian conception of the universal historic Church throughout the world. This main issue, for obvious reasons, I cannot discuss here, but it leads to an aspect of the meeting which has in a sense a secular importance. It is simply not possible to be in a meeting for seventeen days of intense common labour, mixing with people from almost every country in the world, and not to feel the sense of a world community. True, it is a world community based not only upon a sense of

common humanity, but upon a common religious belief, and that is fundamental. Nevertheless, I should still urge that to all who look with hope and longing to the emergence in our troubled human scene of some power that may draw men into unity and overcome the rancour of national division, such a phenomenon as we were enabled to witness at Tambaram has its meaning. It was conspicuously present when one spoke with delegates from the more backward countries and more immature Churches. For many of them the experience of this meeting was literally the ushering of them into a new world. They became for the first time aware, not only of a far wider world than they had understood to exist, but also of the fact that they were not alone in it, but were members of a world-wide community within this still wider and very perplexing world.

Ambassadors

The next point which I think is of importance for the secular historian is the fact that the younger Churches (as it is now fashionable to call them, in the desire to avoid the use of the word "native" when all are native) are no longer to be thought of simply as appendages to the missionary activity of the Western Churches. In saying this I do not wish to obscure or minimize the fact that the life of these Churches in Africa and Asia is still greatly indebted to the help given by the older Churches of the West in missionary service, in financial aid and in many other ways. But it is necessary to realize that there are in existence in these widely scattered lands living Churches, full of the sense of their own responsibility and duty, grateful for what has been done for them, but equally clear that they are responsible to God and to themselves for the carrying on of their work. A symbol of this new relationship is to be found in the presence in our own country at the present moment of a group of distinguished Orientals and Africans who are explaining to large and enthusiastic British audiences what they got out of the Tambaram meeting. To quote the words of one of the leading Chinese at Tambaram, they are "not specimens but ambassadors," not

trophies of our bow and spear but messengers from an overseas Christianity, willing to share what has been given to it.

The third aspect to which I must refer as of general importance is the exhibition of ability and resource offered by the delegates from the younger Churches of Asia and Africa. I incline to think that this will be for many European and American delegates the largest single impression made by the whole gathering. I am aware that there were some who believed that the officers of the International Missionary Council, in seeking to make the meeting equally representative of West and East, were actuated by a sentimentality whose consequences would find them out when the meeting actually assembled. I do not think that anybody who was present felt this to be so. I cannot think how many people said to me that they believed that the ablest delegation in the whole gathering was not the British or the American or any of the Continental groups, but the Chinese, and with this judgment I should most heartily concur. Both in intellectual ability and in spiritual discernment, in patience and good judgment the best of the Oriental and African delegates were a match for any who came from the continent of America or our own country, and this was true not only of a few but of the great mass.

Chinese and Japanese

It is also worth mentioning that the sense of unity in a world-wide community to which I have referred was not gained by the obscuring from sight of the actual differences which separate human beings. I have referred to the differences in culture, and in relation to the problem of government. Let me be quite concrete. There were present both Chinese and Japanese (I might here say that the only Oriental people prevented from sending any delegates at all were the Koreans). It would be silly to pretend that the Chinese and Japanese delegates came to be of one mind at Tambaram; they did not. But they were able to face their genuine and profound differences upon the basis of a common loyalty which did transcend their deep differences. Similarly, the British and Indians—and India is not quite as peaceful and Federation-minded as some in this country would like to think—

were able to meet together "off the carpet," and to consider, as people separated in political relationship but united by a common religious loyalty, the outstanding issues between the two countries. Even keener was the tension between the native African and the white South African. Another difference, less keen than those I have mentioned, but noticeable, was that between the Latin Americans and the United States. I mention these things merely to show that the sense of unity of which I have spoken was not reached by a facile evasion of genuine divisions.

A final comment upon the Tambaram meeting would be to note the courage and hopefulness with which the delegates as a whole looked into the future, and faced what for some of them were perfectly gigantic tasks. Here again I think first of the Chinese, whose indomitable courage won all hearts. It was, however, generally true of the whole mass of the delegates, and when one remembers that they were met together to consider primarily the extension of the Christian religion throughout the world, and that they represented in the main countries where even a formal Christian profession is made by only a tiny percentage of the vast populations, the hopefulness with which they addressed themselves to their task was truly impressive.

The Indian Christians

Let us now consider the bearing of all this upon the country within which the meeting was held, and particularly upon the Christian community of India. That Christian community, as you are aware, is approximately six and a half million strong. It may be grouped in three great divisions. There is, most ancient of all, going back possibly to the Apostle St. Thomas, and certainly to the very early centuries of our era, the Syrian Christian community on the Malabar coast, one of the most remarkable phenomena in the world. There is, secondly, the large body of Christians, nearly half of the whole, owing allegiance to the See of Rome, and in some of its parts going back to the Jesuit missions of the counter-Reformation. There are, thirdly, the Protestant communities (if for one moment, without offence and for convenience, I may group the Anglicans with them), who are the

result of missionary labours, mainly of British and American missions, in the past two hundred years, with considerable communities owing their genesis to missionaries from the continent of Europe, and not least from Germany. Apart from the Syrian Church, which in spite of its differences has a certain common complexion, all these Christian bodies are more or less equally affected by the historical and actual link with Western Christianity. Those of them which follow an episcopal form have only a small minority of Indian bishops; in all of them their types of Church life, their denominational organization, their forms of worship, their devotional and theological literature, their moulds of education, all owe much to Western models, though one must point out here the great and growing strength of the movement in favour of indigenous standards in all these things.

Taking the Christian community of India as a whole, it has more claim to the attention of the secular and political observer than perhaps it has received. In education, both of men and still more of women, it has a worthy record. Its percentage of literacy is three times as great as that of the country as a whole, and in the education of women it has a long lead. Its most trusted leaders (I speak here of the Protestant or non-Roman Churches) have an honourable record in that, though representing a small community, they have deprecated the communal solution in politics. A recent instance is the speech of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee from the chair of the All-India Christian Conference last December. Indian Christian leaders today claim to be no less Indian than their Hindu or Muslim brethren, and the general tone of Indian Christian student life, for instance, is quite as strongly nationalist as that of student life in general.

Nevertheless, Indian opinion in general, while recognizing the fact that individual Christians have played an important part in political life (at the moment two of Mr. Gandhi's trusted lieutenants are Indian Christians), would still say that Indian Christianity as an institution is predominantly foreign and therefore parasitic. My impression is that this would be urged quite as much by those who profess a regard for the person and teaching of Jesus Christ as by those who do not. All who know anything

about India are aware of the widespread regard for the teaching and example of Jesus Christ which is found among Indians of all kinds. The general philosophy of life and attitude towards ultimate religious truth which the outside student observes in Hinduism is, of course, easily compatible with such reverence, and to say so is in no way to minimize it or suggest insincerity within it. Hinduism is a religion or culture characterized in a very high degree by absorptiveness. While this attitude of mingled tolerance and regard is widely exhibited towards the central figure of the Christian religion, the institution of Christianity is still regarded as foreign. I remember years ago hearing my friend Mr. Srinivasa Sastri speak somewhat bitterly of the wave after wave of missionary aggression advancing upon his country. I have had enough conversations with Mr. Gandhi and some of those who stand closest to him to have no illusions as to what is felt by Indians about the preaching of the Christian religion in India. It is believed, particularly in relation to the masses of the untouchables, that Christians are concerned with an effort to increase their own numbers, and that in doing this they are merely injuring Hinduism from a political and cultural point of view and tending to exacerbate the communal issue in India.

Part of a World-Wide Phenomenon

I am putting these things in rather an extreme way, but with the definite intention to bring out clearly the kind of point to which I think the world meeting at Tambaram is relevant. Indian Christianity seen in the light of the Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Council assumes a different meaning from that which it possesses if it is seen only against the background of contemporary Indian political and social groupings. It is a part of a world-wide phenomenon; it is the local expression of a universal fact. I have often quoted the remark once made to me by a very distinguished Indian Christian, Dr. S. K. Datta, whose share in the Round-Table Conference may be remembered. Dr. Datta said, *à propos* of this problem, "I am not a member of the Indian Christian community, I am an Indian who is a member of the Christian Church." The speaker was a man who had a

rather unusual acquaintance with other countries than his own, but he had seen, what I think all Indian Christians who were present at Tambaram must have seen as in a flash, that they were members of a world-wide community. To say this is not to say that the Christian Church in India is not to be Indian, not to be accommodated to the genius and spirit of the people, not in fact to be racy of the Indian soil. It is to say that the Indian Church is not only an Indian fact, that it is not only one of a number of communities socially at odds with one another and rivals for possible power and influence; it is something whose meaning can only be understood in relation to the whole world.

The bearing of this fact is twofold. It not only illuminates the relationship of the Indian Christian Church to other Indian communities, but also the question of the foreignness of the Indian Christian Church. One must distinguish here between actual achievement and fundamental principle. I do not think that it can be denied (and the Indian Christian spokesmen at the Tambaram meeting were quite emphatic about it) that there is a great deal of needless foreignness about the Indian Christian Church, too much dependence upon the West—in short, too little genuine Indian quality. In principle, however, the fact that so much of the Indian Christian community owes its origin to the work of the Christian Churches of the West is irrelevant to its fundamental nature. The Church in India, as in every land, can truly be said, to use an old phrase, to be a colony of heaven. At least it is not a colony of Great Britain or of the U.S.A.! The sharing by Indian Christian representatives in a great world meeting of Christians must infallibly strengthen within them the sense that they belong to a world-wide community and are the local representatives of it. It must confirm within them the knowledge that they are not merely appendages of the older and more powerful Western Churches.

Christian Evangelism

The same arguments it seems to me hold when we consider not only the existence and fundamental nature of the Christian institution in India, but also the central work which is committed

to the Christian Church in all parts of the world—namely, evangelization. It is here that trouble centres. In India at least as much as in any country in the world the Christian Church can avoid trouble and gain an easy life most simply by refraining from what is fashionably called "proselytism." If "proselytism" means the desire by fair means or foul to increase the numbers of one's community, then "proselytism" must be condemned, as indeed the Founder of Christianity condemned it. But if to refrain from "proselytism" is to abate that fundamental claim which Christians have always made for Jesus Christ, that His salvation is for all men without distinction of race or nation—then not "proselytism" but evangelization is abandoned. It is not my purpose here to argue this matter, nor can it indeed be argued without reference to those ultimate principles to which I referred when I began. I would, however, make this point. The holding of such a meeting as that which came to Tambaram in December ought to show that what is at stake in Christian evangelism, whether you like it or not, is something on a majestic scale. It is not a matter of white missionaries offering a Gospel to Indians as the spiritual co-efficient of imperial government; nor can it be represented, as I have heard it represented, as the spiritual efflorescence of the bourgeois civilization of Victorian England. Once the fact is clearly understood that this business of preaching the Gospel is being carried on by black men, brown men and yellow men all over the world—well, as I say, you may not like it or agree with it, but it assumes a different dimension and meaning. The fundamental religious questions remain, and on them Indians, like other human beings, are divided.

I believe, however, that this international drawing together of Christians throughout the world will make it easier everywhere for this vital matter of Christian evangelism to be considered in its basic religious meaning, and to separate it from the adventitious difficulties connected with imperial or other relations. To put the matter quite crudely, when a leading Christian like Mr. T. Z. Koo or a leading Japanese Christian like Dr. Kagawa speaks in India about the Christian religion, nobody can suspect either of them of being the spokesmen of British or Anglo-Saxon religious im-

perialism. It was my privilege to speak with Dr. Kagawa at a great meeting in Bombay in the middle of January, and nothing could be plainer than the profound interest created in Indian minds by the spectacle of the Christian religion being expounded by a man who is both a convinced Christian and a thorough Asiatic.

Educational Effort

These are the main considerations which the world meeting at Tambaram seems to me to suggest as one thinks of Indian Christianity. There are, however, other considerations, smaller in range but of great practical importance, which may briefly be mentioned. India needs all the help she can get in the solving of her colossal problems in social reorganization, education, health and other aspects of public life. India, like other countries of the East, can gain, and has gained, much from the great secular institutions of social and educational aid such as the Rockefeller Foundations. I do not know whether it is fully understood that the Christian missionary movement as a whole, limited as it is financially, does yet contain within itself a variety of experience which can be, and is, of great help to the countries within which it works. It is known to many in this Association that the improvement of village education in India owes a good deal to such institutions as that of Moga in the Punjab, but it is not perhaps so well known that Moga in its turn owes a great deal to Teachers' College, Columbia. India is now engaged in trying to abolish illiteracy. There may be people here who can share in my testimony to the great value of the work done in India by an American missionary, Dr. F. C. Laubach, who perfected in the Philippine Islands a technique of dealing with illiteracy to such a degree that it was officially taken over by the American Government in the Philippine Islands. Dr. Laubach has visited India, and there are now groups of people working in several vernaculars along his lines. His presence in the Tambaram meeting was of great value to people in India and other countries who wish to use the latest tools which educational science has to bring.

Another obvious instance of the value of an international

mobilizing of Christian resources in its bearing upon India is the whole subject of rural uplift. Indian Christians and missionaries in India have been devoting attention to this problem now for years, but I do not doubt that the contact which Indians had at Tambaram with some of the best Chinese would be of great value to them. The same thing is true with regard to the entire range of medical work. Even in India, where the provision by Government of medical services is far beyond that of most eastern countries, such help is still only available for a fraction of the population, and certain aspects of medical service, such as the care of lepers, of the tuberculous, and certain other special groups, are still largely in the hands of the Christian forces. The group which met at Tambaram to consider the medical side of work had in its secretary a distinguished Indian doctor and in its chairman one of the best-known medical missionaries in China. Evidence could be brought together from all parts of the world, and it was perfectly obvious that the delegates from India, as well as other countries, benefited by the contacts made, which, it is to be remembered, they can follow up long after the Conference disbanded.

I would therefore end this paper by reiterating my own conviction that, while a gathering such as that which I have described must have its main significance for those who accept its religious presuppositions, it should also be taken into account by all who care for the advance of international understanding in the world. In particular it is of significance for India in setting Indian Christianity in its true context, and in showing the nature of the service which can be rendered to India by a Christianity which is at one and the same time Indian and universal.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 7, 1939, when a paper entitled "The World Christian Meeting at Madras, 1938, in its Bearing upon India" was read by the Rev. W. Paton. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Guildford, D.D., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a very great privilege to be allowed to take the Chair this afternoon. I am really taking the place of the Bishop of the mother-diocese, of which the little new diocese of Guildford is part, the Bishop of Winchester. He, I am sorry to say, was unable to come, and your Honorary Secretary kindly asked me to take his place.

I am also very glad to preside over a meeting addressed by my old friend Mr. William Paton. Having been for a fortnight under his kind but firm rule at Tambaram last December, I rather like to have him under my control today, though I do not suppose he will cause us any trouble.

Still more am I very glad to have the chance of listening, as you will be, to his description of Tambaram last December. I think, from what I have heard, that Mr. Paton will be, in what he says, opening to you new windows of possibility of thought about what this conference signified from an international point of view, and perhaps specially about that which concerns this Association—the contribution of the Indian Christian community to the life of India.

I paid this year my very first visit to India, and though one tried to learn a good deal and was able as the recipient of many acts of kindness to be in touch with a good many sides of Indian life, I am in the state of a learner. Most of you speak of India from life experience. Certainly that experience at Madras was wonderful in that it did give one new insights. One saw there not only the contribution in character, which perhaps one would expect to find from the Christians of all the seventy races there, but also the extraordinary contribution in capacity and mental power which comes from those races of the East and very notably from India. It was a very wonderful occasion, and I am very glad to hear now from Mr. Paton the kind of impression of what it meant to him.

The Rev. WILLIAM PATON then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure I speak for you all when I say how deeply we have appreciated Mr. Paton's paper. There are many in this room who are very well qualified to take up the discussion, and I will call on Bishop Palmer.

The Right Rev. Bishop PALMER: I have had a good deal to do in the last twenty years with international conferences. I remember I was here in this country in 1925, just before the conference on Life and Work in Stockholm. There I happened to meet at dinner the last Dean of St. Paul's.

Full of enthusiasm, I said to him that the international conferences were interesting because you met at them most interesting people of various nations; to which he replied, "Do you think that the most interesting people ever go to international conferences?"

I quote that remark to you as the sort of comment that you might have made yourself in 1925. We were thought cranks then; but there are people who are thought cranks in one generation, and not always afterwards. It is possible that this desire for the things which bring us together in international conferences has a value of its own.

At a private party I heard the group of people who are now over here from Tambaram speaking about their impressions of the conference. As I heard them speak, I felt in my mind that they had had just the same experience as I had sometimes had myself at similar conferences. If I was asked to describe what I had got, I simply could not. You cannot be sure what you have gained, because you are bewildered at first, and also your gain is more intangible than you expected.

These conferences very rarely succeed in saying anything in their resolution that is more worth saying than what is already in print. That is true of other meetings than of international conferences. But in spite of that the members have got something which is very wonderful. To put it in a prosaic way, the most important thing of all is the friendships that you make. But there is more to it than that. The greatest thing is that you become friends with people who belong to different civilizations and different nations, and who are separated from you, except at these conferences, by almost every human circumstance. That in itself is a thing not only of very exciting interest to you, but, I hope, of real importance to the world.

I ask, why do people go to international conferences? People have international conferences about all sorts of scientific subjects. They also have them about philosophical subjects. What is the general character of these subjects? It is that they transcend nationality. That is the important thing. In this divided world I venture to think that our hold on unity and our hold on the prospect of peace is proportionate to our power to transcend nationality. (Applause.) Therefore I rank very highly even conferences of statisticians or of people who are interested in engineering problems of some very specialized kind. If those are international conferences, those people, whatever might be said of their studies, are human themselves, and they have been gathered together in the interests of a subject which transcends nationality. That being so, they have done without knowing it a service to this world which is almost incalculable. How much more so when their interest is an interest which, if I may say so, has a positive potency for peace! Such is the interest of the Tambaram Conference.

There is one other thing that I venture to say to you. It is, that what is really the matter with this world is that it has got so small, and we are very uncomfortable because it is so small. We hear a lot of things which we ought not to hear about each other, and from each other, over the wireless, and we do not quite know how to manage this indecent publicity.

Further, the smallness of the world imposes on us duties which we have

not faced. We all learnt—some of us very many years ago—about the heptarchy in England and how it came to an end. I venture to say that the portion of Europe which excludes Russia is, for practical purposes, not bigger now than England was in the days of the heptarchy; and as our heptarchy came to an end, this European heptarchy—which is much more than a heptarchy—must come to an end. Our politicians have not found the way for achieving that result. They were extremely near it when they tried the League of Nations, but they failed over that because they were still too national. Now, if we do not look out, we shall have the ending of this European heptarchy in a great empire of force. That very uncomfortable prospect is due to the fact that we have got into this immense change which makes Europe so small and we have not fitted ourselves into it. We have not done the duty imposed upon us by the diminution of our world, by the bringing together of our world so terribly close.

These international conferences are doing that duty. The Tambaram Conference showed to those who met there that they were really much closer than they ever have been. There has never existed before anything like such a chance for such various people to encourage each other by the knowledge that they are all the convinced and hopeful followers of the one great Person. That chance has never come before, but it may come many times over and over again. In that lies the interest and the hope of that meeting.

Of course, that is not all that needs to be done. It is a great thing to gather together people into friendship, to talk together for a fortnight. But, if they are to effect anything, they must do it by the labour of personal contacts: the same old thing in the same old way, man to man, woman to woman, all through the world. I only say that in order that you may not think that I believe in talk, because I have talked far too much both this afternoon and on many other occasions. But I do believe in contacts. The contacts at Tambaram or any such meetings are the really precious and effective things; just as throughout the whole of life it is the personal contacts which bring people to the one Person worth knowing.

Sir Abdul Qadir: We have listened to an account of a very remarkable gathering, and I am very glad that our lecturer this afternoon, considering the objects and the scope of the work of this Association, has paid particular attention to the secular and international significance of that gathering.

He has told us some things about the representatives of Christianity from various parts of the world, who took part in the conference, but, very appropriately, he has told us much more about the representatives of the Indian Christians. I am very glad that his references to the work of Indian Christians, both for their own advancement and the advancement of their country, were so appreciative of all they have done. I have known many talented and able representatives of the Indian Christian community in my country, and I can thoroughly endorse what Mr. Paton has said about their ability and about the useful work that many of them are doing.

A great rôle which they can fill today in our country is this: that small as, comparatively speaking, this community is, yet it is a community which

stands for religion in these days of materialism. In that respect it can lend valuable support to the other communities in India—the Moslems, the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Parsees—particularly to those who believe that religion is a power for good and who want to oppose the rising tide of irreligion.

I am one of those who think that many of the troubles of the present day are due to the fact that most of the people who have got in their hands the control of war or peace are people who do not derive their ideals and their inspiration from religion, but are trying to destroy its power and to substitute other newly forged instruments in its place. The Indian Christian community still stands for religion, and has thus a useful purpose to serve.

We have been told that the Indian Christians are, proportionately, better advanced in education, and particularly in the education of women. I may add that they are doing very useful work in the sphere of education. We hear nowadays a great deal about the progress which the women of India are making in education, and we all want that. But we hear at the same time of the dearth of qualified women teachers. In many schools and colleges that have been opened in India it is this small community of Indian Christians which supplies a great many of the women teachers.

It may also be added that so far as the international aspect of the conference is concerned, I was very much interested in the observations of Bishop Palmer, whose speech has preceded mine, and I support the view which he has put forward with regard to international conferences, that their utility lies in the fact that they transcend "nationalism." Nationalism is a natural step from individualism. After the individual come family ties, town ties and provincial ties, advancing to the love of one's country or nation. But there is another, equally natural step further in advance of it, and that is internationalism; and those who stop short at "nationalism," or make it too narrow or too aggressive, are doing a disservice to the interests of humanity as a whole. Everything that can tend to keep alive the spirit of a common humanity in these days is valuable.

Before I conclude I note with satisfaction that our lecturer avoided the term "native churches" and used "younger churches" instead. He observed rightly that every country has its natives, but as the word had come to be used in a sense which is not generally liked and makes an artificial distinction between outsiders from another race or country who come to have a position of influence or control over the sons of the soil, it is helpful to avoid the use of it in the objectionable sense. I may point out, however, that he used another word which is very common, but the use of it as a distinction is open to a similar objection. He referred to "*white* commercial progress." I understand what he meant, but I wonder if commercial progress has really a complexion. It may be at one time made by people having a white complexion, and at another time by people with a brown or black complexion. It is arguable whether the brown people and the white are really so different from one another. It is again arguable whether blood or race deserves to be emphasized or kept as dividing marks if the interests of humanity or internationalism are to be properly served. I think from the latter point of view the less is the emphasis placed on colour by

those who support internationalism the better it will be for the success of that ideal. (Applause.)

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI: I am glad to have an opportunity of saying how tremendously interested I am in the paper which Mr. Paton has presented to this Association. He has given us a great deal to think about. Most of us here were not able to be present at the Tambaram Conference. Those of us who belong to India have heard of what that extraordinarily conceived meeting did, not only for the people who went to it, but throughout the country in the impression it made.

It is quite true, as has been said by one of the speakers, that too much emphasis has been laid upon nationality. That was one of the terrible legacies of the war. We emphasized nationality and we emphasized self-determination. Both those things may be good in themselves, but to emphasize them to the extent to which they have been, and perhaps needs had to be emphasized since the Great War, has injured us.

Tambaram, it seems to me, offered one antidote in both these respects. It offered unity, the unity of different races, under a flag which was not political. It offered an opportunity of combination, which made a suggestion to us in our international differences in India.

We have sad international differences in India just now, as everybody knows. There are those of us who wish we could rub out the differences of race and just gather under the term "Indian." We do not seem quite to be able to do that.

I recall an extraordinary meeting in Calcutta at my house many years ago, when Miss Mayo—whose name is anathema to some people, but who really did and does care for India—was travelling in India. She brought letters of introduction to me from friends in America and other parts of India. She wrote to me beforehand to say, "Please collect for me these people. I want to talk to them." I was a very busy person at the time, and her direction was very exacting. She was arriving in two days and wanted to see the leaders of every political party in Calcutta! I did happen to know them, they were friends of mine, and I wrote to them and said, "Will you come to tea to meet Miss Mayo the day after tomorrow?"

On the morrow in the morning, just as I was going to the High Court, Miss Mayo appeared on the doorstep and said, "I want to talk." I said, "I have to be at court, but come along and we can talk in the car." We did, and she said, "I want to speak to all these people. I want to take them one by one and ask them questions." I said, "I will be delighted if you will stay the night with me, but you won't be done in one night." She asked what I would suggest, and I replied, "After tea, suppose you throw a question into the group and let each person answer according to his mind. Would that not serve your purpose?"

She turned up in the afternoon and asked what question I would suggest. I said, "Well, you asked me a question this morning. It was: 'What would unite you in India?'" We had just had terrible riots in Calcutta, and that was what had suggested this to her, I expect. She did ask that question, and it was very interesting.

The Deputy President of the Assembly said: "Do you mean Hindus and Muslims? Nothing ever!" The Swarajist, old style, said: "Nothing will unite us unless we get complete independence." The Moderates sat on the fence. A young politician, I think, said one of the best things of all. He said: "We would be united even as Hindus and Muslims if we could intermarry." He meant, if we could forget the differences which divide us religiously and socially.

The last person who spoke said: "We should be united in India if we could love something outside ourselves better than ourselves." I think he had the true answer. Somebody asked, "Do you mean our country?" "Well," he replied, "it might be country. If we could love our country outside ourselves apart from our own ambitions and our own gain. I leave the answer to the individual. If we could love something outside ourselves better than ourselves that something would unite us." I think that that conference at Tambaram has shown that there is something outside ourselves better than ourselves which we can love and which can unite us.

We needed that demonstration inside the Christian Church as well as outside. I think it was most remarkable that the different expressions of opinion or of "language," if I may use that term, in the spiritual life should have come together at that meeting and have found something fundamental in common. I have heard non-Christians say that there were so many divisions amongst us in Christianity that they did not know to which division to go to find that in which we believed. Well, Tambaram has answered them. There was some one essential in which all those people believed; and it is good for us all alike that the conference was able to make that demonstration.

Secondly, I think it was a great thing to see self-determination, individuality, up against the background of internationalism which the conference presented. It is not always possible to realize that you can be individual and yet not aggressive. Tambaram showed us that a dignified self-respect and assertion of individual opinion was possible without a shadow of hostility and aggression. I would like to tell you a little story in this connection about a mission working in Bengal. Boys representing different churches all attended one school in a certain district. The headmaster was very proud of this, and, upon the inspector's visit to the school, he mentioned the fact to him, adding, "Stand up, boys representing the Baptist Mission," and so on, to show the diversity in unity. There was one mission the boys of which did not stand up. The headmaster said, "Boys of such-and-such a mission, stand up." The spokesman of the boys said, "We did not hear you call us, sir. We belong to the Church of India. We belong to no individual mission." You will agree, I think, that that illustrates self-determination and expression growing in India with unity and without aggression.

Finally, I give you the story of a little Bengali girl who was very keen to see an Englishwoman. She had never seen one. "Is she like a goddess or a giantess or a devil?" she asked. I said, "You will see. I am going to bring an Englishwoman to see your mother." She counted the days on

her fingers and was frightfully excited. My friend was a very Saxon-looking Englishwoman and very beautiful. But on the day of the visit the child, who was only six, would not come into the room. She was shy, and peeped through the venetian blinds on the verandah. After my friend had gone, I said, "Well, you have seen now. Like what is an Englishwoman —like a giantess or a goddess?" She looked very puzzled and said, "Why, she is so very like a woman!" That, I think, represents perhaps the greatest value of all our comings together for whatever purpose. We have to learn, before we can live at peace in the world, that the world over we are very like women and men and children.

The CHAIRMAN: Bishop Palmer truly said that when one has been to a big international conference it is very difficult to sort out one's impressions; and as one who was at that conference I want to express my gratitude to Mr. Paton for the picture he has given. I think he is quite right in the two words he used; the courage and hopefulness of the different delegates from many parts of the world was most remarkable.

Mr. PATON: I have not very much to say except to thank those who have spoken for the kindness of their remarks.

I was much interested in Miss Sorabji's reminiscences, and I do heartily agree with her that for all nations that challenge has to be faced, whether it is possible to get unity except in virtue of something which does transcend certainly oneself and, I think, in some sense humanity. That is a philosophical and religious question of great importance. I am personally convinced that there is no chance of the welding together of humanity in unity except in virtue of something outside humanity.

I apologize to my friend Sir Abdul Qadir for having used the word "white" as an attribute of commercial exploitation. I am willing to add many more colours; but actually I was referring to the South Pacific Islands. I was making the small point that there you have in rather a peculiar degree the juxtaposition of a very primitive island tribal culture and the exploitation by what is in this case white merchants.

The main thing that I feel is, with my friend Bishop Palmer and our Chairman, this sense of the importance of an international or ecumenical bond in relation to nationality. I would like to emphasize one point. There is some danger, not least among Christian people, of taking this matter too lightly, and of thinking that if you can just collect together lots of people of all kinds of colours, languages, and nationalities you have really done something. But you may have done nothing more than to collect a kind of zoo!

The thing which to me was so memorable and moving in the Tambaram meeting was that it did include a real sense of human tensions and the differences were not evaded. The Chinese and Japanese did to some extent agonize together. It is that kind of thing which enriches the fellowship and makes it of any significance.

Otherwise I do not think I should have any right to occupy your attention in talking about this meeting, because interesting "zoos" are collected

on many occasions in the modern world. But all of us there had the feeling that there was something creative which was let loose in the world in the Tambaram meeting. For me, I think, the key to it is the sense of a worldwide fellowship, united in something which is beyond humanity, and which holds within itself the pain and agony and division of the world and overcomes it.

Sir Malcolm Seton: We cannot allow Mr. Paton to go without a word of very hearty thanks to him for a most interesting lecture, and to you, my Lord, for your kindness in coming to preside over us.

I think the discussion all through has been of great interest, and all of us were deeply moved by the generous and sympathetic way in which Sir Abdul Qadir spoke. (Applause.)

THE ADEN CENTENARY

By Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

I had only a few days previously left the wintry and rain-soaked metropolis behind me in the Orient liner *Orcades* and already I was in sight of that strange contrast to our own island, Aden, the rainless and knowing only summer. There was one incident in connection with Aden which occurred during my tenure of the Governorship of Bombay which may call for mention here. At that time two independent companies wished to build a railway to Dhala entirely at their own cost. Such a railway would have made Dhala a health resort for the garrison in Aden, and might have saved the catastrophe when many young soldiers died of thirst in the latter stage of the war. Lord Morley turned down both propositions on the plea that he was not going to have another Somaliland disaster on his conscience. The circumstances were not at all analogous and his scruples were unnecessary.

It was a notable occasion that brought me back there last January: the centenary of that notable Imperial outpost. A hundred years have passed since Aden, which once received a visit from Marco Polo, was captured from the Arabs, thus marking the first addition to the Empire in the reign of Queen Victoria. As some recognition of Captain Haines's success in taking Aden and requital for the unfair treatment meted out to him, I telegraphed to Sir Roger Lumley to ask that flowers should be put on his grave in Bombay, and this was done.

During the past century the settlement of Aden has developed from a decayed and dusty township into a great port with a hinterland whose boundaries, extending on the west to the countries of the ancient realm of Sheba and on the north and east to the territory which in antiquity was known as Arabia Felix, comprise an area greater than that of the United Kingdom. And its history goes back and is referred to in Ezekiel. Its barren rocks have perhaps been the reason of its having been looked upon with some contempt, and been the most abused of the outposts of Empire. But this is difficult to justify. The climate is hot but healthy; the place is free of mosquitoes and a local press! Nor is the prospect unpleasing with the setting of the vast mountain range stretching from the Red Sea coast to the Indian Ocean, and Sham Shan prominent in the foreground. Besides, there are many distractions: golf, bathing, sea-fishing, yachting in the harbour; and there are other amenities: electric light, good water, satisfactory roads, and excellent fish from the sea and meat from Somaliland.

Anniversary celebrations have in more recent times had a

tendency to take a practical form. A recent example in India has been the Jubilee of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, whose recent death we all mourn. On that occasion His late Highness decreed that all the contributions to the festivities should be diverted to charitable objects. Aden followed this example. A local committee was appointed by the Governor, Sir Bernard Reilly, to devise the most worthy method of commemorating the centenary, and recommended that an endeavour should be made to realize two objects: (1) the establishment and equipment of a maternity and infant welfare clinic, and (2) the establishment of an adequate system of poor relief. I am happy to know that for both these important purposes sufficient financial support has been forthcoming not only locally but also from some of those who have served in Aden, or simply as passing travellers have enjoyed the hospitality of its sports grounds and the green shade of the Sheikh Othman gardens.

But to return to the ceremonies. These were simple in character and marked by the joyfulness and lively interest of every section of the public. The parade of the small garrison was carried through with precision. The Royal Navy, represented by the crews of two or three escort vessels, the Royal Indian Navy, the gunners, the personnel of the Air Squadron and the Aden Levies were all there, and, besides, the detachments of some of the States, and the newly established guards for service in the Protectorate. At any rate, if the parade was not numerically strong, the forces that took part in it were smart in appearance and in all their movements.

The actual programme of the celebrations had begun on Monday, January 16, and included cinema performances, the feeding of the poor, Hindu and Arabic plays, and aquatic sports. Thursday, January 19, was Centenary Day. After the morning parade there followed a display of the Royal Air Force Squadron. A remarkable feature of the entertainment on the evening of the following day were the Arab and Somali dances at the Tawella Tanks.

I should add that in the previous week there was a dance at Government House, where Sir Bernard Reilly entertained a large party of the Chiefs and representatives of all the communities domiciled in Aden. The Chiefs especially, in their gorgeous costumes, added to the brilliancy of the festivities. Many of them, including the Chief of Mokalla, had come to Aden with their picturesque retainers to attend the celebrations.

Soon afterwards I returned home on the S.S. *Otranto*, leaving just too early to be once again thrilled by the sight of the serrated crests of Little Aden being outlined in the intense blaze of sunset. I have brought back with me happy recollections of the friendliness of these loyal fellow-subjects of the Crown who are the heirs of an ancient and historic culture.

BROADCASTING IN INDIA

By Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge

It is well known that radio broadcasting has proved to be an instrument of tremendous moment in the fostering of general knowledge and interest in human affairs in the West. That in an Eastern country such as India, vast in extent, with inadequate means of communication and a population mainly agricultural, largely illiterate, ignorant, backward and poor, the benefit likely to accrue in the course of time from an efficient broadcasting service would be even greater than in Western countries, where the average standard of facilities and knowledge is high, surely is no less evident. Yet it would seem from recent events in India that the subject is not continuing to receive the consideration which it merits.

Within the past three years, a somewhat timid and consequently unsuccessful start made in the year 1927 by a commercial broadcasting organization, with transmitters of inadequate power at Bombay and Calcutta, has been transformed by All-India Radio, the Broadcasting Department of the Government of India, set up in 1935, well-planned services being broadcast from medium-wave stations established at Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Another such station at Trichinopoly, in Southern India, is completed and ready to be opened. A similar station at Dacca, in Eastern Bengal, also was to have been opened this year, while the installation of other medium-wave stations at Nagpur, Patna and Cuttack at a later date had been contemplated. Thus would the gaps in coverage of the greater part of India have been very substantially reduced, and, although additional broadcasting stations would still be needed to give all India a first-grade service, nevertheless a tolerably reliable service to the greater part of that country, during most of the year, would have been assured, in the various vernaculars appropriate to each area served.

But at this point optimism must needs give way to pessimism. A deficit in the budget of the Central Government for the present financial year necessitates stringent measures of economy, and capital expenditure upon objects of even major importance is to be curtailed. Such a course presumably is inevitable in the circumstances; but is not broadcasting for India a subject of first-class importance and therefore worthy of exemption from such measures of retrenchment, particularly having regard to the stress in present-

day world affairs, and to unrest prevalent in that country as the result of constitutional changes now taking place? If broadcasting is an instrument of pre-eminent importance for the dissemination of information in Western countries, in which other means of communication are so good, how much more important must it be in India, where such means are inadequate. Yet, in spite of these undeniable facts, broadcasting has not escaped the economy axe. It is understood that the Trichinopoly station, though completed, will not be opened until 1940 in order to save the not-so-considerable additional expense of manning it and providing the programmes. The Dacca station, though ordered and presumably paid for at least in part, is not to be erected until next year. It goes without saying that the additional stations contemplated for Nagpur, Patna and Cuttack, each the centre of an area of substantial importance, are not now likely to be proceeded with.

Possibly the view is held that, in addition to the medium-wave broadcasting stations to which reference has been made above, there are established at Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta powerful short-wave broadcasting stations, each of which normally is capable of covering all India, and which in an emergency can be relied upon for the dissemination of news of general interest. But in the first place it will hardly be practicable to broadcast from such stations in all the vernaculars necessary if the service is to be widely understood; in the second, the reception of short-wave transmissions (more particularly by pre-set village community receivers) presents considerably greater technical difficulties than is the case if the service is on medium wave; and in the third, the adaptability of these powerful short-wave transmitters for purposes of long-range inter-communication with stations overseas, might well lead to their use for broadcasting being discontinued altogether in a time of emergency. Consequently, it is to be hoped that some way may yet be found at least to proceed forthwith with the opening up for service of the medium-wave broadcasting stations at Trichinopoly and Dacca, and to resume the policy of further development of the system of medium-wave broadcasting in India as soon as may be found practicable. The basic fact is that India, with its great extent and multiplicity of languages, presents a problem for broadcasting adequately soluble only upon a medium-wave " regional " basis, a fact that has come to be generally recognized and accepted, and in all the circumstances it is greatly to be deplored that a well-conceived scheme of development upon such lines is now threatened with serious setback.

HONG KONG

By G. C. Moxon
(An Old Resident in the Colony.)

Spain, Czechoslovakia, Palestine, each in turn, have recently figured in large type as "news" for the Press of the world, and it now looks as though that far distant, unknown little British colony of Hong Kong was about to compete for the questionable honour of a place in the queue.

One hundred years ago Hong Kong (the "place of fragrant lagoons") was a barren rocky islet with a few Chinese fishermen pirates or pirate fishermen as its sole inhabitants. Ninety-six years ago Great Britain acquired this little island and its deep land-locked harbour as a *pied-à-terre* for her harassed traders—for whom Canton and Macao had become extremely "unhealthy" owing to the xenophobia of the Chinese. From that moment Hong Kong began to grow in size and in importance.

Today Hong Kong stands possessed of two fine modern cities—Victoria on the island and Kowloon, its opposite number, just across the narrow waters of its beautiful harbour. Universal electric light, huge rain water reservoirs, electric trams, a first-class bus service, magnificent roads, cinemas, dial telephone service extending to Canton (eighty miles distant), up-to-date hotels, a funicular railway to the cool heights of the Peak, and their residential garden city, great docks and wharves, and the terminus of a railway system that in a sane world would daily despatch a long train marked: Hankow, Moscow, London—all these factors contribute to create a modern, well-equipped city. The social amenities of this little colony also are not inconsiderable. Many clubs, social and sporting, cater for all creeds and classes in this miniature world where Briton and German, American and Frenchman, Parsee and Portuguese, Indian and Japanese, rub shoulders with the preponderating Chinese, and all jog along together with a minimum of friction. Banks of different nations provide finance for this great trade depôt; chief amongst them is that great British institution, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, whose recently erected sixteen storey, air-conditioned palace towers impressively over the business centre of the city of Victoria.

Across the harbour—connected by a frequent service of ferry boats designed to carry motor traffic—lay the docks, wharves, and aerodrome of Kowloon, and further on still, beyond a jagged mountain skyline amid the tumbling hills of old China, spread the "paddy" fields and market gardens, the grey, tree-girt little villages and the trim foreign-built bungalows of the "New territory."

This small buffer state of some hundred square miles is territory leased by the British from the Chinese, forming the Colony's hinterland and land frontier. It is prosperous and happy under British rule, and the switchback motor road which runs out to the golf links and steeplechase course of Fanling is so beautiful as to take away one's breath. It would vie with the Grand Corniche of the Côte d'Azur or any similar road in the world, with its charming views of blue, blue sea glimpsed at intervals through flowering trees and beyond the jade green of irrigated rice fields carpeting the valleys one thousand feet below.

Possibly of all British feats of colonization the conversion of this barren sea-girt isle into a great modern city in less than a century will ever rank as one of Britain's most marvellous achievements. The twin cities of Victoria and Kowloon shelter about one million inhabitants, practically all Chinese, who have flocked to this haven of security and justice under the Union Jack, and have so escaped the miseries and exactions of their own misgoverned country a few miles away.

So much for British Imperialism in the Far East!

Hong Kong also contains a white community of some seven thousand souls (exclusive of garrison), and perhaps four thousand to five thousand Macao Portuguese, Indians, and a few Japanese.

The colony is a remarkable example of how many races can be herded together in one confined area, and yet pull together with good will and friendship for the benefit of all concerned. Hong Kong has created a new technique in the conduct of affairs with a mixed and polyglot population, and, left to themselves, it is doubtful if a more contented law-abiding community could be found the world over.

The government of Hong Kong is really a benevolent autocracy with H.M. Representative, the Governor, acting as the autocrat—and how well it works! It is true there is a legislative assembly on which serve many unofficial members, both British and Chinese, whose criticisms and advice carry weight and receive

consideration—but all real executive power is vested in H.E. the Governor.

The armed land forces of the Crown consist of about five thousand men—infantry, gunners and sappers—some British, some Indian, and a volunteer defence force of about one thousand five hundred men of mixed arms and races drawn from the commercial ranks of the community. The police have a British "spearhead," but for the most part consist of Sikhs and Chinese, with a stiffening in abnormal times of volunteer "special" constables recruited, as are their military comrades, from the business houses. But the protection of the colony is really mainly in the hands of H.M. Navy.

Hong Kong harbour is long and narrow and easily defended at either end from naval attack, surface or submarine, but the city is terribly vulnerable to air assault—its crowded streets and tightly packed houses would render it a veritable shambles for the dense native population.

The colony boasts of one good aerodrome completed and another in the making, but its aerial defence is entirely in the care of the Navy, whose aircraft carriers often put their men and machines ashore when making a prolonged stay in the port.

Hong Kong's land frontier on the mainland is about twenty miles from the port, and that frontier would need an army to defend it successfully against determined attack.

Hong Kong could hardly feed herself for a day—all fresh food and vegetables come in daily from the mainland of China—but she can and does import large quantities of food from Australia and Canada and elsewhere, so, *given the command of the sea*, she could probably hold out militarily for quite a considerable time if she evacuated her civilian population. Today, in view of possible Japanese menace, the outlook for Hong Kong is not bright. How could she evacuate her civilian population of a million? Where to?

And, indeed, even assuming that such evacuation were possible, how could that small British garrison hold a twenty-mile front against one hundred thousand well-equipped Japanese troops? It is a difficult problem.

It is not, of course, to be assumed that a Japanese attack on Hong Kong itself is likely or even contemplated by Tokio—but it must rank as a possibility as the tide of war has swept past Hong Kong's entrance into China—right up to the doorstep.

Hong Kong today is a modern city with all the amenities that science and experience can provide, but whilst it makes a pleasant residence for the exiled Briton forced to make his living in the sub-tropics, its real *raison d'être* is trade—with a capital T.

Hong Kong's greatest asset is a landlocked harbour and deep water.

It is the only harbour in South China capable of accommodating ocean-going steamers, and as such must ever be essential to any Power trading in that region.

It has no rival in those waters—nor is there any possible rival save at prohibitive cost of creation.

Hong Kong has been blessed with those twin advantages—a sheltered harbour and deep water. It is the *only* natural harbour in all South China suitable as an entrepôt for ocean-borne trade. It serves a hinterland of about sixty million people—the most progressive and commercially apt people in all China, the inhabitants of the two great southern provinces of Kwantung and Kuangsi, with Canton as their chief city.

For many years the Chinese have endeavoured to create a port to rival Hong Kong but have always failed. Once or twice there have been shouts of success, but in the end it has always been found that there was some fly in the ointment. A rocky bottom, not enough shelter, water too shallow, prohibitive expense, always something has cropped up to enable Hong Kong to maintain her monopolistic claim to be The Port of South China.

Those old selectors in 1842 did their work well.

Of course this monopoly has given rise to many periods of tense difficulty with the Chinese Government, but compromise with her Customs officials (Hong Kong is practically a free port) and a sweet reasonableness have hitherto prevented any such difficulty from becoming too acute.

Hong Kong produces nothing except disintegrated granite from her boulder-strewn slopes; she is simply a port, a warehouse, a clearing house for most of the foreign trade of South China. She is not only a sea port, but a riverine port also, as the great west river connects her with Canton some eighty miles upstream. The owners of Hong Kong have a strangle-hold on all ocean-borne trade with South China, and that very fact makes her position the more enviable, and the more dangerous—a veritable Naboth's vineyard.

She could be isolated by means of tariff manipulation by a hos-

tile power commanding South China and so reduced to a small fortified outpost of the British Empire with no trade and no future, but even such isolation would not today give her enemy any real assistance in the conduct of ocean-borne traffic. The actual possession of Hong Kong is truly necessary for any power anxious to completely control the trade of South China.

The colony of Hong Kong is not merely an outpost of British trade in the Far East, but undoubtedly it is a symbol of the far-flung interests of the British Empire. It is a living and visible monument to those Britons who have carried the flag of our Empire into far distant realms in order to cover the world trade without which we must perish.

Its retention is of the utmost importance not only to the people of the British Isles, but also to those of Australia and New Zealand, and the course of the war of aggression now lapping at Hong Kong's very threshold must be watched with tense interest by all those who appreciate the significance of what is happening today. They may also say honestly and with all reverence, "Pray God that no 'incident' may cause Hong Kong to make history."

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THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE

By A. J. Arberry
(Assistant Librarian)

It may be supposed that the average tolerably well-informed person, were he asked what he supposed the contents of the library of a Whitehall Government office to be, would reply that he imagined it to consist of stack upon stack of official Blue-books and similar literature, of great practical value no doubt, but distinguished for their statistical rather than for their literary contents. As for the India Office Library, he might speculate that there the Blue-books would be even more voluminous and statistical, because you cannot administer an empire of getting on for four hundred million souls without accumulating a powerful battery of facts and figures. Now to be sure, all this is to be found on the shelves of the India Office Library, but this represents only a small fraction of the total contents of this library. The India Office Library possesses about 230,000 books, and 20,000 manuscripts, in very nearly all the languages of the world; it is impossible to estimate the value in money of this immense collection, because many of the items are absolutely unique. In short, the Library of the India Office is the largest and greatest specialist library of Oriental, and especially Indian, literature in the world, and as such enjoys in the *gelehrte Welt* a reputation equal to that of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

The story of how this great library came into existence, and grew to its present dimensions and importance, is told in a little book which was recently published at the India Office.* It is a remarkable, even a romantic story, and it is not the writer's intention in this article to do more than recapitulate the more important events of the library's history, and then briefly to indicate what purpose the library serves, how vitally important that purpose is, and to what degree the accomplishment of that purpose depends on the co-operation and sympathy of the general public.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the minds of Western men were being stirred by new and revolutionary ideas of freedom and equality, interest and curiosity about the lives and aspirations of the peoples of the East foreshadowed the origin of that intellectual movement which is now called Orientalism. This is not to say that the languages, religions, philosophies of the Orient had not engaged the attention of learned men before that

* *The Library of the India Office: A Historical Sketch.* By A. J. Arberry. With a foreword by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland.

time; but such interest as was taken in these exotic matters was largely, and in most cases wholly, inspired by an overwhelming conviction of the superiority of the Christian dispensation over every other form of religion, and an ambition to demonstrate the fact out of the very mouths of those infidels and idolaters. The spirit of the Crusades has been an unconscionably long time dying, and is in fact by no means wholly dead. But what was new, and startlingly new, in the movement now springing into activity and influence, was the belief that these Oriental studies were worth undertaking for their own sake: it was this belief that inspired a group of Englishmen, servants in India of the East India Company, to found in 1784 the first society whose conscious purpose was the furtherance of Oriental research—the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Among the list of the founder-members of that Society, we find the names of men who were the very pioneers of Orientalism, men like Sir William Jones, the great lawyer and universal linguist, and Charles Wilkins, the father of Sanskrit studies and the designer of the first Bengali and Sanskrit printing founts ever to be cut in India.

These beginnings of Oriental studies coincided with the rapid decline and eventual disappearance of the central authority of the Mogul rulers in India, and the equally rapid spread of the authority of the British arms and civil authority. At the very end of the century the directors of the East India Company in London, realizing the import and importance of these new studies, resolved to create a Repository for Oriental Writings as a special department of their offices in Leadenhall Street, and invited past and present servants to make generous contributions towards making this project a success. They appointed Charles Wilkins to take charge of this department, and he, following the policy which he had outlined in a memorandum on the subject, extended the plan to include a museum of historical antiquities and natural objects. Wilkins' appointment was announced early in 1801, and his initial salary was £200 per annum; but as time went on, and his duties became more varied and onerous, this paltry figure was increased by gradual increments to the remarkable total of £1,000 a year; and towards the end of his long life, the great contributions which he had made towards enhancing the reputation of his country as the home of Oriental studies were accorded the official recognition of a knighthood.

The first considerable benefaction which the repository received was the fine collection of manuscripts and papers which the Company's distinguished historiographer, Robert Orme, bequeathed to it in his will. Orme had been a strenuous advocate of the desirability of creating such a library, where scholars might have access to the raw materials for their researches which they could never

afford to collect for themselves, and it is therefore peculiarly appropriate that he should have been the first benefactor of the institution which he had striven to recommend. The brilliant victory of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, delivered into the hands of the army the notable collection of Oriental manuscripts which that ruler, and his father before him, had put together, mainly at the expense of defeated rivals; and the army authorities, instead of following the honoured precedent of selling the spoils of battle for the benefit of the triumphant soldiery, decided in a spirit of magnanimity to hand over these treasures to the Company's Governor-General, with the recommendation that they be divided between the Court of Directors and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This suggestion was eventually fully implemented, and so were laid the foundations of the great collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts which are now in the possession of the India Office in London, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. The Company's collections grew rapidly during the ensuing thirty years: to mention a few items, it was in this period that the library received the Mackenzie Collections, the Colebrooke Collection (of some 2,000 Sanskrit manuscripts), and the Collections of Warren Hastings and John Leyden, as well as the superb Johnson Collection of manuscripts and miniature paintings.

The growth of the collections of antiquities and natural objects was even more spectacular: in 1820 a curator was appointed to take entire charge of this branch of the department, and after Wilkins' death in 1836 the museum was separated from the library, and thereafter enjoyed a distinct existence, until the Company's affairs were wound up, and all its possessions passed by right of purchase to the Crown. The completion of the buildings of the India Office in King Charles Street brought the library and museum together again; but the accommodation available soon proved to be hopelessly inadequate, and eventually it was decided to disperse the museum.

One of the great landmarks in the library's history was the passing, in 1867, of the (Indian) Press and Registration of Books Act. Among the provisions of this Act is a clause requiring that a copy of every book registered in British India shall be sent to the Secretary of State for India in London. Consequently, the library, which had by then passed to the Crown, became vested with the nature of a copyright library for Indian publications. It soon became obvious that it was undesirable to preserve a copy of every book so registered, and authority was therefore accorded to the librarian to accept only a selection, to be made by himself by marking the quarterly catalogues of registered publications issued by the various provinces of British India. Printing in

India only began towards the end of the eighteenth century, and the output of books from that time until the middle of the nineteenth century was quite inconsiderable; the literatures of modern India can scarcely be said to have attained any degree of achievement until after the date of the passing of the Copyright Act. Thus it will be appreciated that the operation of this Act has enabled the India Office Library to put together a complete collection of all publications of any significance, whether in English or in any of the manifold languages of India, which have appeared in India during the past seventy years. To this must be added the books published in this and every other country, relating to India and Indian affairs in the broadest interpretation of that term, which have been purchased or presented since the library was founded; and from this bare statement of fact it will be seen how far short of actuality the average person's guess which we have adumbrated must be.

It is self-evident that this library, if it is to serve its purpose as a department of the India Office, must contain all materials necessary to a complete knowledge of the administration of India. There, of course, the inevitable Blue-books come in, but that is the merest fraction of the whole. To understand the development of the modern administration of India, it is necessary to be completely informed as to the past history of that country; therefore the library must possess materials as exhaustive as possible for the investigation of that history. These materials will naturally include manuscripts as well as books, and since India has been ruled by a succession of peoples, last among them in time the Mohammedan Moguls and the Christian East India Company, it follows that these manuscripts must include not only accounts of the country written by western travellers and traders, but also histories compiled in eastern languages by the command of the former Oriental rulers of India. The administration of a vast country like India necessitates a complete understanding of the lives and aspirations of the subject peoples; therefore it is indispensable that the library should provide a complete bibliography of the religions and cultures, including, of course, the literatures, of the Indian peoples. This bibliography again includes manuscript as well as printed materials: so we see how fully justified, as a department of State alone, the growth of the India Office Library has been.

But inasmuch as the researches of scholars were made a prime consideration by the directors of the Company when they founded the library, this aspect of the library's functions has never been neglected. The charge of the library has always been entrusted to a scholar of established reputation in Oriental studies, and the list of its librarians since its foundation is certainly impressive.

Wilkins was followed by Professor H. H. Wilson, who combined the office with the Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford. He was succeeded in 1860 by Professor J. R. Ballantyne, whose death in 1864 made room for an American, who had done worthy service to the British cause in India during the troubled period of the Mutiny, Professor Fitzedward Hall. Hall retired in 1869, and in his place a German, Reinhold Rost, was appointed. Rost's achievements in Oriental research are too well known to require emphasis. Rost's successor was Professor C. H. Tawney, a former Senior Classic and Fellow of Trinity College at Cambridge. After Tawney retired, the library enjoyed the long and exceedingly capable services of the *doyen* of living Indologists, Dr. F. W. Thomas, who only gave up its charge in order to fill the Chair which his predecessor Wilson had formerly occupied. Professor Thomas was followed by a scholar of no less distinction in Islamic studies, Professor C. A. Storey, to whose untiring devotion and administrative ability the library owes very much. He too was only called away from the library's care to occupy a post of the greatest distinction, the Sir Thomas Adams Chair of Arabic at Cambridge. He was succeeded by Dr. H. N. Randle, who has been Librarian since 1933. Two men have also served the library as Assistant Librarians without having attained the supreme charge of the department: Sir Thomas Arnold, who found the library a congenial home for five years at the threshold of his great career in India, and subsequently at the School of Oriental Studies, and Mr. A. G. Ellis, who came over from the British Museum and with his unrivalled knowledge of Oriental languages and bibliographies served the library for ten years until his retirement. This record is all the more remarkable for a country which commonly enjoys the unenviable reputation of underestimating the importance of scholarly research as an instrument of imperial policy.

Under the direction of these learned librarians, the institution has been placed at the disposal of scholars and learned institutions the world over. A spacious reading-room affords warm hospitality to students and researchers who come from all countries to work there; many friendships have been begun there, friendships which are all the more valuable because they represent contacts between learned and influential men of diverse nationalities. A liberal policy of loans enables workers who cannot come to London to read the library's books and manuscripts in their own studies and university libraries. It will perhaps be a striking illustration of the ramifications of this aspect of the library's activities to recall that not a few of the library's manuscripts spent the years of the Great War in the strong-rooms of libraries in enemy countries, to be safely returned when hostilities ceased. When it is

remembered that the British Museum, which possesses the only other comparable collection of Oriental books and manuscripts in this country, is prohibited by statute from lending its possessions even to other institutions, the service which the India Office Library renders to the cause of Oriental studies will be more justly appraised. It may not be superfluous to requote in this connection the words which the late Professor E. G. Browne wrote in the preface of a catalogue of certain of the library's Arabic and Persian manuscripts which he and Sir Denison Ross compiled: "In undertaking to complete his (E. D. Ross's) work, I was actuated by two strong motives, friendship for one of the most gifted and amiable of my fellow-workers, and gratitude to the most liberal and enlightened of English libraries. In nearly all civilized countries except England, manuscripts are freely lent (subject to reasonable precautions) by public libraries to native and foreign scholars, whereby research is not merely aided but rendered possible. The general practice of English libraries in refusing to lend their manuscripts not only impedes study and fetters innumerable useful enterprises, but would, but for the generosity and liberality of a few, at the head of which stands the India Office Library, inevitably result in the complete exclusion of British Orientalists from the privileges shared by their Continental colleagues. For this reason no Orientalist who has any adequate conception of his obligations and responsibilities would hesitate for a moment in rendering any service within his power to an institution to which he is so deeply indebted."

It should not be necessary, at this time in the world's history, to write an apologia for Oriental studies. A movement which has enjoyed the enthusiastic support of so many distinguished men of affairs and letters for so long, and which has contributed so much towards improving the relations between West and East, should enjoy a position of prestige and security in this country, above all other countries, because England is the fortunate possessor of so many important ties in the East. Yet it is a remarkable and deplorable fact that the Royal Asiatic Society, the oldest body in this country for the furtherance of Oriental studies, is now after a long and glorious history faced with a situation of such financial stringency, that it has been compelled to make successive economies in its activities, including the most regrettable step of cutting down the size of its journal; and this experience is by no means unique, as other bodies in this country with allied interests can well testify. It is a common complaint that the reason for this state of affairs is a lack of official patronage, and that it is up to the Treasury—that milch-cow which is apparently expected to give transfusion to every sickly institution which our more enlightened and despised Victorian ancestors founded for the

advancement of human knowledge. The plain and unpalatable truth is that these institutions are languishing, not for want of official recognition and sympathy, but because the private support and patronage of individual persons and bodies have greatly declined. Every learned society depends for its solvency in the first place on the numbers of its subscribing members, and the entire responsibility for decline, when decline occurs, lies with those members of the general public who ought to give their support, but do not. These remarks are, of course, irrelevant to the present subject, since the India Office Library is an institution which has indeed enjoyed the support and liberal benefactions of individual persons ever since its foundation—and it continues to enjoy these most welcome benefactions—but in its administration it draws, like all other public libraries and museums, upon official funds. This fact, then, should be a sufficient answer to those who allege a want of official interest in Oriental studies.

The modern Orientalist movement began, as we have seen, with the activities of a remarkable group of the servants of the East India Company in India, and from there spread to England, where its first concrete achievement was the foundation of the Repository for Oriental Writings in Leadenhall Street. From England the movement went over to the Continent: Napoleon gave it his powerful support; Goethe and Schopenhauer enshrined it in German literature and philosophy. As these studies progressed in Europe as well as in Asia, numerous foreign, and especially German, scholars enjoyed the abundant hospitality of the British administration in India to prosecute their studies and advance the cause to which they had dedicated their lives. By the efforts of these and other European teachers, the principles and methods of scientific research as practised in the West were taught to the native scholars of India and other eastern countries, and in due course a tradition of exact scholarship was established in those countries in which the Oriental cultures were born. The existence of centres of learning in European countries attracted increasing numbers of students from the Orient, a large proportion of whom prosecuted in the West the study of their own precious inheritance. The India Office Library has played, and continues to play, a leading part in this process, whereby the West seeks in some measure to repay the debt which it owes to the East. Still more, such institutions as this library facilitate, and in fact alone make possible, the study in this country of Eastern civilizations and cultures, and so help in large measure to eliminate those barriers of prejudice and ignorance which have stood in the way of complete mutual understanding and co-operation between West and East. The part which culture plays in winning respect and recognition for a people's just ideals and

aspirations is now universally recognized, and this country, though late to appreciate its full significance, is now slowly making amends by endeavouring through the medium of libraries and institutions in other countries to put before the intelligent world the British point of view. For India this step has long since been taken: the India Office Library, with its vast accumulation of materials relating to Indian history, civilization and culture, affords for all who care to read abundant instruction in what the Indian thinks, what he believes, and what he desires and hopes to achieve. Here is no censorship of rightful aims, no suppression of historical facts; here the West is able to study and understand the peoples of India, and upon the degree in which that understanding grows into sympathy and brotherhood depends in the last resort the ultimate destiny of the relations of Europe and India.

Today, over a large part of the world's surface, we see the shutters being put up, the light of liberty and learning being extinguished. Freedom of intellect and spirit is the very life-blood of democracy, as we in this country understand and treasure it; and democracy in its ideal form stops not short of national frontiers, but extends the hand of fraternal greeting to the uttermost parts of the world. As the tribe grew into the city-state, and the city-state into the nation, so it is reasonable to suppose that, by a further stage of natural evolution—and of course evolution in its history has known many set-backs, but no defeat and frustration—the nation must in time to come grow into the world-state. Orientalism is a considerable contributory factor in the course of this evolution, for there is no more deeply rooted antipathy than the age-old hostility between West and East, which Kipling's facile cliché has made all too familiar to English ears. Orientalism proves that this antipathy is founded on no more firm a foundation than ignorance, and that full and intelligent understanding points the way to the annihilation of that oldest of human frailties. Upon so large a background, the Library of the India Office plays its part in the drama of human history.



LINGAMPALLY SCHEME: VIEW SHOWING IMPROVEMENTS.

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MOGHALPURA SCHEME : VIEW OF ROAD NEAR THE DOME.

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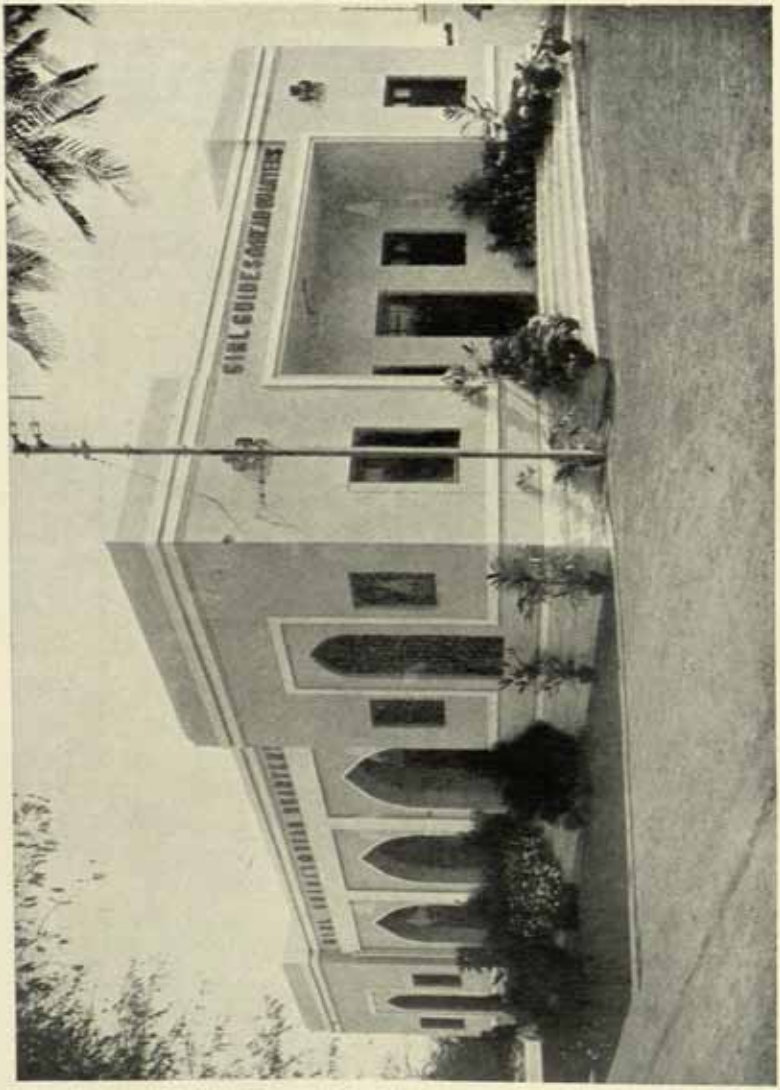
PATHERGATTY SCHEME : A VIEW SHOWING MULGIES NEARING COMPLETION AT PATHERGATTY.

Public Health in Hyderabad.

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PLATE C.

PLATE D.



HYDERABAD GIRL GUIDES HEADQUARTERS.

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Public Health in Hyderabad.

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THE STATE OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH IN HYDERABAD

By B. S. Townroe

"There is no such thing as a disease; there is only a sick person." This old aphorism is true of public health in all parts of the world, whether in Hyderabad or in Great Britain.

The Annual Report of the Medical and Public Health Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad's Government for the year 1345 Fasli (1935-36), and the report on the progress of the Hyderabad City Improvement Board for the year 1346 Fasli, have recently been published. They are admirably produced documents, and prove what wise administration and goodwill are accomplishing in the improvement of the public health of Hyderabad.

It is interesting to compare these reports with the reports made by Sir Arthur MacNalty, the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health for England and Wales. Only in the reign of Queen Victoria was a central health authority set up in Great Britain. This first was a General Board of Health, then a Department of the Privy Council, then the Local Government Board, and finally, after the war, blossomed out into the Ministry of Health. Four English novelists, Charles Dickens, in *Oliver Twist*, on the abuses of the Poor Law; in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, on the dirt and ignorance of the midwives or "Sarey Gamps," in *Bleak House*, on slum property; Lord Beaconsfield in *Sybil*, describing child slavery in the mines; Charles Kingsley in *Alton Locke*, on the sweated tuberculous tailors, and in *Two Years Ago* on the ravages of cholera; and Mrs. Gaskell in *Mary Barton* and *North and South* on working-class poverty, aroused the public conscience. The nation welcomed in 1875 the Magna Charta of British public health. This confirmed the compulsory appointment of medical officers of health and secured the drainage of houses, the sewerage of towns, the scavenging of streets, the removal of house refuse, and the isolation of infectious persons. After that there were many progressive reforms, achieved by state and municipal organizations with the support of voluntary health organizations, and finally in 1919 was established the Ministry of Health, "the outward expression of Parliamentary decision that the national health is of supreme and vital importance."

In Hyderabad the impulse to reform was due not so much to the public demand as to the wisdom, foresight and generosity of

His Exalted Highness. Every report issued for years past bears witness to his direct influence on his people's welfare during the twenty-five years of his reign. The exhibition held in order to celebrate his Silver Jubilee showed the progress made in housing, slum clearance, road construction and town planning, owing largely to his encouragement. The City of Hyderabad, founded in the year 1592, was originally well laid out with the Char Minar as its civic centre, but streets built later were narrow, crooked and unpaved, and many houses were erected with mud walls. Many slum clearances have taken place in recent years. It is worth noting, however, that the problems which are being so successfully and courageously solved on the inspiration of the Nizam, are far simpler than those which face, for example, the London County Council. The average density of population in the city of Hyderabad is 8,761 persons to the square mile, while in the borough of Shoreditch, close to the City of London and the capital of the Empire, there are nearly 100,000 persons congested in one square mile.

Hyderabad has also been particularly fortunate in possessing a statesman of exceptional ability, knowledge and enlightenment in Sir Akbar Hydari, who is well known in Great Britain, especially since his leadership of delegations to the Round Table conferences and to the Joint Select Committee. The poet king of Hyderabad, who though he is reputed to be the richest man in the world, lives with almost Spartan frugality, and who insisted that the funds raised to celebrate his Silver Jubilee should be devoted to philanthropic and public utility, has been nobly supported by his chief officials in his social reforms.

The report of the Nizam's Public Health Department is a fascinating document to any student who appreciates that mankind is a collection of individuals, each with his own reactions and susceptibilities. Because of this there can be no mass treatment of patients. As stated above, "there is only a sick person," and to heal this person, in the words of Sir Arthur MacNalty, "the skill and experience of the physician, the surgeon, the obstetrician, the epidemiologist, the architect, the engineer, the lawyer, the statistician, the sociologist, the veterinary surgeon and the administrator have all been assembled to constitute the science of public health which is thus a compendium of specialized knowledge."

Hospitals

In Hyderabad specialized knowledge is being applied with undoubted success to varied patients. The medical staff consists of over 300 surgeons. Women civil surgeons have been appointed and the Hyderabad Nursing Service reorganized. During the

year under review the attendance of patients in all hospitals and dispensaries increased by over 165,000. The daily average of patients was 19,378 as compared with 17,659 in the preceding year. The average daily attendance of in-patients increased from 1393 to 1498. This increasing popularity of the hospital is a sign that the efficient management is appreciated. In order to keep the staff in close touch with advances in surgical knowledge and technique in Europe, an experienced surgeon from Great Britain has been engaged for the Osmania Hospital. In that hospital there are now specialists in ear, nose and throat diseases, in skin and venereal diseases, and also ophthalmic and dental surgeons. The women doctors and the purdah arrangements made at the dispensaries have proved to work very satisfactorily.

Far-reaching plans are being made for the future of the Hyderabad Medical Service. Post-graduate training is now provided at the Osmania Hospital. Batches of medical officers are sent every year to the leper home and hospital at Dichpalli for a course of instruction in the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy. The standard of teaching and examination here is controlled by the Medical Committee of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, and is similar to that given in the leprosy course at the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta. Medical officers and their subordinates are also trained in anti-plague and anti-malarial work. Special medical help is given in the villages, that are remote from Government dispensaries, by subsidized practitioners.

There are in Hyderabad, as in India generally, health problems almost unknown in Great Britain. For example, 958 patients were treated because they had been bitten by dogs, jackals or other animals. The report includes "man" as a biting animal, and seven of the patients given anti-rabic treatment were actually bitten by men.

Plague

Plague, too, is fortunately unknown in Great Britain, whereas in Hyderabad during the year under review there were two epidemics which led to over 200 deaths. Each year in the latter part of the monsoon plague is imported into Hyderabad from outside, and it is admitted that at a time of moist climate with a mean temperature under 80 degrees F. conditions are favourable for its rapid spread. A large rat population moving among people, who live in many cases in dirty, dark and badly ventilated houses, and who foolishly leave exposed an unlimited supply of food, spread plague. This is primarily a rat disease. Accordingly, there has been a vigorous campaign against rats, which convey infection to human beings by rat fleas. It is pointed out that practically the only method by which plague infection is con-

veyed from place to place is by infected fleas carried by people in their bedding and belongings.

For the last eight years there have been intensive preventive measures, including anti-plague inoculation, persistent rat destruction, complete disinfection of each house believed to be infected, the discouragement of migration from infected areas, and, of course, treatment of plague patients in the isolation hospital.

The City Improvement Board up to the limits of their resources have cleared slums which harbour rats, and replaced them by blocks of model houses. An illustration shows some of the new dwellings erected as part of the Lingampally scheme (plate A). It is encouraging to note that not a single case of indigenous plague has occurred in any one of these well-built houses, which are let out on rent. Unfortunately they are not always occupied by the slum population or the most necessitous, and in consequence the poorest part of the population increasingly occupy insanitary huts or move to new slum areas just outside the city. The plague department are now suggesting that it would be advisable to sell the model houses as rapidly as possible, and to use the proceeds of the sales to rehouse the displaced population from slums more and more in well-constructed cheap dwellings let at very low rents. A similar problem of dealing with the poorest, most ignorant and often mentally deficient families is giving grave concern today to the municipalities of London, Leeds, Glasgow, Paris, and other European cities. In fact, considering the magnitude of their difficulties, the record of the city of Hyderabad is one of which the Nizam and his officers have good reason to be proud. In the early part of his reign yearly epidemics of plague were responsible for as many as 15,000 deaths in a year. Since drastic and resolute measures have been taken the number of deaths from plague has dropped from 1,100 in the year 1932-33 to 193 in the year under review.

This marked reduction of deaths has done much to persuade the public of the virtue of anti-plague measures, and the opposition experienced previously is gradually giving way to co-operation. In one district the local people from fatalism or mere obstruction concealed rat pest and human cases of plague, and objected to disinfection and inoculation. As a result of such stupidity plague was responsible for thirty-eight deaths in this one locality alone.

In view of the present agitation in Great Britain for camps to be erected into which children should be removed from areas threatened by air raids it is interesting to note that in Hyderabad health camps have been set up in order to assist evacuation of areas infected by plague. There are now fourteen Government health camps with accommodation for 16,000 people.

City Improvements

The area of Hyderabad excluding Berar is 82,000 square miles, and the population is 14½ million, or about double the population in the London area supplied by the Metropolitan Water Board. The general sanitary condition for the State of Hyderabad has been greatly improved in recent years, especially in the larger towns, where a pure water supply, efficient surface drainage, model markets and slaughter-houses have been provided. All new buildings constructed in the towns are carefully scrutinized in accordance with the building regulations. All town planning schemes are sent to the Public Health Department for technical opinion and advice. The City Improvement Board have done wonderful work in slum clearance, the construction and improvement of traffic roads, and in housing. An illustration (plate B) gives some idea of what has been done to improve, for example, the Moghalpura district. In another area of about sixty acres there were 848 houses packed together, with mud walls and practically no flooring, and reached by lanes so narrow that two carriages could hardly pass abreast. The area has been acquired and developed and roads and new houses have been built. This is typical of many schemes of improvements that are being pressed ahead.

Among other public works carried out by the City Improvement Board has been the Park of about sixteen acres laid out on the north bank of the river. The floods of 1908 left the river banks in an appalling condition, and today the banks are beautiful with gardens and boulevards. The City Improvement Board has constructed infant welfare centres, children's parks fitted with appliances for play, and also bathrooms used by women of the depressed class. The general wants of middle-class people have not been overlooked, for the suburbs have been developed by roads and drains and controlled by town planning.

In order to encourage the economic growth of the community the needs of the merchants have been met. Pathergatti, the trade centre of the city, has been reconstructed with imposing shops and arcades. An illustration (plate C) shows one of the arcades nearing completion. The widening and the dust-proofing of the main road through the Chaderghat area has greatly encouraged business, and has led to the establishment of a valuable shopping centre. Those who suffer from congestion of roads in England must envy the residents of Hyderabad, who have one road leading from the grain market to the railway station, where fast traffic is separated from slow. The public gardens also possess an attraction not to be found in Great Britain in the form of runs provided for lions and tigers.

In the address presented to the Nizam on his Silver Jubilee by the President of the City Improvement Board, it was stated that the Board, as builders, have been of great assistance to other departments and that their work has resulted "in the general improvement of the social, moral and physical condition of the citizens."

Unsolved Problems

One of the problems still unsolved in Hyderabad City was drainage, which is imperfect, and depends too much on a surface drainage system. The public are realizing more fully the advantages of the sewage system, but owing to the scarcity of the water supply, the sanction of new connections with private houses is necessarily slow. At times the existing storm water drains have been found choked, and this has been bad for the public health of the capital city. A scheme to remedy the insanitary condition of the river Moosi and to construct more storm water drains has now been approved by the Nizam.

Another problem causing anxiety is the water supply, which is of very good quality, but which is no longer sufficient for the rapidly growing needs of the city. The report states that an additional supply and new filters are under consideration. It also refers to the very interesting and efficient water supply created in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzib about 250 years ago, which has now been opened, thoroughly repaired and cleared of silt.

Water supply has close relation to malaria. For example, since the opening of the Nizamsagar irrigation system it has been noted that there has been a gradual increase of malaria. This is due to the fact that the canal with its tributaries has given an excess of water to the fields and thus has provided innumerable breeding grounds favourable for mosquitoes. A preliminary survey indicates that the rice lands, particularly those found in the villages, are far more dangerous than the areas devoted to sugar cane. Experience is showing that it is not necessary to abolish all breeding grounds of mosquitoes, but that the permanent clearing of waterways and stocking rivers with larvicidal fish are useful measures. The prevalence of malaria is serious, and even the careful house to house distribution of plasmoquin has caused little reduction in its incidence. According to the report, the conditions and causes underlying the prevalence of malaria differ in various areas and no one anti-malaria measure can be held to be suitable for all.

Deaths

The chief causes of death in Hyderabad are cholera, with over 11,000 deaths, smallpox, plague, and fevers of different kinds, while in England the five principal certified causes of death at all

ages are diseases of the heart, cancer, bronchitis and pneumonia, diseases of the nervous system, and all forms of tuberculosis. As has been shown above, there is now in progress a vigorous campaign against plague and the Health Department are also doing their best to stop the spread of cholera. It has been found that the attendance of people from infected villages at religious festivals, particularly if no advance information is given, and consequently the usual preventive measures are not taken, has led to the pollution of wells, rivers and canals over a wide area. One of the most effective precautions has been to dissolve fixed quantities of copper sulphate in a stream above and below an infected village, at the same time treating riverside collections of water with permanganate of potash. During the year under review fairs and festivals were rigorously controlled. Where it was possible to exercise strict supervision there was no outbreak of epidemic disease. An example of how health can be preserved by proper precautions is the good health of the troops who carried out manœuvres and attended practice camps at various centres.

Child Welfare

An important part of the work of the Health Department is the medical examination of school children. A proportion of 17 per cent. among the boys and 8 per cent. among the girls suffer from malnutrition; and other abnormalities frequently found are enlarged tonsils and adenoids, defective vision, nasal troubles, skin diseases, and much disease of the teeth and gums. The report deals frankly with the unsatisfactory results discovered by medical examination and states:

"Many scholars show no enthusiasm for physical exercise. It is hoped that steps will be taken to encourage on a wide scale regulated physical exercise, and to organize games among the pupils. School buildings in most places are unsatisfactory, being small and overcrowded. Many schools are housed in rented and unsuitable buildings. Nutrition is an important matter which needs consideration of the Educational Authority."

It is impossible to read through the report without realizing how much more difficult it must be to establish efficient health measures in the scattered rural districts of Hyderabad than in the capital. The methods advocated to ensure the co-operation of the people in country districts include example, persuasion and propaganda. A cinema van in charge of an assistant surgeon has toured through a number of villages. The surgeon treats the sick and gives lectures in the local language on such health subjects as plague, cholera, malaria and rural uplift. The cinema films and magic lantern slides are an attraction, and instruction is given in four

languages, Urdu, Telugu, Marathi, and Kanarese. It is found that these lectures in the local vernacular enable people to grasp the significance of better sanitation and cleanliness. The main object in this work of rural reconstruction is to improve the general conditions and health of the masses and to stop the spread of epidemics. Improvement is evident, and a committee is to be set up which will give special attention to town planning, the improvement of wells and manure pits, village drainage and anti-plague and anti-malaria measures.

A number of girls from high schools have already been trained in home nursing. Another sign of progress is the spread of the Girl Guide movement. There has now been in occupation for nearly two years a Girl Guides headquarters (plate D), which was carried out by the City Improvement Board at the request of Mrs. Crofton, the State Commissioner of the Girl Guides Association of Hyderabad State. The increased knowledge among girls and women of domestic duties, mothercraft, maternity and child welfare, are all assisting in promoting cleanliness and good habits among the people, both in town and village.

In spreading more enlightenment among women and in overcoming racial and caste prejudices inherited from the past, the beautiful and wise Princess of Berar has been the leader. One example of the progress made is in the reduction of deaths from smallpox, a loathsome disease which through the centuries has killed, or at any rate disfigured for life, many thousands of women. The report contains details of a very remarkable reduction in the number of deaths from smallpox, from 8825 to 1166. To reduce the number of deaths by approximately seven-eighths is indeed an achievement proving the efficiency of the Nizam's Health Department. These figures, of course, seem very high as compared with England, where in the same year only one case of smallpox was reported, but it is interesting to note that in both countries one of the obstacles to completely sweeping out smallpox is the prejudice against vaccination.

The Hyderabad report states:

"Not until the disease has had its toll do the public realize the importance of vaccination. Even though vaccination is compulsory, people do not realize that unprotected children are a source of danger to the community. Many out of sheer ignorance do not take the initiative to insist that their children should be fully protected by timely vaccination."

Vaccine lymph is produced locally, but it is found difficult to eliminate contaminating organisms. Precautions are taken to ensure that the residue of bacterial contents is harmless, and experiments are in progress in order to make sure that a vaccine virus free of all bacteria is available.

All this varied work places heavy responsibilities upon the staff. According to the Director of the Medical and Public Health Department, officers realize the enormous importance and value of their public health duties. Special tributes are given to Lieut.-Colonel Mohamed Ashruff, the Deputy Director, who recently retired; to Dr. C. F. Chenoy, who has been promoted to take his place; to Dr. Mohamed Farooq for his work at the chemical and bacteriological laboratory, and to Miss Stockton, the theatre sister at the Osmania Hospital. It is further stated that Hyderabad city owes its present freedom from serious disease and the very low death-rate to the untiring and skilful work of Captain Ahluwlia, the Special Plague Officer, and Dr. M. M. Siddiq, the Chief Malaria Officer.

No one can study these reports without being impressed by the variety of work now being carried out in the State of Hyderabad. Special care is given to conditions in the many mills and factories, under factory legislation, which bears a family likeness to the Factory Acts administered in England by the Home Office. In Hyderabad, surgeons and medical officers under the orders of the Government examine and certify all labourers employed in factories. These are inspected and all defects noted are recorded, not only to the Public Health departments, but also to the factory owners and to the Inspector of Factories. Similarly there is constant inspection of the sanitary condition of the prisons at Hyderabad, Warangal, and Gulbarga, where the general health of the prisoners is good.

The Future

The Department realizes, however, that there is still much to be done in all directions in the future, and especially in the country. The proverbial hospitality of the East and strong family connections make it extraordinarily difficult to stop the spread of cholera and plague due to the migration of people from infected areas. Some of the worst offenders are among influential people who strongly resent interference. The report emphasizes that the rural areas cannot be freed from plague until the villages refuse to entertain friends and relatives from infected areas. There is, however, considerable improvement in the ready evacuation of infected houses and the use of camps. Over 200,000 people accepted inoculation, though this is often avoided owing to religious scruples.

In short, ignorance and prejudice handicap the efforts of the public health staffs, just as in Victorian days many objections were raised to any interference with the freedom of the individual involved in Lord Beaconsfield's Act of 1875. Hyderabad, however, may well take encouragement from the English example. The great Sanitary Code of 1875 was based on medical research.

Owing to the successful results of the sanitary measures taken, water-borne diseases in Great Britain have become negligible. Cholera has been abolished and typhoid fever is comparatively rare. Typhus, the deadly fever which spread from the prisoner in the dock to the judge on the bench, has been stamped out by personal cleanliness and the reduction of overcrowding. Four times in the last century England suffered from epidemics of Asiatic cholera, and a fifth was only prevented in 1871, when the disease was raging in Russia and the Baltic ports, by special precautions taken by the health authorities. There is no reason why the carefully thought out and scientific measures now being put into force in Hyderabad, provided the people themselves learn to co-operate, may not equally limit the ravages of cholera and plague.

Malaria, too, which caused much suffering and loss in Hyderabad, may also in time be checked, if not altogether abolished. Valuable research work is now being carried out at the malaria laboratory at Horton in England under the auspices of the League of Nations, and in conjunction with the malaria laboratories in Roumania. In England workers from many parts of the world, from Belgian Congo, Tanganyika, and other places where malaria is prevalent, are studying the problem. In recent years there have been important additions to our knowledge of the biology of certain species of plasmodium and of the process of immunization of malaria. Field investigations are now being carried out in Roumania into the longevity of the mosquito as an important factor in determining its potentialities as a carrier of malaria. We may yet hope that the laboratory at Horton will bring fresh hope to the many thousands of suffers from malaria in Hyderabad.

Neither in Hyderabad nor in England (owing to the present heavy drain on national expenditure) is it possible to proceed with the development of the health services as rapidly as many would wish, but His Exalted Highness the Nizam may well feel gratified at the progressive advance in public health which he has seen during his twenty-seven years' reign. Under him the field of activities has been surveyed; medical knowledge from all parts of the world has been studied and passed on to students of his own race; and the new preventive health services are moving steadily forward. We may say of Hyderabad, as Sir Arthur MacNalty reported to the Minister of Health in a review of the progress made in national health and medicine in Great Britain in the hundred years that elapsed between the Coronation of Queen Victoria and that of King George VI.: "So much has been gained; so much health, vitality and happiness have replaced destitution, ignorance and despair."

MALARIA AND QUININE IN THE EAST*

By A. S. Haynes, C.M.G.

(Malayan Civil Service, retired. Chairman of the Commission on Rural Hygiene which toured Asia in 1936 preparatory to the Inter-governmental Conference in Java in 1937.)

"Malaria kills more people and does more damage to physical, social and economic welfare in rural portions of Far-Eastern countries than any other disease." "It is a health and social problem; it must be attacked simultaneously from both these angles."

I would ask you to keep in mind all the time these two quotations from experts in fighting malaria: they form a proper background. Another aspect of the background will be a brief survey of some countries concerned, in the form of notes taken from the official reports prepared by the various Governments for the Java Conference.

Let us begin with *China* and a population of some 480 million. China furnishes the first known description of malaria in "The Internal Classic" of about 2600 B.C. Three demons are at work—one with a bucket of cold water to give chills, another with a stove to set up a fever and the third with a hammer to produce headache.

In 1692, however, the Emperor K'ang Hsi was cured of tertian ague by cinchona bark administered by Jesuit fathers. In recent times the use of quinine has been a factor in establishing the merits of modern medicine.

In China malaria is a rural problem; 95 per cent. of it is in rural districts. Rice-fields figure prominently; and it has been found, as in Java, that a periodical draining off of their water is a useful measure. Some quinine is reported to be distributed free, but the supply is insufficient and expensive.

India embraces a vast area and a population of some 350 million, 90 per cent. of which is agricultural. In the opinion of Lt.-Col. Covell, Director of the Malaria Survey of India, it is not feasible to control malaria throughout the villages by any known method. So efforts are directed mainly to providing cheap treatment for the sick, a policy of amelioration rather than control. There is free distribution of quinine in selected areas. The ideal method, and possibly the only one with a real chance of success, would be one which would reduce malaria and at the same time improve the agricultural condition of the soil.

I feel I must single out for special mention the existence in

* An address delivered to the Indian Village Welfare Association in London on December 7, 1938. Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, C.I.E., late Director-General, I.M.S., was in the Chair.

Bengal of 2,120 Co-operative Anti-Malarial Societies among 84,000 malaria-stricken villages (figures for 1936), aiming at the improvement of health and agriculture.

We hear perhaps too much of the apathy of the Indian peasant and too little of remarkable instances like this, where they co-operate in large numbers to help themselves. Appreciation of such efforts must have an encouraging effect.

In *French Indo-China* malaria is responsible for the largest number of hospital cases and of deaths (except by cholera). It has the gravest economic and social consequences; for instance, it reduces the possibility of economic improvement and development by transferring people—*e.g.*, the Annamites, from over-populated deltas to central districts.

A large sum out of the loan budget covering several financial years is provided for anti-malarial measures.

Here again quinine is the chief remedy. Prophylaxis has given good results when applied to communities in the field: "It has been found to reduce the daily sick-list by one-fifth to one-third, and, when efficiently carried out, invariably reduces the death-rate by half or even, where the disease is hyperendemic, by two-thirds." To achieve lasting results in Indo-China treatment (quinine, atebrin or plasmoquine) over the whole year is required. That is obviously too costly. Also what effect would such protracted treatment have on the human organism?

The *Siam* Report says: "This disease presents by far the most serious problem in Siam, both from the health and the economic points of view." Plans are being made for the control of malaria, but funds and staff are lacking. So far the present work is mostly curative. Quinine is generally accepted by the public, but the cost is beyond the means of the population; the Department of Public Health sells some at less than cost, and gives some free to those who can pay nothing.

The *Philippines* present the same sort of picture. Naturalistic or biological control measures are a feature in poor rural communities.

During my short time there the people appeared to me stronger and better nourished than in some of the other countries.

The *Netherlands Indies* Report was particularly detailed and strikingly interesting. "The most important community disease in the Netherlands Indies is malaria . . . no other disease undermines, in the long run, the health of the people so intensively or causes so much morbidity and mortality." A Central Malaria Bureau has been founded as a sub-division of the Public Health Service, and is in contact with the Division of Sanitary Works. It trains malaria *mantris* (assistants), who help in malaria investigations.

The stories of the Tjihea Plain and of the fishponds are worth recording briefly. In the former area of 13,800 acres one million guilders had been spent on irrigation. But sufficient attention had not been paid to drainage, there was a rapid succession of crops and the ground was never turned over to dry. Malaria (*A. aconitus*) became so bad that people deserted and the rice-fields were abandoned. Then in 1919, on the advice of Mangkoewinoto: (*a*) the rice-fields were completely dried out; (*b*) the rice-fields were all planted at the same time; (*c*) supply and drainage canals were properly maintained; and (*d*) there was better drainage of surplus water. Also a Government agricultural centre was set up for the instruction of the people and for control. Success was complete. Good husbandry coincides with malaria prevention.

The salt-water fishponds in Java and Madura occupy over 171,000 acres. The mosquito (*A. ludlowi var. sundaica*) breeds between the long-fibred floating algæ, where it is safe from the small larvivorous fish, *Haplochilus panchax*. Now, by drying the ponds out once a month, the algæ are killed and the small fish can do their work, living during the drying of the pond in a deep-water ditch dug round the margin of the pond. The fishpond industry in Java is very valuable; it supplies the *bandeng* fish, well-known and in much demand throughout the island. The Dutch have proved, by experimental exploitation of salt-water fishponds on hygienic lines, that there are very large profits on working capital. An estimate of treating the whole coastal zone of Java on these lines amounts to 5,600,000 guilders. I gather that the Government would buy up the fishponds and then rent them out. In one particular area the Government took over some ponds for demonstration purposes. The good stock of fish yielded aroused again the people's interest in their own ponds, already partially abandoned through malaria; and they contributed in money and in free village labour to carry out the improvements. The full story of this successful work is worth reading.

I have singled out the Tjihea plain and the fishponds for special mention for a reason which I will refer to later.

It is the opinion of the Dutch authorities that, generally speaking, in controlling malaria in rural districts the biological methods must come first. It is especially necessary to use biological methods which are not costly. "It is in this direction that the anti-malaria service has to look for the solution of malaria problems in rural districts."

Ceylon. Only few will not have heard of the terrible malaria outbreak of 1934-35, with its 100,000 deaths.

Malaya is a small country the size of England without Wales. The first estates were on the flat coastal plain, where there were

many mosquitoes but few malaria carriers and therefore little malaria. The advent of rubber caused great demand for land, and planters pushed their way in from the coast to foothills, seepages and malaria. There were appalling death-rates from malaria, the result of ignorance. Two things saved the rubber estates in those early days: the anti-malarial works of Sir Malcolm Watson and others and the high price of rubber, which provided profits to pay for these works. The estate population was a controlled one: quinine could be administered, and there were labour and funds for expensive anti-mosquito measures. The story of the conquest of malaria on estates in Malaya is an epic.

But other rural areas constituted a very different and much greater problem. Estates could set down on paper figures showing the loss caused by malaria and the gain from expenditure in its eradication or control: the value of anti-malarial expenditure was proved in £ s. d.; it was a clear case of either life or death for a commercial company. But amongst the inarticulate peasantry the issue is not so clearly defined; the population is not a controlled one; and the problem is so vast while funds are not commensurate.

In such areas quinine is the first line of defence; it is distributed free at vernacular schools, police stations and health centres. A very valuable health survey in the State of Kedah* records the success of quinine administration where malaria is endemic and oiling economically impossible. Again, the new Drainage and Irrigation Department is doing most valuable work in co-operation with health officers. This co-operation has resulted in steady and progressive improvement in both health conditions and agricultural production; for instance, in one area coconut trees previously barren are now producing well, and in another case there has been an increase in the number and size of nuts and in their oil content. Here again we have good agriculture and good health coinciding.† The present plans of this Department cover a number of schemes totalling 137,000 acres to be drained and protected from ingress of the sea, so preventing breeding pools. By such means the incidence of malaria is reduced and additional areas are rendered fit for agriculture. The national income is increased at its source. A salutary circle is created.

Now let us turn to the subject of quinine. This Association is fortunate in having specially printed for it that admirable paper "Quinine and Malaria in India," by Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E. My remarks can therefore be brief. We know that today the

* *A Health Survey of the State of Kedah, with special reference to Ricefield Malaria Nutrition and Water Supply*, by Drs. W. J. Vickers and J. H. Strahan, 1935-1936. (Kyle Palmer and Co., Kuala Lumpur.)

† The Annual Reports of the Drainage and Irrigation Department of the Malay States and Straits Settlements (F.M.S. Govt. Press, Kuala Lumpur) make most instructive and interesting reading.

Netherlands Indies produce about 90 per cent. of the world's supply in the mountain districts of West Java. The west coast of Sumatra is also becoming of some significance as a producer. There are both Government and private estates. Some years ago there was over-production; advantage of this was taken by European manufacturers who combined into a pool, and planters suffered severe losses. In 1898 the Bandoeng (Java) quinine factory was opened and co-operation with planters was established. The chief Government estate is that of Tjinjirocan, about 5,000 feet altitude. I visited this in August, 1937. The Dutch have established their supremacy by better scientific methods. The delicate *Cinchona ledgeriana*, with bark rich in quinine, is grafted on to the stronger-growing *C. succirubra*, which by itself is poorer in quinine content.

At Amsterdam a so-called Kina Bureau has been established. It works on the principle of determining for producers the annual output required by world markets, of fixing the price at a level which is remunerative, and by these means ensuring continuance of supply. The Governments of Bengal, Madras and Burma are also producers. I do not propose to go into the thorny question of the amount of profit which should be allowed to private enterprise and to Government enterprise. I will only say this: It is obvious that production by private enterprise can continue only if there is profit. As regards Government enterprise, my view is that any profit should go not into the general revenues of the State, but towards combating malaria in the widest sense—*e.g.*, either in extending free treatment or in anti-malarial works.

In 1932 the Health Organization of the League of Nations issued a notable publication, "Enquiry into Quinine Requirements of Malarial Countries and the World Prevalence of Malaria." Therein are replies from 111 Health Departments, a unique collection of material. It confirms again the fact that in a malarial country an increase in the quantity of quinine used produces a decrease in the malaria death-rate; and it recommended a Conference on quinine.

In December, 1937, the Health Organization also issued a report, "The Treatment of Malaria," being a study of synthetic drugs as compared with quinine. It concludes:

> "Quinine still ranks first in current practice, by reason of its clinical effectiveness and almost complete absence of toxicity, coupled with the widespread knowledge of its use and dosage."

The basic facts as regards quinine, therefore, are in simple language, that (1) it is the best drug for treatment; (2) the more

quinine the lower the malarial death-rate; but (3) in all countries the supply is insufficient; and (4) in all countries it is too expensive.

Wanted: more quinine at lower price. Governments must provide this as *a public duty*. It is not for me to tell them how; it is a separate problem for each one. But clearly in some cases it must be by planting.

Let me reinforce these views by reference to the Intergovernmental Conference of 1937, held at Bandoeng in Java. Most of the nations of Asia sent delegates; amongst them were malariologists, health officers, doctors, representatives of education, irrigation, agriculture, co-operation and executive administration. The object was not scientific debates, but to indicate some practical lines of procedure in dealing with malaria in rural areas. "Our recommendations are not based solely on the limited experience of technical experts, but fully as much on the broader practical acquaintance with the subject which executive responsibilities give." Recommendations had to be general because of the vast area (the whole of Asia) and the different conditions in various countries. But unanimous agreement under such conditions is a measure of their value. I will quote the five recommendations on anti-malaria drugs, with the pertinent query as to whether the Governments concerned are providing for them an active policy or a peaceful pigeon-hole:

(*a*) That the treatment of the malarious sick is the first step in any malaria policy;

(*b*) that the wide distribution of quinine is a public duty to be organized and paid for by the State;

(*c*) that in epidemics there should be free treatment for all; in ordinary times free treatment for those who cannot pay;

(*d*) that cinchona derivatives must continue to be the drug of choice for mass distribution;

(*e*) that every effort be made to widen the scope and cheapen the cost of mass distribution.

With this insistence on the supreme value of quinine, with the known facts that the supply is insufficient, that the price is too high, and that private enterprise has to wait many years before the producing stage is reached and must then recoup itself for this delay, the conclusion seems inevitable that countries with suitable land at the right altitude should open up cinchona plantations of their own out of public funds. Budgets provide large sums without question for hospitals where curative medicine relieves suffering; would it not be wise to come in at an earlier stage, to prevent rather than cure, to provide funds for quinine production, and by one act increase human happiness, decrease economic loss and relieve hospital accommodation?

Quinine retains its place as the first line of defence against

malaria. There are, of course, other contributory defences which the individual can undertake, such as the regular use of mosquito nets, better sanitation, cleanliness in and round houses. But in spite of the pre-eminent place occupied by quinine, the fact remains that the eradication of malaria by drugs is impossible.* Planters could tell us something about this; a planter friend of mine has not forgotten taking forty grains of quinine a day for three months. Drugs are a defensive policy. That is not enough. We must have a policy of attack; we must aim at nothing less than the conquest of malaria. We must attack the mosquito itself. Such a policy is good business; the rubber industry in Malaya, the fishponds and rice-fields in Java prove that. It is also good humanity.

Agriculture must be improved, and with it the economic condition and the nutrition of the people. We have already seen that better husbandry goes hand-in-hand with anti-malarial work.

There must be water control, so that water can be got on to land when wanted and got off it when not wanted. Drainage and irrigation in the countryside, where food and wealth are produced from Mother Earth, are more important than large buildings in towns. Neglect brings a long chain of evils—soil erosion, gradual silting up of rivers and other watercourses, raised river beds, floods, malaria, poverty and apathy. By these and other means we must attack the source, the mosquito; in selected areas and intensively at first perhaps. There is great value in a demonstration of some successful scheme. There is also great value in small units of administration, which are flexible and can decide and act rapidly. To them it is more quickly clear that the conquest of malaria is a good investment. There is value, too, in creating the right national habits. In Malaya the Chinese drink boiled water (weak tea) and use mosquito nets. I don't know who in the dim past established among them these national habits, but he was certainly no doubter or waverer. And doubting and wavering are things we have got to get rid of. Also we must get rid of the bricks-and-mortar mentality, put first things first and substitute attention to, for neglect of, the countryside.

So in the end we must base our aims on a policy of rural reconstruction. By this means we shall get a combination of all departments of the administration and of all methods suitable to the problem whether land improvement and reclamation, or subsoil or other drainage, or oiling and spraying, or naturalistic methods.†

* See *Bulletin of the Health Organization of the League of Nations*, Vol. VI., No. 6, December, 1907, "The Treatment of Malaria," p. 1015.

† An interesting paragraph on naturalistic methods, enumerating many examples, is given on p. 92 of the Report of the Inter-governmental Conference of Far-Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene, published by the Health

These last methods are particularly attractive because they are relatively inexpensive and can often be carried out by the peasants themselves. And they seem to offer a practical means towards the ultimate aim of the conquest of malaria in the vast rural areas of Asia. In this connection it is pertinent to stress the great value of the International Course on Malariology held annually in Singapore and arranged by the League of Nations Eastern Bureau there in co-operation with the College of Medicine. Malaya has been the pioneer in the investigation of these naturalistic methods, and it is both appropriate and advantageous that Singapore should be the place for this course.

A tremendous effort is needed to control malaria; and the immensity of the task is a reason not for delay but for beginning to tackle it at once. Persistence rather than perfection in control is required for rural areas.

If we look back on some of the achievements in human progress, we look back also to a time when many of them would have been declared impossible of achievement. Take, for instance, communications by land, sea and air. Or the present measure of social services in England. Or even the rate of income tax.

A special word on our own responsibilities in the matter. Among Far Eastern countries there are some which govern themselves and are completely independent of any Western control; there are others where the administration is in the hands of Western nations, as, for example, the Netherlands Indies, French Indo-China and Malaya. It is true that the latter in their economic and health administration have nothing to fear if compared with the former. It is also true that the responsibility on Western nations is more clamant. The burden of trusteeship is both special and heavy; and the eyes of the whole world are on trustees to see how far they execute their task. If we plead that any task is too heavy, there are other vigorous hands stretched out to seize our place. The large-scale colonization of Italy in Africa, the political, social and economic changes achieved by Germany, the reduction of her unemployed from six millions in 1933 to about 125,000 now, were all "impossibilities." Let us, too, show our mettle, not merely to meet a challenge, but rather to meet our moral obligations.

I have little belief in the impossible if we replace hesitation by determination, doubt by faith, intentions that are good by actions that are better.

Organization of the League of Nations in 1937. See also *The Control of Rural Malaria by Natural Methods*, by K. B. Williamson, M.A., DIP. AGRIC. (Cantab.), recently Malaria Research Officer in the Straits Settlements, issued by the League of Nations Eastern Bureau, Singapore (Singapore Govt. Printing Office, 1935). This brief publication deserves to be much better known.

May I end on a lighter note? After the final session of the Bandoeng Conference, under the influence of a wonderful Javanese *rijsttafel* and with some of the latitude properly associated with such a feast, the following verse was composed and sent over to the table where the anti-malarial experts were lunching:

> "That hairy old problem malaria
> Grew every day hairier and hairier;
> Till at Bandoeng they met
> And a limit they set
> To the life of th' anopheline car(r)ier."

In the discussion which followed and in which Mr. C. F. Strickland, the Rev. Dr. Stursberg of the London Mission, Berhampore, an Indian gentleman and others took part, the Chairman said that instead of a present production of 250,000 lbs. of quinine, there ought to be a million and a half produced every year.

The lecturer, in conclusion, said that the Great War had given us a serious warning by sending up the price of quinine to a fearful extent, and if war came again the shortage of supplies would be infinitely worse.

COURTS OF THE SHAN PRINCES*

By Maurice Collis

To begin with I must ask the indulgence of those of you who have read my last book, *Lords of the Sunset*. What I have to tell you now is necessarily founded on that book. I cannot say much beyond what is written there, though I have chosen for slides a number of photographs which do not figure among its illustrations.

Lords of the Sunset. Some of you may want to know how I arrived at that title. It is not a fancy title. The Shan Princes who live within the boundary of Burma were really called Sunset Lords in the Burmese language. Ne-win-bayin—it is an exact translation. The title goes a certain distance to explain their old status. They used to be the feudatories of the Burmese kings, who called themselves Sunrise Lords. Sunset Lords, as a less potent title, was therefore suitable for the Shan rulers.

I have just said, "live within the boundary of Burma." There are Shans who live outside Burma, in the Chinese province of Yunnan, for example. Moreover, the Siamese are really Shans. The Shans I am about to describe, however, are those who occupy the plateau and hills which are situated on the eastern side of Burma proper, lying between it and China, Indo-China and Siam. When you come to consider what that means, you perceive that the Shans live on the extreme eastern frontier of the British Empire. While everyone has heard a great deal about the North-West Frontier of India, this eastern frontier of our land dominion in Asia has never been in the news, because up till last year it has had no political importance. The Sino-Japanese conflict, however, has altered the position, so that now the Shan States are our frontier to the fighting east. What that amounts to in practice I shall explain later on in this lecture.

My object at present is to give you some idea of what the Shan country and its princes are like. But first let me have your patience for a few words of historical introduction. The kingdom of Burma was taken by us in three wars, the last of which occurred only fifty-three years ago, in 1885, when we entered its capital, Mandalay, and sent King Thibaw an exile to Bombay. His feudatories, the Shan chiefs, then voluntarily transferred their allegiance to us by treaty, it being agreed that we should respect their status and rights as hereditary rulers of the Shans.

* Lecture delivered to the China Society on January 16, 1939. Copyright reserved by the author. A map is at the end of the text.

At the time of their inclusion in the British Empire the Shan States were principalities, each organized like a little kingdom. They were very old-fashioned. Only mule tracks connected the various capitals, agriculture was practically the sole industry, and the people had little knowledge of the world outside their villages. During the half-century which has elapsed since then we have gradually modernized them. For reasons which I cannot explain here, very little money was available, but we began to build roads and introduced modern education and western medicine. We also turned the states into a Federation, with a council, the President of which was a British official, the members being the principal chiefs. From being rivals, who in Burmese times often fought each other, the chiefs became colleagues with a common policy to promote the welfare of the States as a whole.

I was invited to visit the States by the British official who was President of the Council and, as Commissioner, the chief of the corps of British officials who had been placed in the States to advise the princes. The Commissioner's name was Philip Fogarty, he was also an old friend of mine, and with his assistance and introductions I was able, in January of last year, to enter the courts of the Sawbwas, as the ruling princes are called. I did not know the Shan language, but I knew Burmese from the fact that I had served as a Civilian in Burma for twenty-three years, and Burmese, I found, was sufficient to carry me along wherever English was not spoken. In fact, English was spoken by the leading Sawbwas and their wives, who had either learnt it at the schools established in their country or had been educated in England.

These facts give you my credentials for this lecture, and I can now conduct you to a few viewpoints and try, with the help of the slides, to give you a glimpse of some of the interesting things I saw.

The starting point of my tour was Taung-gyi (see map), the capital of the Federation, the place where the Council of Sawbwas meets and where Philip Fogarty, my host, resided. It is a beautiful place, and I must take you with me up the mountain at the back of the Residency and invite you to admire the view. You are forty miles into the States and looking westwards towards Burma. In the foreground is the town itself with its official buildings, its gardens, the residences which the Sawbwas maintain and occupy during their periodic visits, its flowering trees and its pagodas. The elevation is four thousand feet, so that in January the air is crisp under the warm sun, an invigorating air, clear and scented. The town is on a shelf, which drops suddenly to the plain of the White Crow Lake. The lake has something of the shape of a white crow in flight, but was so named because a

white crow was found on its shores, a sacred creature, for such albinos are said in Buddhist lore—and the Shans are Buddhists—to harbour a spirit, which after many transmigrations will become a Buddha. This plain of the White Crow was studded with trees in red flower, when I passed through it on my way to Taunggyi—a strange and beautiful sight for eyes unaccustomed to red-blossoming trees. The blossoms of one sort, the Red Cotton tree, started from bare branches and were as large as a woman's hand. On another sort, the Flame of the Forest, the blossoms were like crocuses, and clustered on the twigs as thick as a swarm of red bees.

Beyond the plain is a ridge, and beyond that again the rice plain of Hého, and then hills, on the top of which is a plateau, called the Mye Lat or Middle Land by the Burmese, for it is a strip of land which lies between Burma and the main states of the Shan, a rolling grass country in which are the seats of numerous small lords.

Before I began my tour with Fogarty, I was taken by one of his assistants, a Mr. Rossiter, into the state of Mong Nawng, which lies fifty miles in the opposite direction to which you have been looking, in the very centre of the federation. The Prince of Mong Nawng has the title of Myosa. His State is a country lordship, rustic and charming. On the way there we passed the capital of Mong Pawn State and turned into the palace garden to call on the ruler. In the garden was the queen, watering snapdragons. She had the title of Thiri Sandhana and spoke English with a hoarse deep voice, which was very attractive.

Though I should like to tell you what she said, I must drag you away, because we have a long journey to make and only fifty minutes in which to make it.

The palace of Mong Nawng stands on a hill over the town, and as you drive through the streets you see it above you. It was built by the Myosa from his own design. His object was to preserve some of the traditional features of a Shan palace—the towers, for instance—while providing himself with a more modern residence. In Shan palaces there is a throne room in the centre, off which open the living rooms. The original model is the royal palace at Mandalay. Fifty years ago all the Shan palaces were miniature copies of the palace of their king. Nowadays, however, that design has become old-fashioned and seems uncomfortable. Some of the Sawbwas have built themselves palaces which are exactly like English country houses, and use the traditional palace only on State occasions. Others, like Mong Nawng, whose old palace was falling to bits, have constructed buildings which can be used both on state occasions and as an everyday house for a man who is anxious to live abreast of the times.

On arrival at Mong Nawng we deposited our luggage in the resthouse and went to call on the Myosa and his wife. He knew we were coming and when we drew up at the side door—for it is contrary to custom to enter a Shan palace by the front door—we saw the Myosa waiting on the top of the steps. In the Shan States all the princes use this politeness. They are always on the steps to welcome you in.

The Myosa was a strong little man in flowing silk trousers and a double-breasted jacket, cut in a style similar to the Chinese jacket. Though he could speak English and read it, he preferred to speak Burmese, because he was not sure whether his English was sufficiently polite. As he conducted us into the building I had a glimpse of the throne room, an immense apartment, on one side of which was the throne, a gilt dais framed in an arch deriving from the humped back of a dragon. A number of his bodyguard were sitting about. We turned left into a sitting-room and were presented to his wife, whom it was correct to address, when speaking Burmese, as the Thakin-ma. Now the Kings of Burma used to have four queens and a concubinate, and the Shan princes, who were miniature kings, used to copy the usage of Mandalay in this matter, as in everything else pertaining to court ceremonial. But with the advance of education and the influence of the modern world coming down the new roads, there tended to be a change. The chief queen, or Mahadevi, began to object to other women about the house. In consequence, some of the Shan rulers had only one queen and had no concubines. Mong Nawng had solved the matter in this way. In the palace the Thakin-ma was the only wife; outside it, housed in villages in different corners of his State, were ladies who in old days would have occupied a position at court, but who now lived separately with a few retainers and whom he visited when he toured into their part of the country. I shall have more to say about this matter later on.

One of the amusements which the Myosa arranged for our entertainment was a picnic to the falls of the Nam Pang, a river which flows through the centre of the States and discharges into the great Salween. I shall describe this picnic because it will show you the prince among his subjects. We set out in two cars. The Myosa drove himself, with two members of his bodyguard seated behind. In a couple of hours we came to a deep wooded valley at the bottom of which flowed the Nam Pang. The sound of the falls could be heard in the distance. A village, consisting of a line of bamboo houses, was perched a couple of hundred feet above the water. One looked across to orange gardens at the foot of a lofty mountain. On our arrival we were met by the Heng, a minor lord who was head of the village. His bodyguard had

their jackets faced with green. Later, a short walk took us to a stubble field by the river side. The water was flecked with foam from the waterfall. We were accompanied by the Heng, his henchmen, certain guests who were staying with him, and by country girls and villagers of all ages. On the way to the stubble field we had come upon a cow reclining on the side of the road. It was an old cow, sick and probably dying. Buddhists do not like to kill animals. They let an old cow die at its own slow pace. They do not hurry it over the margin. A girl who accompanied us was concerned because the cow was too weak to graze, and she went into a garden and plucked some vegetable leaves, which she laid within easy reach of its nose. The cow brooded on in the way of dying animals.

This episode, slight as it was, threw light on the minds of these gentle people.

In the stubble field a cloth was spread. There was tea and cake and other eatables. The bulk of the villagers sat a little way from their prince, but the household of the Heng was more favoured. The members of it sat close to him and there were some, hardly important enough to eat from the same cloth, who yet had claim to a show of consideration. To these were handed from time to time a biscuit or a buttered slice. In this gracious feudal way Mong Nawng sat among his people.

Some days later I joined Fogarty on the road to the north.

"You have had a glimpse," said he, "of the bucolic lords of the middle States. The northern princes are more sophisticated. We are lunching tomorrow with the Sawbwa of Hsipaw."

The Sawbwa of Hsipaw was an old Rugbeian. We drove past his guard at the avenue gate into a garden in the English style—lawns, paths, a tennis court and beds of flowers. The palace was an English country house, for he had an old palace for official ceremonies. He himself was in the hall to receive us, but he was not dressed in the clothes shown in the illustration (Fig. 1), which are the clothes for a coronation or for a grand audience in the throne room. He is wearing the Crown of Victory and the Golden Slippers and in his hand he carries the Yak-tail whisk. The Sawbwa, I say, was not wearing these things. He had on the everyday costume of the Shan lords—namely, white silk trousers, so voluminous that the two legs together gives the effect of a skirt, and a double-breasted jacket of grey cloth.

After welcoming us in a straightforward pleasant manner, he ushered us into the drawing-room, where three Shan girls were waiting. "My ladies," he said, by way of introduction. These three girls had recently been promoted to the rank of minor wives with titles. That was their official position. Their promotion had taken place consequent upon the departure of the chief queen,

or Mahadevi, with an actor, a distressing story, which it is unnecessary to relate.

We sat down to a luncheon cooked in the Chinese manner. The three ladies were not shy and talked agreeably in Burmese. I had also been at Rugby, though somewhat before the Sawbwa, and this gave us a subject for conversation. After lunch two of the ladies took me into the garden. As something to do while the Sawbwa was engaged in official business with Fogarty, they suggested my seeing the old palace, which was within easy walking distance.

This palace, which dates from the period of the last Burmese dynasty, is a miniature of the royal palace at Mandalay. You enter a compound surrounded by a low wall, near the gate of which is a tower where at dawn a band plays up the sun and again at sunset plays its retreat. The palace stands on a platform. The audience-chamber is a great pillared hall open on three sides to the air, in the back wall of which is the throne surrounded by white umbrellas and insignia of state. I was admiring the scene, all carving and gilt, when I heard music and asked its reason. The girls said that a classical drama was being rehearsed and asked me whether I should like a peep at it.

We left the throne-room and, while crossing to the south wing, I was told that the Sawbwa maintained a ballet, a veritable ballet, for it was able to perform modern cabaret turns as well as Burmese plays and dancing. I gathered that my three hostesses, who now held such important positions at court, had been promoted from the ballet. We looked into a side room. There was the troupe, a dozen pretty girls seated in a circle on the floor under the direction of an old woman, the producer. One of them was taking the part of a king and held a drawn sword in her hand. She was haranguing two thieves, enunciating her lines in a splendid Burmese stiffened with Pali. At the end of her tirade she struck the floor with the hilt of her sword, at which a band in the corner gave a flourish on its cymbals.

After this glimpse behind the scenes in the old palace we returned to the Grand Palace, as the prince's residence was called. Three guests had arrived, and I must tell you who they were, for their identity was surprising and their business still more so. One of them was a Mr. Gage, first secretary to the British Legation in China; the second was a member of the Chinese Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior; while the third was in charge of public works in Yunnan. What were such people doing in Hsipaw? There was no secret about it. The Chinese were building a road to connect Yunnanfu with the Shah-Burmese frontier, and they wanted to know whether the road on the Shan side, which joined the railway, was in a condition to take heavy traffic—for instance, lorries carrying munitions.

"We are going up to the Chinese frontier in a few days," Fogarty told me, "and we'll have a look at the Chinese road. When you see it, you'll understand its great importance to China and to Burma, and perhaps to the world." This whiff of high politics was very exciting. I shall return to the subject a little further on.

The title of this lecture is, "Courts of the Shan Princes," and I have told you something—not much, I fear, but as much as time permits—of the courts of Mong Nawng and Hsipaw. I am now taking you to Mong Mit, a large State in the extreme north-west, for the funeral of its late Sawbwa and in order to introduce you to the reigning Sawbwa, a Cambridge B.A., and his queen, an English girl from Cambridge.

The road was over a tangle of mountains and the going was slow, about fifteen miles an hour. On the morning of the second day from Hsipaw we sighted the rice plain of Mong Mit two thousand feet below. The Sawbwa had come out to meet us, a dapper little man with a white complexion and dressed in white, which is court mourning in the Shan States. As a large number of guests had been invited to the funeral he had constructed a camp for their accommodation, each principal guest having a new bamboo house completely furnished and fitted with electric light. We were shortly at the entrance to the camp, which was built in a great circle, the houses being on the periphery, while a large pavilion called the Hall of the White Umbrellas, where the old Sawbwa lay in state, was situated in the centre. A band of drummers and gongmen were waiting to play us in.

When we reached the Commissioner's bamboo house, in Shan called a *tawmaw*, we were met by the queen.

She was also wearing Shan mourning. The circumstances under which she married the Sawbwa were romantic. At the time he was heir-apparent and a student at Cambridge. When his father heard of the engagement he forbade the marriage, and when his son disobeyed he cut off his allowance. The young prince returned to Mong Mit to reason with his father, but the old gentleman was adamant. It seemed as if it was to be a choice between the girl and the throne, when the Sawbwa died and the prince succeeded. His first act was to fly to England and bring out his wife, whom he installed as his queen. The recognized Shan custom is for a Sawbwa to have several queens, as I have said, but the Sawbwa of Mong Mit, I gathered, had no intention of adding that embarrassment to the existing difficulties, grave enough, which faced the English girl in his Shan court.

The funeral was in two parts and took place on two successive days. The first part was the carriage of the body from the Hall of the White Umbrellas to the pyre. We all adjourned to the Hall and watched the Sawbwa and his Shan visitors, who included

the Sawbwas of neighbouring States, paying their last respects to the dead. They mounted the dais upon which stood the carved and gilded catafalque and made the prostration of the *shi-ko*, which corresponds closely to the Chinese kow-tow. The princes were followed by the ladies of the court, led by the English queen, who accomplished the difficult ritual bow with a good deal of grace. The coffin was then carried by princes to a bier at the door of the Hall. At that moment the full moon rose over the bamboos near by and by its light the procession moved to the pyre, the bier being drawn by the women, clad in white and using white ropes. The dowager queen, whose official title was A-mé-daw Paya, or the Royal Mother, was weeping, and she was supported by her English daughter-in-law. It was a scene of great beauty, the moon and the bamboos black against it, the various costumes and a chant which was played, called the Music of Heaven, combining to create an atmosphere remote and haunting. The pyre was not lighted until late at night, as the Sawbwa wished to spare his mother the sight of the flames.

The second part of the funeral was the procession of the ashes to the mausoleum. This took place in the blazing light of noon.

At the head of the procession were various henchmen in the costume of the court of Mandalay and bearing insignia. As the present ceremonial of the Shan courts is founded upon that of the vanished court of Mandalay, it is of high documentary interest. The ashes and residuary bones of the Sawbwa were in an earthen jar encased in gold and wrapped in yellow silk. This was borne by an official, seated upon an elephant, and shaded from the sun by white umbrellas. I joined the procession and we walked at the elephant's leisurely pace in the warmth and dust, past scented trees to the mausoleum, which was a little beyond the walls. Here took place the circumambulation, which was accomplished three times. In the illustration you see the mausoleum on the left (Fig. 2). In the middle of the picture is the elephant with the white umbrellas clustering about it. The ashes in their jar were then placed in a niche of the mausoleum and each of the court ladies brought a gilded brick, which was cemented into place and the ashes walled in.

It was a simple enough ceremony, performed quietly and in good taste, without any of the uproar of a Chinese funeral nor with the ragged hullabaloo of funerals in India.

Our next port of call was the silver mines. These mines were worked by the Chinese from, at least, the Sung period, for they are referred to by Marco Polo as well established in his time. They were closed down in the middle of the nineteenth century because the miners, who were Panthays, rebelled. When we took over the States in 1885 we had no information that the mines existed. It was not until 1908 that they were rediscovered and a

London Company, the great Burma Corporation, was floated to exploit them. They are situated at Bawdwin, not far from Hsipaw. The refinery itself is at Namtu.

A prodigiously rich deposit was worked successfully and dividends were paid which exceeded the entire revenue of the States. Had shares in the company been held by Shans and had the income-tax therefrom been credited to Shan revenues, the Shans would now be very well off and their country would have splendid roads, hospitals and schools. As it was, the Shans were without capital to invest or without the experience of commerce which would have prompted them to invest, and the tax, under the then existing revenue code, was a central revenue and was credited to India. I mention these facts, not to make you feel uncomfortable, but because they explain why the States are such a delightful old-fashioned country. We took care of their silver and so the Shans were able to continue their bucolic existence without the distractions and temptations of wealth.

Leaving this rather painful subject, we will now take the road to the Chinese frontier. The road lies first through the State of Hsenwi, a word which means "Million Umbrellas." Fogarty and I had been invited to breakfast by the Sawbwa. He lived in a palace like Hsipaw's, the English country house type. When we were ushered into the drawing-room, a tall and graceful woman came forward to welcome us. She was the Mahadevi, or queen, and her name was Van Tip, Magic Mirror. She spoke English perfectly. I noticed two other ladies in the room. Hsenwi introduced them as his junior wives. The Lady Van Tip was so modern and sophisticated, she sat on the sofa with Fogarty and made conversation of a spirited kind and so much in the manner of an Englishwoman, that the two junior wives appeared an anachronism. In point of fact, the custom of plural wives is not likely to continue, because it rests on the obsolete notion that the more wives he had the greater the ruler. Such an idea is not in consonance with the prevalent outlook, so that with the weakening of its *raison d'être* will collapse the institution.

After a most excellent breakfast in the Shan style, Hsenwi told me that his men had recently dug up a certain bronze and invited me to inspect it. It appeared to me an antique Chinese war drum, and may easily have been dropped there during some Chinese incursion. But we had a long journey before us and could not linger. As we drove off, Lady Magic Mirror smiled down on us from the verandah of the palace (Fig. 3).

The road we were now on was the road about which the Chinese Government was so interested, for it ran (via Hsenwi) from Lashio, railhead of the Burma railways, to the Chinese frontier near Musé, a distance of a hundred and ten miles. It was a narrow road and would clearly have to be improved before

it would take heavy traffic. On leaving Hsenwi we mounted two thousand feet by means of zigzags to a rolling grass plain flanked by bare mountains. Beyond this were lonely valleys, thickly wooded. From time to time we met Chinese mule caravans and travellers of different nationalities, including a lama from Tibet and members of the numerous Mongolian tribes who live among the Shans, having their own language and their own costume. They constitute a separate study, and I can say nothing more of them in this lecture.

The frontier is the valley of the Shwéli river. A few miles short of the river the road forks, and to reach that point on the frontier where the Chinese road comes in you take the right fork and drive eleven miles along the floor of the valley, which is intensively cultivated and full of livestock. The inhabitants are Shan Tayoks—that is to say, Shans of the type who live in China. Their women's costume is different from the costume worn by the Shan women in the Burma states, its chief characteristic being a blue-black top hat.

After driving for half an hour through this landscape we reached the little village of King Yang, which is on a tributary of the Shwéli. This stream is the frontier at that particular point, and a timber bridge connected the British Empire with the Republic of China. I hurried across it. There was no Custom house, not an official to be seen—but a hundred yards on Chinese coolies were toiling on the great road (Fig. 4). A long line of them stretched out of sight round the corner of a hill. It was said that a hundred and eighty thousand were engaged between King Yang and Talifu. I stood there for some time gazing at the work. It seemed to me perhaps the most momentous thing I had ever seen.

The situation was this. The Japanese having closed the Yangtse, and commanding the China seas, the Chinese had to seek other routes for their supplies. A good deal of material was being imported through French Indo-China via the Hanoi-Yunnanfu railway. But Hanoi was on the wrong side of Singapore, and a safer port was essential. This obviously meant Rangoon. Burma had never been joined to China except by caravan routes. A mule caravan covered the six hundred odd miles between Yunnanfu and Lashio in two months. Moreover, mules could not carry heavy articles. Hence the urgent necessity of a motor road strong enough to take four-ton lorries at least.

I saw the road in February, 1938. It was to be ready for traffic that June. I understand that munition lorries were running certainly by last September. Instead of the caravan time of two months they covered the distance in four days. It was reported in the *Rangoon Gazette* of November 24 that a Russian steamer had arrived in Rangoon with six thousand tons of aeroplanes,

arms and ammunition destined for transport to China by the new road. A Rangoon agency of the Bank of China has been opened to finance these operations, and it was reported in *The Times* of December 19 that the British Government was lending £500,000 to China to provide "lorries and other transport along the road of great strategical and economic value now being completed from Central China to Burma—a new gateway to the west." You will observe that *The Times* adds the word "economic." Apart from munition traffic, the road will be used for carrying the trade of Yunnan and the other north-western provinces, which used to go down the Yangtse. In this way a trade of great value is in process of development between China and the outer world via Burma, a trade which may partly compensate us for our losses in Shanghai and Hong Kong. I leave it to your imagination to compute what effect all this modern activity will have on the old-world life of the Shans. I myself believe that the descriptions I am giving you are of a vanishing Arcadia.

Let us continue our casual promenade. Fogarty and I slept that night at the Musé resthouse. In the visitors' book the last name was that of Peter Fleming. He had started for Yunnanfu the previous day. Next morning we drove along the lovely valley to Nam Hkan. There was a Chinese air about the scene. For instance, the housings of the wells, which were frequent on the road, were in pure Chinese style.

Nam Hkan itself is famous for its market, which is frequented by all the hill-tribes. It has an American Baptist hospital conducted on very modern lines, and there one of the most individual of the Shan princesses, Sao Hpong Lai, the Lady Gliding Foam, was taking a course of nursing, a sign of the times. She came to tea with us. To know how entertaining she was you must read my book.

From the Chinese frontier we turned south, for Fogarty had decided that I must visit Kengtung, in the far south-west corner. To get there meant traversing the whole length of the eastern states. One of the places at which I stayed the night was the town of Mong Yai, the Sawbwa of which lived in the old style. He had eight wives in a central dormitory opening off the main hall. "You must peep in," said he. Like all the Shan nobles, his affability was delightful. I saw a large room and numerous beds.

"I designed the beds myself," said the Sawbwa with satisfaction. His daughter, however, was quite modern. Her name, translated, was Lady Pink Gold, though she was generally called Kitty. She spoke English well, and was entertaining at dinner. Next day she chose to see me off as far as the village of Wan Wop, a good twenty miles from her capital, Mong Yai. She belonged entirely to the new generation, and how she existed at Mong Yai I don't know.

To reach Kengtung you have to cross the Salween, one of the formidable rivers of this world. From thence the road lies over a hundred and twenty miles of valley and wooded mountain, till, topping a six-thousand-foot pass, you drop down to a rice plain, on the edge of which is the town. It is a ten-hour drive on perhaps the most difficult motor road in Asia. But you are rewarded, for Kengtung is a curious place. It lies there, surrounded by its rice and the lonely mountains, a walled city of palaces and wooden monasteries, the lords of which were more like kings than feudatory princes, for with their own army they twice fought and defeated the generals of Siam.

But I arrived there at a moment of despondency. The Sawbwa, Sao Kawng Tai, had been assassinated on the steps of his palace by a kinsman. There was an interregnum, for the heir was a minor and the authorities had not seen fit to set up a Council of Regency. Instead, an official of the Burma Government had been appointed Administrator. It was to his house that I was sent by Fogarty, who did not accompany me to this State.

On the morning after my arrival the Administrator took me to the palace. The court hardly existed with the ruler dead. There were queens and princesses in plenty—I shall have something to say in a moment of the famous princess Sao Nang Tip Htila—but they were for the most part melancholy and retired. The Administrator showed me the scene of the assassination. One moonlight night of festival in the previous October the Sawbwa was on the verandah of his Hall of Justice, watching the animal dances which, lit by flares, were taking place on the open space below him. At dinner-time he withdrew and moved in procession with the royal household towards the palace between lines of the bodyguard. Suddenly his cousin, instigated, it was then said, by a pretender, broke through the ranks and emptied two automatics into his body. He died in a few moments.

But if gloom had fallen on the court there was one woman in that old palace whose sparkling personality nothing could dim. This was the Princess Tip Htila, aunt of the murdered Sawbwa. She had apartments at the back of the throne-room. I show you a photograph of her (Fig. 5). You see there a woman of powerful character, a woman versed in Oriental intrigues, who ruled for years in the state of Keng Kam, a great wit and of indomitable courage. I had many conversations with her, and I can say, looking back over my life, that I have never been in more stimulating company. Her name, Tip Htila, means Ambrosia of Heaven, and it was not too high a name for her to carry. The stories she told of the old days showed how much times had changed. I was again forcibly reminded that the Shan States, in the sense that they have been known, would soon be only a romantic memory. I show you the chair on which, as Regent of Keng Kam, she used

to sit when travelling by elephant (Fig. 6). Furniture has an architectural quality, and this chair, adapted to fit on to an elephant's saddle, was calculated, with its curling legs, on which are carved spirits, to make the princess, when seated upon it with her legs tucked under her, appear like a figure over a sacred doorway.

The illustration which follows (Fig. 7) is the effigy of a Mr. Greer, an Indian Civilian, who died in 1915 at Mong Nai, a town which I visited on my return from Kengtung. The effigy was made by a local Shan craftsman and stands on a hill overlooking the city. Statues have been erected to very few Englishmen by Oriental peoples. Mr. Greer was one of these few. He was much liked by the then Sawbwa. Unfortunately, as I recount in my book, the state of the public health in Mong Nai gave rise to the fear that the effigy had become haunted by Mr. Greer's ghost. The ghost was calling souls away. The populace became seriously alarmed. At that time the figure faced the town. As a solution it was decided to make it face the woods, so that the souls should not hear it calling them. When this was done the epidemic subsided. The belief appears to have been that an Englishman, formidable enough in his lifetime, may become highly dangerous when dead, unless suitable precautions are taken to prevent it.

My time is up and we must take leave of the Shan States. I show you my last photograph, as a last memory to carry away of this lovely land. You are looking from a hill on to the wooded plain through the branches and white flowers of a *Tayok-saga* (Fig. 8). In old days a hermit used to sit in this place. He had a tame tiger beside him, and when the villagers came to pay respect he would give them herbs for their various diseases. Then he would remain in meditation, the sweet scent of the *Tayok-saga* rising about him. That was the view he saw as he faced south, the direction in which the Chinese sages always faced when they invoked peace upon the world.





FIG. 1.—THE LATE SAWBWA OF HSIPAW IN HIS CORONATION ROBES.



FIG. 2.—THE MAUSOLEUM AT MONG MIT.

Courts of the Shan Princes, by Maurice Collis. *Author's copyright.*

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PLATE II.



FIG. 3.—THE QUEEN OF HSENWI, SAO VAN TIP.



FIG. 4.—MAKING THE CHINESE ROAD AT THE FRONTIER.

Courts of the Shan Princes, by Maurice Collis. *Author's copyright.*



FIG. 5.—PRINCESS TIP HTILA.



FIG. 6.—THE PRINCESS TIP HTILA'S ELEPHANT CHAIR.

Courts of the Shan Princes, by Maurice Collis. *Author's copyright.*



FIG. 7.—EFFIGY OF MR. GREER MADE BY LOCAL SHAN CRAFTSMEN.



FIG. 8.—LOOKING FROM THE HERMIT'S SEAT ABOVE MONG NAI.

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS'S IMPRESSIONS OF THE DECCAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Harihar Das

Norris's journey to the Mughal Court through the Deccan, with its attendant dangers and difficulties, proved to be long and tedious, and, though in many ways full of interest, was undertaken at an inopportune moment, as the aged Emperor Aurangzib was then personally directing military operations against the various Maratha hill forts, while his generals were engaged in attacking the enemy in the open country, with the object of completing the subjugation of the Western Deccan. The Marathas promptly took advantage of the moral and disciplinarian weakness of the Imperial troops by counter-attacking them. Their predatory raids became more frequent, and their systematic attacks and relentless devastation of the Mughal territories created terror in the Mughal army, while further, as will be shown in the account of Norris's journey, bands of private robbers took advantage of the state of affairs and joined their standard. Norris set out from Surat on January 27, 1700-01, towards his long-anticipated goal, the Court of the Great Mughal. He was well-equipped, and everything was in such good order as to remove any apprehension of his being attacked by an enemy on the way. After a few days' long and tedious march he encamped at a place called Gareechouki, surrounded at a distance of half a mile by hills covered with small shrubs, in which were "several of ye Rajah's people as they call them that are a sort of Robbers yt live in ye woods & watch their opportunity to plunder those they can or dare." For this reason Norris kept good watch and "showd English colours yt they might know who wee were."

Resuming his march through a very fruitful and mountainous country he reached Poinghat in the afternoon of February 6, and encamped at the very foot of the mountains for the rest of the day and night. Most of the following day was spent in strenuous marching up the steep but narrow and rugged mountains with heavy baggage. Norris, describing his experiences of the journey, says that he was carried up with a great deal of ease in his palanquin, and stayed on the top of the hills called Balaghat under a large banian tree till the whole baggage had arrived there. A large plain lay before him, surrounded by hills, and at a distance he viewed "7 castles or rather watch houses on ye Top of ye

mountains & may serve for Refuge, but are of no other use. Most of these castles in view belonge to the Mogull, but to my admiration ye Top of these mountains & this very passe through ym wch wee marchd up to day belongs to a Rajah not yet conquerd by ye Mogull & att ye top of ye mountain has a choultry wth some officers attendinge, demandinge some small custome of merchants & stragglinge passengers, but askd none of us. I orderd 2 feild peices wth a good guard of English to march the first & secure ye passe. This Rajah's name is Shubah Gi, who wth a very little charge might soe fortify this passe yt it would be impossible for any to come without his permission on payinge for it as he pleasd, wch I likewise wonderd was not done either by ye Mogull or ye Rajah for all comunication betwixt ye Mogull's Camp & Suratt might be cutt of if this was done by ye Rajah & seemes to be a neglect of ye Mogull not to secure it. Severall camells & 200 oxen went up ye day before to carry Rice to ye Mogull's camp & ye like came down to-day goeinge to Novopore for a supply of Rice for Osman Shaw's Lescharr, soe yt if this passe was anyways securd or stopd both these armys must starve."*

The journey was continued through numerous winding ways, surrounded by fertile hills and fields of corn. So far Norris had not heard of any enemies in these parts, but might expect some scattered troops beyond Aurangabad. Every possible precaution was taken to prevent a surprise. On the road he was, however, alarmed to learn from two *pattamars*, returning from the Emperor's camp at Merch, that the Mughal's camp had lately been surprised by the Marathas, and that in a battle between them and the Emperor's army Aurangzib had been worsted and had lost several standards, elephants, and horses and had two of his "cheife Rasbootes killd."†

After an exciting journey of several days, in course of which he passed through several towns and over small rivers, he encamped at a place about two miles distant from the famous fort of Doulatabab, where the King of Golkonda was imprisoned. Though he had no opportunity of entering the fort and thoroughly examining its construction and strength, Norris's description of it from outside and his remarks on it are of great value, and are consequently inserted here verbatim: "The Natives talke more of this Castle than any other in ye Mogull's dominions wch makes me beleive it may be one of ye strongest. They tell you of 7 Castles upon this one Hill & vast number of Guns and some of a vast bigness, too big indeed to give creditt to ye Report viz of a fathom diameter; I make no account of wht they say either as to ye number of ye men, Guns or ye bignesse of them." Norris goes on to remark that for "this country I looke upon it a very

* Rawl. MS., C. 913. † *Ibid.*

stronge place & hardly to be taken by Indians wth bows and arrows and an easy conquest to a Body of Europeans in a few days. The single Hill upon wch ye fortification is built (& yt wch seemes ye strongest is just on ye very top of all) may be att the bottom 3 miles in circumference & about halfe a mile att ye top of it, it is a high & steep hill att a distance I can liken it to nothinge better than a very large stack of hay shorn & made even att ye bottom for sac this is either hewn smooth & made very steep att least 30 foot out of the Rock or if earth dug & I suppose a large ditch round, att a little distance on ye North side runs a Ridge of hills upon ye 2 nearest of wch are small fortifications on ye South side all a large plane, on ye West there seemes to be some little outworkes, & on ye East it seems to be fortifyd and built from ye top to ye bottom. It seemes very steep to gett up and I suppose must be compassd by windinge & turninge & severall small fortifications in ye way wch ye Natives call Castles; on ye very top of all is ye Castle wch seemes a large pile of Regulare fortification & I beleive may not be only stronge for this country but seemes extremely well fortifyd & artificially on all sides especially to ye Eastward they never permitt any European to come in it nor much nearer it then wee are & in yt are not in ye wronge to keepe their fortifications undiscovered. The Indians say a Kinge of Bagnagor is here kept prisoner wth ye Kinge of Golcunda, they are safe enough be they who they will & may live very pleasantly & contentedly. I beleive in as sweet aire & pleasant climate & scituation as ye world affords in this place where wee are enchampd, there is a Caravansera (though not soe large wee have mett wth) yett lookes ye best built & neatest wth 4 handsome turretts att each corner one: To ye Eastward of ye Castle stands a large Town halfe a mile distant from ye foot of ye hill in ye midle of wch is a little Tower on wch they said Mufti climbs up when he warns prayers, but others say a place where water is drawn up to supply ye Town."*

The progress of Norris's journey was for some days slow, on account of the depredations of the Maratha troops in the surrounding country. Just before leaving Aurangabad it was discovered that some of the Mughal's officers, who had the charge of a convoy, were unable to proceed from fear of an attack by a large force of the enemy encamped within 16 kos of that place. Norris immediately ordered all his retinue and soldiers to arms. On his arrival at a town called Pouzee, Norris heard that for the last few days the inhabitants of that town had been in a state of panic, and had closed the gates and remained within the walls owing to the attacks made by 5,000 Maratha horsemen, who had, however, retired before Norris's arrival. The people

* See Rawl. MS., C. 913.

refused to open their gates till they were informed who Norris was. They gave him an account of these horsemen, who were still in the neighbourhood and had recently burnt a neighbouring town, the flames of which were still to be seen. On the way to this place he saw some Marathas carrying two flags "all white," who, upon sight of his retinue, rode away in haste in order to give their companions notice of his approach. While encamped at this place, Norris observed a body of horsemen on the top of a hill advancing towards him. He ordered his retinue to draw up and stand on guard, whereupon the horsemen retreated.

Again at midnight Norris and his party were alarmed by the news that a party of the Marathas were breaking into their camp in order to surprise them. Immediately, upon beat of drum, all his guards were in readiness to their arms and stood for half an hour till they had sent scouts out, and a strong guard had marched round the camp when, as no enemy appeared, they retired to bed. Norris was partly of opinion that no "number of Indians would attcke us partly out of feare & partly because not att any enmity wth us." But he believed the Marathas were up in arms to rob those who came near, and they dared to revenge the death of twenty of their brethren who were caught near Aurangabad by a high military officer of the Mughal. He criticized the inefficiency of the Mughal army, remarking that though bodies of horse and convoys for the emperor's money, etc., were so numerous yet not one of them dared to stir a step when notice was received that a force of the enemy was out, though these had not dared to attack Norris and his retinue.*

On continuing his march through a pleasant, rich champaign country to Demandevee, Norris passed by a town called Kelda, consisting of mud walls and houses. He noticed that two guns were mounted upon towers and that several people were stationed on the walls, with their arms ready and with numerous large stones upon the top of the mud walls, for use in case of any assault upon the town. When they were informed who Norris was, they were pleased at his arrival, because upon notice of this the Marathas had marched away from that place. After passing about two kos from Kelda, Norris saw a large force of cavalry coming towards him, apparently with the intention of attacking his party in the rear. His Indian retinue immediately gave the alarm "wth much noise & more feare," and Norris alighted from his palanquin, and ordered all Europeans to be drawn up in rank and file on foot. Norris himself, armed with a blunderbus, was in the first rank, and, with the others similarly armed, advanced for about a mile, preceded by the four pieces of ordnance. Perceiving the discipline and readiness of Norris's retinue, the enemy

* Rawl. MS., C. 913.

retreated in haste. At a place about a mile from Demandevee, a Frenchman, Peter De Lavalle, physician to Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, met and welcomed the Ambassador, and warmly complimented him, saying that His Excellency had frightened away the Marathas, who had alarmed them all for some days past, and that he with some few others had intended to go to Aurangabad, but had been compelled to postpone their journey for some days on account of the depredations of the enemy. He also informed Norris that the "Sevagis party were 7,000 strong all upon mares as their custome," and that upon notice of his approach they marched away towards the river Kisnah.

De Lavalle further said that, in his opinion, Ghazi-ud-din Khan was "as greate a Comander as any in ye Empire havinge ye comand of 8,000 horse & nobody more, yt he had ye comand of 60 Omrahs, 32 of wch could beate Drums wch nobody could doe yt had not ye comand of 3,000 horse. Firoz Jang had lately obtained a victory over ye Sevagis for wch ye Mogull had sent him a serpaw* yt beinge one of ye most considerable comanders of ye Mogull's army Osman Shaw† (who is in freindship & alliance wth all ye Sevagis party) had made his pretentions lately known to Gozda Chawn (who has now 50,000 horse under his comand for ye quelling these Rebells) & urgd him to assist him to make war against & help him to dethrone his father, but he [Ghazi-ud-din Khan] gave him a very honourable answer yt he would never take up armes against ye Emperor, but on his death-would assist him wth ye utmost of his power."‡

Travelling through a rich, fertile country with open plains and rivulets more pleasant than any he had yet met, Norris arrived at Shagor on February 22. A body of Maratha horse and foot was again in sight this day. Being informed of his credentials and seeing his guard and their arms, they ran away with all speed, joined their companions, ravaged and destroyed the country that lay at their mercy. Seeing Norris, the people of the town opened their gates and came running out with great joy. Three or four "stragling Rouges of ye Sevagis" fell on some of his Indian horse keepers, who were at some distance from the rest of the retinue, and robbed them, but were caught and carried to the local Governor, who sent them back to Norris that he might punish them as he thought fit; but as they were not enemies to him, he set them free after a warning. He described them as "Rouges" who had "stringe in their bosom of twisted silke & cotton on purpose to strangle those they caught."§ Norris's leniency did not impress them, as on the same evening a

* Robe of honour.
† Prince Muhammad Azam Shah.
‡ Rawl. M.S., C. 913.
§ *Ibid.*

small town about two kos distance from his camp was set on fire and destroyed by the "Sevagis." Such was their method of warfare in general, and he described them as a band of "rogues" got together and driven before him from Aurangabad. They were evidently waiting to attack the Mughal's convoy that was bringing money and horses.

Consternation and alarm prevailed during the whole time that Norris was in that place owing to the constant movements of the Marathas, so that the whole of his retinue was continually on the alert to meet them. Nor was there any dearth of spies moving about the skirts of his camp in order to watch the movements of his journey for ulterior motives not known to him, but they soon made the best of their way back. Norris was greeted by the agents of the local Mughal Governor, who expressed their satisfaction at his arrival, and their gratitude for the singular service he had done them in driving away the Marathas.

Passing the town Bir, Norris experienced the most difficult and tedious part of the journey. The country was rugged and the mountains higher and steeper than those he had previously passed and upon "ye top of wch Aurangzebe some yeares scince fought wth ye Sevagi, routed him being forced to make his passage over this mountain wch Sevagi could not maintain." Considering the nature of the country, Norris wondered how the Mughal could force his way when the Sevagi's army was in possession of this *ghat*, which he thought a small number might hold against some thousands. "The Mogull," Norris wrote, "first had a battell wth ye Sevagi att Aurengabad & beate him there, who retird to this Gatt to Keepe ye Mogull from breakinge any farther into ye country, but Aurangzebe pursued him & beate him here." The whole region appeared very wild, and the march was throughout very fatiguing.

While he was at Brahmapuri, a convoy conveying the Emperor's treasure arrived from Aurangabad. Norris doubted that they could not venture themselves, even jointly, to approach near the Marathas unless with his aid or else proceed in another way to the Emperor's camp at Panhala. One of the Mughal officials made particular enquiries as to the strength of Norris's arms and ammunitions, and suggested that the Ambassador should mount all his guns, as numerous bodies of the enemy were near at hand. Norris assured him that with only the four cannons mounted and a small number of English soldiers well armed he would drive off all the Mughal's enemies encountered on the way.

Even Nazar Ali Khan, son of the Governor of Ahmadabad, commanding a thousand horse, would not venture to start except under Norris's protection. The Khan made a handsome present to the Wazir Asad Khan in order to induce him to write to the

Emperor for permission to await reinforcements at Brahmapuri, pretending that the numerous bodies of the enemy were on the way, though the real reason was his fear that if he went to the Court he would be sent out to fight the Marathas. He, however, found an excuse that would serve at least to delay his march. This was to the effect that about seventeen kos away there was a body of 20,000 horse of the enemy. If the report was true, Norris believed, they would soon rout all Asad Khan's camp, even though "calld 100,000 stronge," as it might be if "wives, whores, children, eunuchs, shroffs, broakers, merchants & traders," of which this and all other camps were chiefly composed were included. He claimed that his own retinue was so considerable that he questioned whether all Asad Khan's camp durst attack him, and he was of opinion that they were a very easy prey whenever attacked in earnest by an enemy. Nevertheless he was impressed by the extent of the Wazir's wealth and critical of his private affairs, describing Asad Khan as "ye greatest & Richest man in ye Empire next ye Mogull & most say Richer then he having amassd vast sums of money by very large Incomes & never paying any body wch makes him generally hated. His Riches cheifly ly in Jewells & some Gold, wch he always carry wth him. They tell us he has 30 wives & 800 other women wth him. . . . It is impossible to believe how dissolute & luxurious ye lives of these great men are. The vizier spendinge his whole time wth his women, his eunuchs & pandars who have liberty of accesse att all times & his secretarys in relation to business but rarely & yt as ye Eunuch pleases."*

Norris could not possibly determine the nature of the country he would travel day after day until he had passed through it. Difficulty and hardship were soon experienced in marching over a barren, rugged and forest country, where no water could be found till he reached Ghent. This town had been recently demolished by the "Rajahs," and contained but very few inhabitants, who supplied travellers with rice, grain, etc. He soon accomplished a good day's journey of about twelve hours through "ye richest soyle," as he confessed, he ever travelled in his life. Passing the river Kisnah and three kos beyond the town Mereh, he pitched his tents on a "pleasant green Risinge Hill." He noticed the spot just outside the town where the Mughal had recently encamped before leaving for Panhala.

The final stage of the journey, though somewhat tedious, was successfully accomplished. Travelling through desolate and seemingly barren hills, where few carriages ever passed, Norris at last arrived three kos from the famous Maratha hill forts of Panhala and Pavanghad, and encamped by the river's side only

* Rawl. MS., C. 913.

about a kos from the guard of the Emperor's camp. Aurangzib was at the time besieging the former fort, and Norris could hear the guns, though they were some distance off. He believed that the Mughal guns were discharged that day more frequently than usual on account of his arrival. The account he gives throws many sidelights on the actual position of both parties and should therefore be dealt with at length. It was then believed that the Panhala fort would be delivered up to the Emperor in a week's time and that Aurangzib would then move his camp to another place. Those who had the command of the two forts demanded only the two lakhs of rupees, due to them as pay from the "Rajah," on receipt of which they would be willing to deliver them up. During his stay here, there was incessant firing, both from the forts and the Mughal guns. The effect of these could not be guessed, but he obtained some first-hand information from an Englishman* who visited his camp and had a lively conversation with some of his fellow-countrymen. He seemed very free and communicative, and told all he knew about the Emperor and his campaign. The fort of Panhala, he reported, had been captured by the Mughal ten years ago, but it had no sooner been put into proper repair, refortified and furnished with good store of provisions and ammunition, than the Marathas scaled the walls and took it in one night, and had retained it ever since. The batteries in it were very "indifferent" and unable to perform any effective service. There being not more than seven guns planted after their fashion against the fort, orders were given as to how many times a day each gun was to be fired. Instead of cannon ball they generally made use of "stones rounded for yt purpose," though they might have obtained iron, as Tarbyat Khan, Master of the Ordnance, had allowed for it, and also for a "peec of Hemp every shott for a wadd, but insteade of it make use of Hay." The English gunner also said that from "ye top to ye bottom there is nothinge but cheatinge & treachery & baseness in ye highest degree." Further, the fort it seemed had no more guns than the besieger and not more than 300 men, and though there were two or three breaches in the wall yet the Mughal army dared not venture to enter or make an assault.

Notwithstanding the vast multitudes of people of all sorts in the Emperor's *lacher*, and the several generals, who invested the fort, there were not above 20,000 of such as claimed to be fighting men, though Aurangzib paid for above 100,000 men in that place. The false musters were "ye cheifest Gaine of all ye officers for a

* Norris does not mention the name of this "Englishman" in his journal, but records that he had been in India thirty-two years, and had been several years in the service of the King of Golkonda, was with him when he was imprisoned, and had since served the Mughal in "the nature of a Gunner att 4 Rups a day as wages."

Generall yt has ye pay of 8,000 horse wch is about 25,000 sterlinge a month (as Asad Chawn has) if he keepes 1,500 it is reckond a greate deale & ye Rest put in his pocket and soe all ye Rest." As a result the Emperor was at such immense expense in paying so many officers for so many horses that Norris wondered from whence the money came for the purpose. The English gunner also reported that the Mughal was very poor and wanted money badly and that the pay of the army was vastly in arrears, and that fourteen months' pay was owing to himself. The army grumbled and began to be mutinous, leaving their posts and openly speaking "slightly and revilingly" of the Emperor himself as well as of his officers and common soldiers, but their mouths were stopped a little by the recent arrival of the *Kephala*, which brought a large sum of money. The gunner also confirmed the report Norris had of the Emperor's sending away both his son Prince Azam Shah and his grandson Bidar Bakht for tampering with the army and designing to seize and depose him. He further described Aurangzib's alertness with complete accuracy: "The old Kinge is very cunninge & has spys upon every body & soe good intelligence yt nobody can move a step or speake a word but he knows it, and his design of continuinge in these parts is to be amongst ye Hills to hinder his sons from makinge any attempt upon him all approaches wth an army being difficult."*

News of a disastrous massacre soon reached Norris to the effect that in firing from the fort twelve of the "Mughal's army" were killed. At the middle of April the Emperor himself went out to view the approaches made to the fort, particularly the place where Fathi Ullah Khan had been in command. Norris gathered that Aurangzib was "carryd in such a thinge as they put upon elephants when they ride on them by 16 people, yt he was all over white both the dress of his body & his turbatt & his beard as white as they that were 100 chopdars before him and greate numbers of horse & vast numbers of people crowding to see him, but that he himselfe tho' carryd openly saw nobody havinge his eyes always affixd upon a Booke† he carryd in his hands & readinge all ye way he went without ever divertinge to any other object."‡

The Emperor had ordered most of his generals to attack the Maratha hill-forts in a body. On April 21, about midday, Norris saw the hill that leads up to the fort at Pavanghad covered with men going up, and a great lodgement made by them on the top between the two forts, and the Mughal's colours lodged in several

* Rawl. MS., C. 913.

† The Emperor always took the Koran with him, as mentioned by other European travellers.

‡ Rawl. MS., C. 913.

places. Frequent firings from the fort were heard, and about 7 or 8 p.m. at night many lights were seen coming down the hill again and many also flocking down before night. It seemed as if they were unsuccessful in their attempt and lost some men and all came back. The same day, Bidar Bakht was commanded by the Emperor to pursue the enemy at Brahmapuri, on the pretext that the Marathas were strong there; but the truth was that Aurangzib did not wish to keep so near himself either Bidar Bakht or anyone else who was in the interest of his father. For the same reason, as well as for permitting a convoy of provisions to get into Panhala fort, Zul'fikar Khan was sent away.

An army of above 100,000 men had already been six months investing the hill-forts without any result, though the Mughal was extremely anxious to take them. Norris was sounded, through a high official, as to whether he and other Englishmen with him would assist in taking the fort, which would be of great service to the Emperor, and in return for which any request made by the Ambassador would readily be granted. He was at first reluctant to accede to such a request, and concluded that they had either a very small opinion of their own prowess or put a great confidence on what the English could perform. For he observed that they had an opinion that Englishmen were able to perform any exploits whatsoever by dint of their courage and firearms. This gave them sufficient intimation to the fact that Norris had been able to march through the enemy country without convoy and therefore the English were not afraid of numbers, and perhaps these facts influenced the Emperor to engage him to give an assault, and should carry the fort at once.

He was therefore asked before his audience to send the Emperor twelve brass guns, with some Englishmen to manage them. Norris was himself desirous to be quit of the guns, as it was impossible to get carriages either for them or several other things which he wished to dispose of before the Mughal removed his camp. He therefore consented to deliver the guns to the Emperor if he would accept them before his audience, and further offered to supply six gunners to manage them and await him to the best of their power in taking the fort on condition that these men were to be returned to him whenever asked for. He also pointed out that the guns would be ineffective unless loaded with iron ball, and that stones, which they generally made use of, would soon spoil them. Norris was afraid that Ruhulla Khan and others desired to employ all his soldiers in the attack on the fort for the purpose of making an attack on him when he was undefended, and for many weighty reasons he could not consent to their request. He was ready to supply only six Englishmen to

manage the brass guns, if they were able to plant them where there was a possibility of doing execution. This proposal, Norris thought, might induce the Mughal the more readily to grant the *farmans* required by him. Dissatisfied with the proposal, the Emperor wished rather it might be left at large than accept the six mentioned in general terms. The Ambassador, however, still persisted in his previous proposal, and put forth that his object was to oblige the Emperor in everything, and to offer those who were skilled in gunnery to the best advantage. That he had but a handful of Englishmen with him, several of whom were ill, so that he had hardly a sufficient number to guard himself and secure his camp from any attack. Norris hoped that no misconstruction would be put upon his proposal nor anything further expected.* The fort of Panhala was finally captured by the Emperor on May 25, 1701.

* Rawl. MS., C. 913.

NOTE.—The journals and letters of Sir William Norris will be exhaustively treated in his embassy to Aurangzib by the writer of this article.

ASIA IN BRITAIN'S WORLD AIR SYSTEM

By Robert Brenard
(Author of *The Romance of the Flying Mail*)

[The development of world air services, telescoping distance and making oceans and continents look small, has made near neighbours of Asia and India and the western world.

In this article the history of Britain's contribution to this increasingly important servant of trade and communication is reviewed, and an outline is given of the immediate plans for further extensions which will still more closely link the cities of India and the Far East with the centres of commerce and finance in Europe and America.

It is noteworthy that the unique system of Britain's Imperial air lines had its beginning in Asia, while the first official air post service from which has grown the great Empire air mail scheme was flown in India.]

The Beginnings of Flight

When the first men who ever made fully controlled aeroplane flights, Wilbur and Orville Wright, had succeeded in getting off the ground in an engine-driven aeroplane, they were told that the flying machine was a "purely military proposition."

It is over thirty years now since those world's first aeroplane flights and, for a good many years after the advent of the first really practicable flying machines people saw in this great conquest nothing but the evolution of a new instrument of war. The vast future of the aeroplane as a vehicle for the rapid transport of passengers, mails, and freight was envisaged at that time by only a few far-sighted enthusiasts.

But among these was Commander Sir Walter (then Captain) Windham.

Early Indian Air Mail

The first aeroplane flights were made in 1903, and an experiment was conducted in England in 1910 in the carriage of a bag of mails, but it remained for Captain Windham in 1911 to stage the first dispatch of mails by air from a Government Post Office in the ordinary course of its business.

The scene was the Allahabad Exhibition ground on February 18, 1911.

Captain Windham secured permission from the Postmaster-

General, United Provinces, and from the Director-General of Post Offices, India, for an "aerial post" from the exhibition ground to a post office receiving station outside the exhibition, about six miles away.

Himself too big for the aircraft which accomplished this task, Captain Windham despatched the 6,000 letters in a De Havilland machine piloted by the Frenchman M. Picquet, who accomplished his journey in thirteen minutes.

Actually India had seen before this quite a number of aeroplane flights.

Calcutta, 1910

So far as can be discovered from the records, the first flight in India was on November 3, 1910, in a "home-made" machine constructed by Mr. Wilfred Wills, a motor engineer. The machine was equipped with a 20 h.p. engine and at first gave considerable trouble. However, Mr. Wills persevered and finally the machine rose from the ground and accomplished a flight of thirty yards at a height of several feet.

The first Indian passenger to venture into the air seems to have been the Kunwar Sahib of Benares, who was taken for a flight around the polo ground at Allahabad by M. Henri Pequet on December 22, 1910. And the first Indian lady was Mrs. N. C. Sen, who now lives in Calcutta.

The only person among the spectators who ventured to accept the invitation, she was taken up for a fifteen-minute flight in a biplane piloted by Baron de Caters at Tollygunge Club at Calcutta in December, 1910.

Other pre-war mail carrying experiments were made with aeroplanes and airships, but the advent of the Great War diverted air energies into other channels.

Post-War Growth

With the cessation of hostilities, however, attention was again directed to civil aviation, and Asia and India played important rôles in the very earliest developments. Indeed the very first of the Imperial services, which now stretch over 30,000 miles of route, began in Asia Minor.

Under Royal Air Force pioneering, inaugurated by the Air Ministry at the end of the war, the first regular mail and freight service on the Empire routes was taken in 1921 from Cairo to Bagdad, a distance of about 800 miles.

The route, which went by way of southern Palestine and Rutbah Wells, lay across vast tracts of desert bare of landmarks. Aerial navigation being then in its infancy, a deep furrow was ploughed across hundreds of miles as a guide line to the pilots.

This pioneer route really created the idea of the greatest air mail scheme in the world—the carriage by air of all first-class mails without surcharge.

Imperial Airways Formed

When Imperial Airways was formed in 1924 as the nation's chosen instrument for civil air transport, it was intended first for operation in Europe.

While the company immediately began to examine the problem of an air service to connect Britain and the overseas Empire, it was not until 1927 that the Government made up its mind to concentrate on the Empire routes. The Cairo-Bagdad line had proved the practicability of regular Imperial services.

Despite difficulties of international politics rather than of air line operation, Imperial Airways had completed its plans for the first section of the London-Australia service—Cairo-Karachi—by 1926.

The project was held up by the restrictions on operation along the Persian side of the Persian Gulf, a problem not overcome until 1929.

But in December, 1926, Imperial Airways took over the Cairo-Bagdad service and extended it to Basra on the Persian Gulf.

A special fleet of three-engined air liners had been constructed for the route, and a complete and permanent ground service organized.

Provision for Passengers

Then, because mails alone did not make the services economically justifiable, it was decided to carry passengers and freight.

Passenger traffic demanded far-reaching developments in the design of the 'planes and the scope of the ground services.

Comfort and space had to be reconciled with commercial speed. Day stages on the route had to be adjusted so that passengers would not be wearied by undue travel in 'planes which then had not reached the standard of quiet and comfort of the modern air liner.

Meals and sleeping accommodation had to be provided where none existed.

In one instance the airport and rest house had to be constructed in the form of a fort, as protection against the nomad tribes.

Because of the unfriendly and sparsely populated terrain, too, new radio equipment had to be perfected for use in case of forced landings. Transmitters had to be evolved to work when the machine was on the ground as well as in the air—at that time a

new problem. Locked petrol dumps were established in the desert.

In case of landing in inaccessible spots, too, "iron rations" of food and drinking water sufficient to last for some days were put on each 'plane: incidentally only used on two or three occasions since the desert service began twelve years ago.

In these and other ways that first section of the Australian route saw and speeded progress to today's high standard of safe and regular commercial aviation.

England-India Route

In 1929 negotiations with Persia for the eastward extension and plans for the connection between London and Cairo came to fruition simultaneously.

It was thus possible to extend the service into a 5,000 miles route connecting Britain, Palestine, Iraq and India—the first regular service from Britain to any part of the Empire.

This first service operated satisfactorily for nearly a year and brought India within seven days of London, enabling letters to reach India and be answered in the time which a letter took for the single journey by surface transport.

Very soon the service became so popular that 40,000 letters (about half a ton) were air-borne in each direction weekly between Britain and India.

That is small compared with the fifteen tons which go out weekly from England to countries on the India-Malaya-Australia route today. But it showed the need and the possibilities for future development.

By 1931 the schedule was six days London-Karachi.

Inside India

Difficulties were experienced in India in the planning of extensions beyond Karachi.

A temporary service from Karachi to Delhi was run with 'planes chartered by the Indian Government. The arrangement terminated in December, 1932, and the Delhi Aero Club continued the line with light 'planes.

A big commercial concern in India organized a similar service to Bombay and Madras.

Down to Malaysia

In July, 1933, the air mail service was extended from Karachi via Jodhpur, Delhi, and Cawnpore to Calcutta, and later in the year extensions were made to Rangoon (in September) and Singapore (in December).

The trans-Indian services were operated by Indian Trans-Continental Airways, a company for which the capital was subscribed by Imperial Airways Limited, the Government of India, and an Indian transport company.

Meantime the establishment of the Southampton-Sydney air route, the longest in the world, was in hand in other countries.

Over several years careful, detailed surveys were made throughout the 13,500 miles of the proposed route.

England-Australia Route

Stage by stage it was opened up. The first through flight was made in April, 1931, with an experimental service on which the late Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith picked up the mails at Koepang and took them on to Australia to be transported then by the services of the original Qantas company to Melbourne.

Kingsford-Smith figured in the second experimental mail service to Australia at the end of the same month when Imperial Airways flew the letters out to Akyab, Burma, where the famous Australian ace picked them up and flew on to Sydney.

It was at the beginning of the following year that Qantas Empire Airways Limited was formed with British and Australian capital to operate, in association with Imperial Airways, at the Australian end of the London-Brisbane route, and on December 8, 1934, came the historic flight which inaugurated the definite linking of the great island dominion with the mother country by a regular weekly air service.

It was appropriate that less than a fortnight later the British Government announced the Empire air mail scheme—by which, as a matter of principle, all letter mails despatched from the United Kingdom for delivery along the Empire routes were, so far as practicable, to be carried by air without surcharge.

The new extension quickly proved itself, and by April of 1935 the London-Brisbane service was ready to carry passengers, while little more than a year later services between the mother country and Australia had to be duplicated.

The Imperial flying boat Canopus, first of the great C class flying boats which now throw the network of British airways across half a world, came into operation in October, 1936, leading a fleet which has set an example of regular, efficient, safe and comfortable transport still unapproached by any other nation.

Empire Air Mail Scheme

Since then the Empire air mail scheme has become a reality, and Britain's aviation is daily demonstrating its predominant position in world transport.



GUARDIAN FIGURE AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE ROYAL WAT AT BANGKOK, JUNCTION FOR IMPERIAL AIRWAYS' ENGLAND-HONG KONG AND ENGLAND-AUSTRALIA SERVICES.



MARKET DAY AT KOEPANG, LAST STOP BEFORE AUSTRALIA ON IMPERIAL AIRWAYS' LONDON-SYDNEY ROUTE.

PLATE II.



AN IMPERIAL FLYING BOAT IN FLIGHT.



GADHL MEANS CANOPUS—FIRST OF THE GREAT FLEET OF IMPERIAL FLYING BOATS OF THE C CLASS.



IMPERIAL FLYING BOAT AT MOORINGS, BASRA.

The magnificent airport hotel and control buildings, with marine and land-plane airports adjoining it, constitute one of the finest air stations on the Imperial routes.



SIGNPOST TO THE WORLD.

It is at Imperial Airways' flying boat station at Karachi.

PLATE IV.

BRITISH WINGS AROUND THE GLOBE.

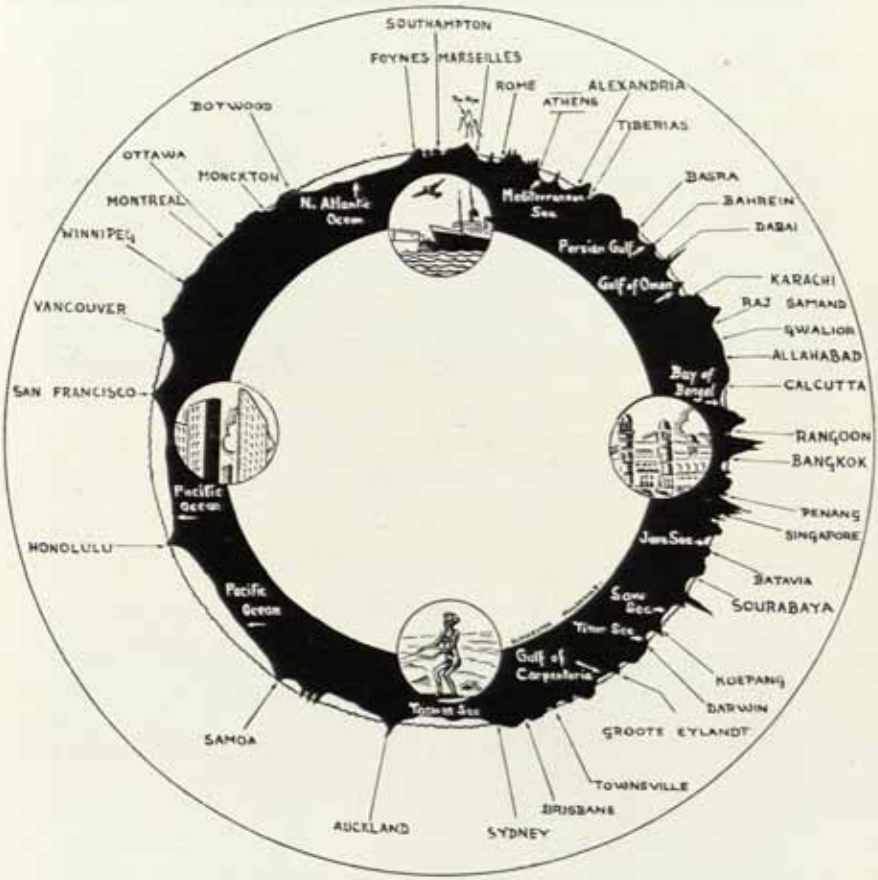
With the inauguration this year of British air services across the Atlantic and the Tasman, the complete encirclement of the world by Britain's air lines will be a stage nearer.

Investigation is already far advanced on routes which will carry the existing services across the Pacific to join the trans-Canadian link at Vancouver.

The drawing on the opposite page shows orographically the variety of terrain—the populous cities, the long ocean stretches, and the rugged expanses of mountain and desert—which the air line follows.

It is a graphic story of distance annihilated, a story told in names that are romance and adventure in themselves.

Asia in Britain's World Air System.



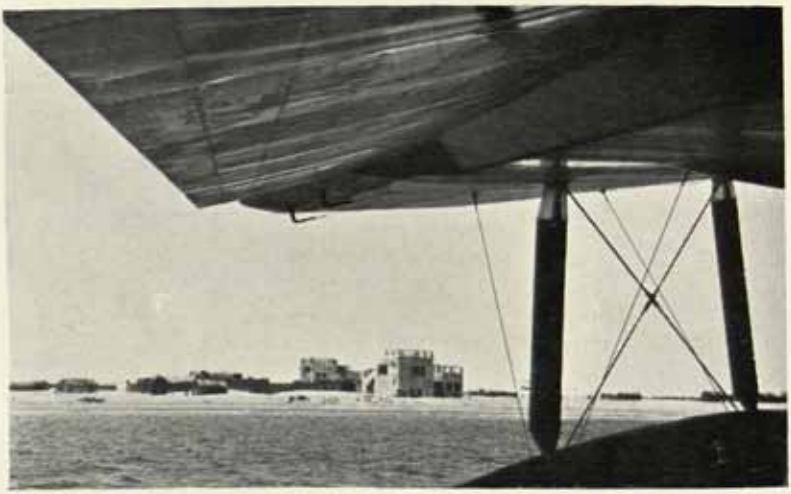
BRITISH WINGS AROUND THE GLOBE.

(See descriptive text on the opposite page.)



SINGAPORE AIRPORT CONTROL BUILDING.

It houses restaurant, sleeping quarters for flying personnel, air line offices, and other amenities, as well as all the most modern airport equipment.



DESERT OUTPOST.

Dibai, on the coast of the Oman Peninsula, Persian Gulf, is a stopping place on Imperial Airways' route to India and the East.



A CORNER OF THE FORT WHICH FORMS IMPERIAL AIRWAYS' STATION AT SHARJAH, OMAN PENINSULA, ON THE LAND-PLANE ROUTE TO INDIA.



NEARLY 300 YEARS OLD, THIS IS THE RETAINING WALL OF THE SACRED RESERVOIR OF RAJ SAMAND, IMPERIAL AIRWAYS, STATION 40 MILES NORTH OF UDAIPUR, INDIA.
The air company's motor launch takes passengers and officials to the flying boats.

PLATE VIII.



SINGAPORE—ONE OF THE FINEST AIRPORTS IN THE WORLD.
Picture shows close proximity of land-plane and flying boat alighting areas, and the excellent hangars and control building.



WASHING DAY AT BATAVIA, FIRST STOP AFTER SINGAPORE ON IMPERIAL AIRWAYS' FLYING BOAT ROUTE FROM ENGLAND TO AUSTRALIA.

The first stage was inaugurated on June 29, 1937, when the first flying boat for Durban carrying unsurcharged mail left Southampton.

The second stage was the commencement of the all-up mail to India and Malaya on February 23 last year. And the original programme was completed when, on July 28, the first all-up mails were despatched to Australia and New Zealand from Southampton.

But the daily demonstration of the efficiency of this great network of services made it inevitable that almost continuously there would be demands for more and more extensions of the network.

First to Hong Kong

Imperial Airways was able to reach further out into Asia when in March, 1936, the first regular surcharged air mail left England for Hong Kong by way of Penang, Saigon and Tourane. The services operated once each way each week.

In December, 1937, the route was altered to go by way of Bangkok, Udorn, Hanoi and Fort Bayard, while in 1938 the services were doubled to provide two flights each way weekly, and yet a third 'plane each way was added last September, when Hong Kong was included in the Empire air mail scheme.

Thus the Far East is closely linked into the colossal system of the 30,000 miles of air route operated by Imperial Airways and its associate companies.

Now there are eight Imperial Airways services each way between Egypt and England, five between India and England, three right through to Sydney, Australia, and to Central Africa, three to Hong Kong, two to South Africa and one to West Africa.

Such frequency of services forms a fundamental part of the Empire mail scheme, for it ensures an even flow of mail to and from the homeland, thus making the old " mail-day " obsolescent.

Not only the frequency but the speed of services has been markedly increased.

For instance, by the latest acceleration, Hong Kong was brought within five days six hours of London, compared with over seven days on a previous schedule.

At the same time, re-scheduling provided additional speedy connections with other parts of the Empire.

The services leaving Hong Kong on Tuesdays and Fridays connect with the England-bound services leaving Bangkok on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Thus, leaving Hong Kong on Tuesday, a passenger can reach Calcutta by Wednesday afternoon, take the next morning's flying boat back, have Thursday night and Friday in Bangkok and be at Hong Kong on Saturday.

Faster Services

Substantial as these accelerations are, improvements will continue to be made, particularly on the Hong Kong-London route, as night flying organization is improved; and indeed the original scheme provides for a seven days' service between London and Sydney, which will almost certainly be accompanied by still further reductions in the time of the services from England to India and Asia.

Let it be frankly admitted that by originating the Empire air mail scheme, Imperial Airways has put British aviation in the forefront of world air services. There is indeed no other country which can compare with the British Empire so far as the amount of overseas air mail carried is concerned.

The benefits are not confined to terminals, but are of value to countries all along the routes.

The Asiatic and Indian stations on the Imperial air lines are served by land-planes and flying boats.

Where Flying Boats Alight

Flying boats call at:

Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee,
Lake Habbaniyeh, forty-five miles from Bagdad,
Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf,
Bahrein Islands, centre of the Persian Gulf pearling industry and assuming increasing importance with the development of oilfields there,
Dibai, an Arab settlement on the Oman Peninsula,
Jiwani, on the coast of Baluchistan,
Karachi, the gateway to the north-west of India,
Raj Samand, forty miles north of Udaipur,
Gwalior, where a lake twelve miles from the town is used,
Allahabad, where the alighting area is on the Jumna, close to its junction with the Ganges,
Calcutta, on the Hooghli River, just above the Willingdon Bridge.
Akyab, where there are alternative coastal and river alighting areas,
Rangoon, on the Irrawaddy,
Bangkok, on the Menam,
Koh Samui, a little island in the Gulf of Siam,
Georgetown, Penang, and
Singapore.

The flying boats then continue on through the Dutch East Indies and around north-eastern Australia to Sydney.

The land-planes fly from Alexandria to Lydda, airport for Jerusalem, and then go by way of Bagdad, Basra, Bahrein, Sharjah (Oman Peninsula), Jiwani, Karachi, Jodhpur, Delhi, Cawnpore, Allahabad to Calcutta.

Here at present the land-plane service terminates, but the Bangkok-Hong Kong route is, of course, also operated by land-planes.

Let us pause for a moment to look at the furthermost east of these outposts of progress.

Five years ago Hong Kong airport constituted a mere shack on a bare landing ground at Kai Tak on the north-eastern side of the Kowloon Peninsula, facing the island of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong Airport

Now one enters a well-equipped airport through an ornamental gateway and passes through a modern four-storied control building adjoining the hangars and the landing ground.

This is indicative of the rapid development which has taken place in aviation in the Far East.

Despite the fact that there have been many interruptions of internal Chinese services owing to the Sino-Japanese hostilities, air services into and out of Hong Kong have grown steadily in importance and in their mail, freight and passenger traffic.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday are the big air days in the week of the British residents in the colony, for they signify the arrival and departure of the Imperial 'planes with the home mails and usually with a number of interesting passengers.

The silver-winged biplanes, plentifully decorated with Union Jacks painted on wings and fuselage, never fail to attract the eyes of even the most hardened " old China hand."

Radio Watch

While you wait in the airport building for the arrival of the 'plane, its departure from Udorn in French Indo-China, about two and a half hours distant, has been signalled, and Kai Tak is in constant radio touch with the 'plane for the rest of its journey.

Up in the control tower at the top of the airport building there are always a number of Chinese radio operators, headphones to ears, receiving and sending messages to the various aircraft on their way to or from Kai Tak. One of the airport officials traces the course of each 'plane all the way between Kai Tak and the immediate airport from or to which it is travelling. When the 'plane comes to rest on the tarmac, mechanics, porters, newspaper men, officials of Imperial Airways are out to meet it, while the gleaming red post office vans and hotel buses stand by.

The Commander and his co-pilot in smart khaki uniforms step out. The passengers disembark. The luggage is wheeled off for Customs inspection, and the mail bags are checked into the mail vans.

Such things are frequent at Kai Tak now, for in addition to the Imperial Airways service the services of the China National Aviation Corporation and of the Sino-German company Eurasia are coming and going constantly on services into the interior of China, while the Pan-American Clippers from San Francisco arrive and depart on the nearby marine airport twice in every three weeks.

Hong Kong is likely to become increasingly important in Britain's world air network, for investigation of services across the Pacific is already far advanced.

British Trans-Pacific

One such service is obviously an extension of the Sydney-Auckland flying boat service northward from New Zealand to Fiji, and then by suitable islands to Honolulu and San Francisco, linking up with the trans-Canadian system, probably at Vancouver.

This, with the Imperial Airways trans-Atlantic service which will begin this year, will make a complete girdle of British air lines around the world.

Two other routes across the Pacific, however, suggest themselves as logical extensions of the London-Hong Kong services.

One, which obviously depends on the state of war or peace in China, would carry the benefits of direct connection with the Imperial system to Shanghai and on to Osaka and Tokyo.

This is obviously a route which would offer considerable traffic, and it may be assumed that it will be proceeded with as soon as circumstances are favourable.

Another vista is opened up by a study of the air lines on the map, which reveals that there is already, apart from a few short breaks, an air chain from Tokyo round the north Pacific shores to Vancouver.

Another possibility is suggested by the increasing range which commercial aircraft are developing. Distances which seemed to present too costly an operation in the past are rapidly coming within the field of consideration as commercial propositions.

The shortest air distance between Tokyo and Vancouver is, approximately, 5,000 miles, and it is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when this route can be operated with payable loads.

Yet a third extension of the British service to Hong Kong is

feasible along the Manila-Honolulu-San Francisco route which the Americans have already tried out.

Hong Kong to Australia

Also, although it is not at present under consideration by Imperial Airways or its associate companies, it has been suggested that a continuation of the Australian line from Sydney to New Guinea northward through Borneo and the Philippines to Hong Kong is worth commercial exploitation.

The British Air Ministry apparently intends that the big new national air corporation to be formed from Imperial Airways and British Airways should carry the Empire's air lines to the predominant position in international aviation.

We have examined here a few of the ways in which Asia will benefit from this air expansion, but it may be taken for granted that just as Britain's ships sought continuously for new seas to sail, so those who control Britain's aviation will not rest until they have reached out to every sphere where Britain's interests are involved, or where successful air line operation presents a natural inducement.

East and West have been brought closer and closer together with each new improvement in these air services, but they have only begun to make their contribution to better understanding, better communication and better trade, and the vision of the future is bright and shining.

DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER IN MYSORE: ITS UTILIZATION FOR RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

By T. C. S. Maniam

The rapid development of the hydro-electric power schemes in Mysore during the last decade is fast making the days of oil lighting an anachronism, and has created a well-worked-out balance between the agricultural and industrial progress in the State. The Government of Mysore, under the able guidance of Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan, is carrying through a scheme to extend the benefits of electricity to the rural population. In a speech inaugurating electric lighting in Agaram village in 1932, Sir Mirza declared: "To me the real spirit of India dwells in the village. It is the poor struggling villager that is the real citizen of India. It is he who needs all the attention, all the encouragement and all the protection which an administration can bestow. Can our land be regarded as really happy so long as our villages remain poor and unhappy?"

A major portion of the resources of Government is now being set aside for the supply of electricity, and, as will be seen in the budget for 1938-39, a sum of Rs. 10,366,000 has been allotted for the provision of adequate supply of power to all the districts in the State. These budget provisions, together with those for irrigation, clearly indicate the earnest attempts made by Government to make the *ryot* attain a reasonable amount of comfort, prosperity and happiness.

Professor S. Ralph Harlow, Visiting Professor, Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, declared that the problem of providing cheap electricity to villagers in U.S.A. had not been solved, but Mysore had successfully tackled the problem. He observed that Mysore was fortunate in its Dewan, who was full of enthusiasm for the service of the people and was behind every socially helpful and constructive force in the State.

Nature has been very liberal in her gifts of hydro-power to Mysore under conditions which make several sites easily developed for the production of electrical energy without interfering with the use of the water for irrigation. The people of the State are living on their inexhaustible annual income when their power requirements are met by the development of hydro-power sites; but they are living on their exhaustible capital when they obtain their power from coal and oil.

Mysore has four rivers—namely, the Cauvery, the Shimsa, the Bhadra and the Sharavathi—with topography and rainfalls suitable for the production of about 260,000 h.p. without reducing the water necessary for meeting the State's irrigation development programme.

The Cauvery Falls, on the southern boundary of the State at Sivasamudram, and the Jog Falls, on the Sharavathi river in the north-western corner of the State, are, in addition to their commercial value, two of the greatest and best known beauty spots in India and attract many hundreds of visitors every year. The survey of the hydro-power resources of the State began in 1898, about twenty years after the invention of the incandescent lamp and the development of an economical motor.

Power Requirements

The demands in 1936-37 for large and small blocks of power for lighting and industrial purposes clearly indicated that a complete survey should be made immediately of the demands for power likely to arise during the next ten years. To meet this need, a load survey was made by examining the growth of load during the past ten years on the basis of applications from existing power consumers, industrial concerns already organized and under construction, and new industries likely to develop in Mysore State.

The Station Load records and energy sales showed the average annual increments for lighting and miscellaneous power purposes to be 1,650 h.p., which, together with actual applications for additional power, most of which have been accepted plus the more likely future loads, indicate on the most conservative basis that in the year 1946-47—*i.e.*, nearly ten years from now—34,625 h.p. would have to be provided, showing an actual increase of from 54,300 h.p. to 88,925 h.p. To meet this greatly increased load demand, eight different construction programmes were prepared by the Electrical Department, which is now under the guidance of Mr. S. G. Forbes, Chief Electrical Engineer, and scrutinized by the Hydro-Electric Schemes Committee appointed by the Government to examine and make recommendations for meeting these load demands.

Eight Programmes

The eight programmes, as finally designed, are:

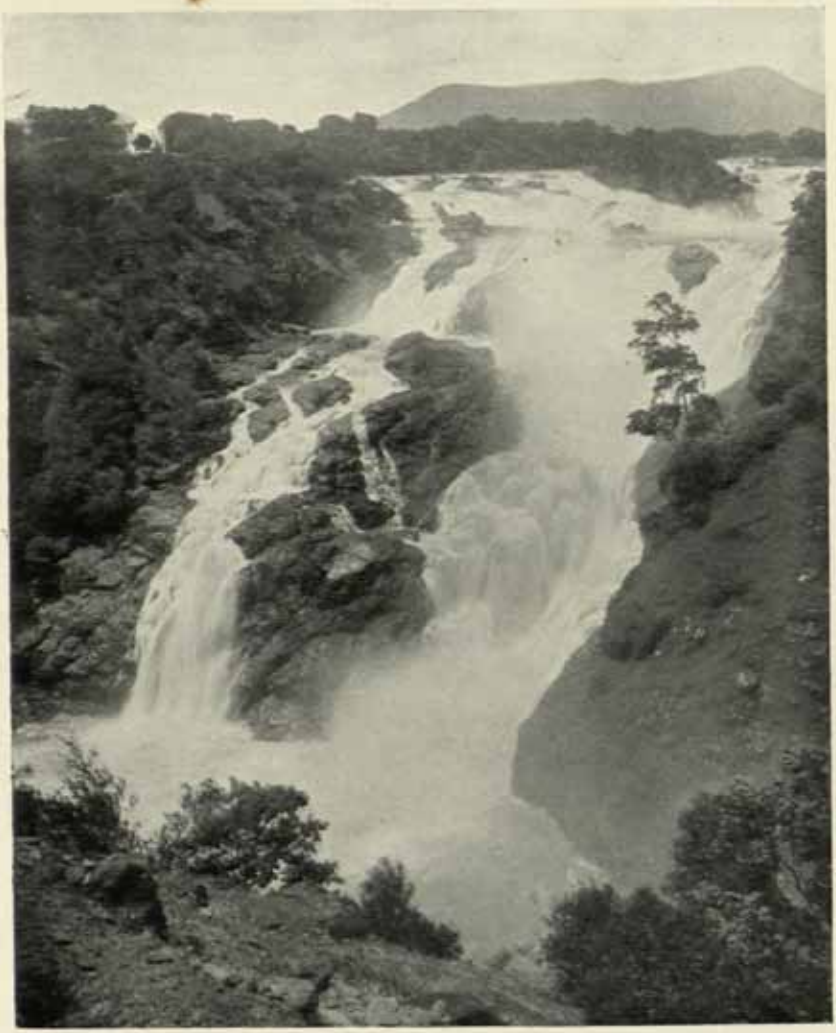
1. Sivasamudram, plus the Shimsa New Project, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st stage to produce 101,000 h.p. at a load factor of 0·75.

2. Sivasamudram, plus the Shimsa New Project, plus the Krishnaraja Sagara Project, to produce 75,000 h.p. at a load factor of 0·75.
3. Sivasamudram, plus the Shimsa New Project, only to produce 69,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.
4. Sivasamudram, plus the Krishnaraja Sagara Project, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st stage to produce 84,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.
5. Sivasamudram, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st stage to produce 78,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.
6. Sivasamudram, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st and 2nd stages to produce 91,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.
7. Sivasamudram, plus the Shimsa New Project with a canal from Sivasamudram, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st stage to produce 101,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.
8. Sivasamudram, plus the Shimsa New Project with a canal from Sivasamudram, plus the Jog Falls Project—1st and 2nd stages to produce 114,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.

The Hydro-Electric Schemes Committee, after carefully examining the various schemes, recommended to Government the acceptance of Programme No. 7, that is the construction of the Shimsa New Project and the Jog Falls Project—1st stage.

The Shimsa New Project

The Shimsa New Project, which was sanctioned in consideration of the fact that it can be completed within two years, obviating the danger of seriously delaying the State's industrial development, was inaugurated by H.H. the Maharaja on December 20, 1937, and is now progressing rapidly. The first generator is expected to be ready to go into regular service by August, 1939, and the second in November, 1939. The site of the Shimsa station is within three miles of the main transmission line and near the junction of the Cauvery and Shimsa rivers, and is almost ideal for a hydro-electric power station. The turbines will operate under a net head of 600 feet, as compared with 405 feet at Sivasamudram. The construction of the dam across the Shimsa river and the 16-mile-long canal to the generating station will form the second stage of the Shimsa New Project. The canals from the dam at Hagalhalli will be about 16 miles long and have a capacity of 400 cusecs. They will form a ring around the lands in Mandya and Malavalli Taluks, irrigated by the Irwin canal, and pick up the waste water and seepage and divert it to the storage reservoirs and Netkal Balancing Reservoir, and thence to the generating station at Shimsapura. It can, therefore, be correctly stated that this station will operate on "waste water" for the production of power.



THE CAUVERY WATERFALLS AT SIVASAMUDRAM WHICH NOW SUPPLY ALL THE ELECTRIC POWER.

Hydro-Electric Power in Mysore.

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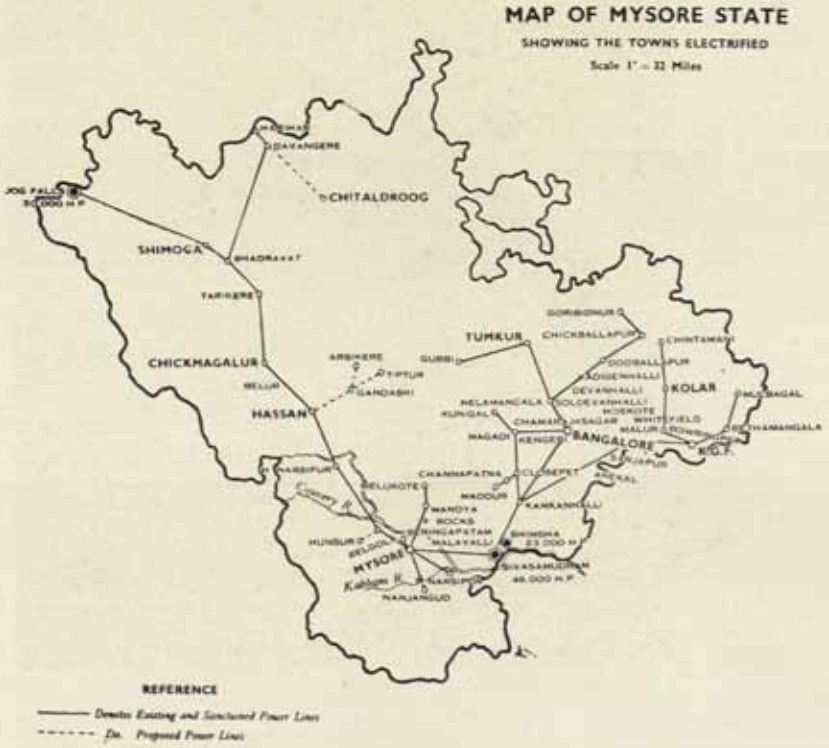
THE SIVASAMUDRAM PENSTOCK LINES AND THE POWER HOUSE.

Hydro-Electric Power in Mysore.

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THE SHIMSA FALLS, WHICH WILL PRODUCE 69,000 H.P.



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PLATE IV.



THE JOG FALLS, WHICH WILL BE HARNESSED TO PRODUCE 24,000 H.P. IN THE FIRST STAGE.

Hydro-Electric Power in Mysore.

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This project presents several interesting features, all of which have been worked out to give the greatest possible head at the turbines and the highest efficiencies that can be obtained with the most modern type of hydraulic and electrical equipments. Two generators—2,200 volts, 3 phase, 25 cycles—with a continuous output of 8,600 kw. at 0·85 p.f. are being installed in the Shimsapura Generating Station. The station building has been designed with space for a third unit at some future date. The generators are excited by means of two induction motor-driven exciters, each rated at 150 kw., sufficient to provide excitation for three main generating units. The generators and exciters are insulated throughout with Class "B" insulation and designed for the highest efficiencies; they are of the totally enclosed type and the ventilation is, under normal conditions, a completely closed air-circuit. Surface air-coolers, located on the floor of the generating station, cool the hot air and return it to the ventilating ducts in the cores and windings, resulting in a cool condition of the station and improved length of life of the generator windings and other equipment in the station.

The generators are controlled by high-speed oil circuit-breakers and other switching equipment installed indoors. The step-up transformers, high-tension switch-gear and bus equipment are installed in an outdoor switching station, and under the immediate observation of the station operator.

The first stage of the Shimsa New Project is estimated to cost Rs, 59,75,000—that is, the capital cost per horse-power will be Rs. 260—which compares very favourably with many hydro-electric stations in different parts of the world.

The Jog Falls Project

With the rapid development of the new industries it was found that a further survey should be made of the power requirements of the State, and the question of taking up the Jog Falls Project (the detailed survey and the river gauging was made by Government as early as 1918) was considered to be an immediate necessity, and the project was sanctioned in 1937. The Jog Falls Project is designed for development in four stages, without impairing in any way the natural beauty of the falls, of 24,000 h.p. (continuous) each, as and when necessary. Further, the surveys have shown the way to locate and execute the several items of the project where they will be remote from the falls and will in no way spoil their beauty. Further, the provision of transport, hotel accommodation and other conveniences will extend the visiting season to the falls from November to December and January, to the months of October to May each year.

The catchment area of the river is 700 square miles and receives an average rainfall of 189·5 inches, mostly from the south-west monsoon. The stream flow varies greatly—that is, from four cusecs in the minimum year hot weather to a maximum of 140,000 cusecs in July, 1924. A number of eminently suitable sites are available along the river where dams and reservoirs can be constructed for providing the necessary storage. It is calculated that a total of 22,000 million cubic feet of water can be economically stored as and when needed without impairing in any way the natural beauty of the falls. With this quantity, 128,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f. can be produced at the Jog Falls Generating Station.

The first stage now in progress is designed to produce 24,000 h.p. continuously, utilizing 190 cusecs under a gross head of 1,358 feet, which is the maximum head that can be obtained at a reasonable cost.

The Hydro-Electrification Committee, which recently inspected the several alternative sites for the construction of the dam and the storage, have at last come to the conclusion that the site called the Gillagandi site, about two miles from the ferry where the river is crossed, was the best suited for the dam, and the work of boxing and laying of the foundation of the dam will be taken up at an early date. H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore laid the foundation stone at Jog Falls on February 5.

The dam is designed for the installation of gates, 20 feet high, which will increase the storage to 8,500 million cubic feet when required for the second stage of the project for increasing the production to 48,000 h.p. continuous or 64,000 h.p. at 0·75 l.f.

The Jog Falls Project will be linked with the Cauvery Power Scheme and the Shimsa New Project to supply, by the end of 1940, a total of 101,000 h.p., at a load factor of 0·75, to more than 500 cities, towns and villages in all the nine districts of the State. The State's three beautiful falls, the Cauvery at Sivasamudram, the Shimsa Falls at Shimsapura, and the Jog Falls, will be linked together by means of slender wires, about 270 miles long, for supplying about 100,000 h.p. to many hundreds of large and small communities at the same rates applicable to each class of consumer, irrespective of their distances from one or the other of the three stations. The amount of power so transmitted and distributed can readily be increased to approximately 200,000 h.p. from these three stations, situated on opposite sides of the State. (A map of the different sites of the generating stations is published on another page.)

The romance of the Electrical Department of Mysore can be appreciated by looking at the annual revenue of Rs. 67 lakhs—540 route miles—760 circuit miles of transmission lines operating

at 78 to 37 k.v., and at their efforts to serve with all their material and moral resources the people of the State in whatever may be their activities and to whatever extent may be required.

Some of the figures available are really phenomenal. The number of towns and villages electrified is 175, and there are now 40,000 consumers of lighting and power. The number of street lights ranging from 60 to 500 candle-power was 16,000. The generating station gave 240,000,000 units and imposed demands up to 58,000 e.h.p.

There are several centres in the State where electrical materials are manufactured, such as the Central Industrial Workshops, the Sivasamudram Departmental Workshops, and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. All iron materials required for the new works will be purchased from the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The porcelain factory at Bangalore gives all the insulators needed.

PROSPECTS OF TRADE IN BURMA

By F. Burton Leach
(I.C.S., retired; formerly Political Secretary to the Burma Chamber of Commerce.)

The trade of Burma has assumed a new interest and importance on account of two recent events, first the separation of Burma from India, which took place two years ago, on April 1, 1937, and secondly the Sino-Japanese war, which has revived interest in the possibility of Rangoon becoming a port for China.

Previous to separation Burma was a province of the Indian Empire and her trade was under the control of the Commerce Department of the Government of India; the outside world knew little about it and could get little information even if it desired to do so. A certain number of people knew that Burma was a large producer of rice, teak, oil and mineral ores, but very few except those directly connected with her trade knew how much of these articles she produced, to what countries they were exported, or of what her imports were composed and from where they were obtained. The usual works of reference included her trade in the general trade of India, and ignored the trade, entirely sea-borne, between Burma and India proper. Before considering the future prospects of her trade, therefore, it is desirable to give a brief account of its development and its present condition.

Previous to the annexation of Burma by the British, which took place in three stages, in 1826, 1852, and 1886, the country had to all intents and purposes no external trade, as the Burmese kings placed every obstacle in the way of taking anything out of the country. The annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826 started a small trade in rice and teak, mainly with India, but it was not until Lower Burma was annexed in 1852 that trade assumed any importance, and it was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 that gave the country the first real opportunity of trading with Europe. In the sixty years following that date the total trade of the country increased by 1,500 per cent. from R. 7 crores to R. 112 crores in the peak year 1928, and there has always been a large favourable balance of trade, exports in that year amounting to R. 69 crores and imports to R. 43 crores.

The exports fall into four main classes: rice and rice products, mineral oil and its products, metals and ores, and timber, which between them account for 90 per cent. of the total, rice being by far the most important; even at the present low prices it accounts

in value for 40 per cent. of the country's exports, and ten years ago it accounted for over 50 per cent. Imports are much more varied in kind, owing to the fact that Burma is an agricultural, not an industrial country, and imports the great bulk of its needs in manufactured goods. Apart from textiles, which account for some 25 per cent. of the imports, no other single class accounts for more than 5 or 6 per cent. of the total.

The outstanding feature of Burma's trade is that her main market is India, and that the proportion of her exports which go to India has for the last generation shown a steady tendency to increase, rising from 40 to over 50 and in some years to 60 per cent. India takes the whole of her exportable surplus of kerosine oil and petrol, three-quarters of her timber, and in recent years more than half her rice, the European market having declined to less than half of its pre-war level, decrease in purchasing power and economic nationalism in certain countries being the main causes. The only important product which does not go to India is minerals, of which lead, zinc, silver, wolfram and tin are the most important. More than half the imports now come from India, about 20 per cent. from the United Kingdom, and 10 per cent. from Japan. Lancashire textiles have been largely superseded by the cheaper products of Japan and India, and both these countries have made heavy inroads on the trade of England and other countries in smaller manufactured articles.

While Burma formed part of India the Indo-Burma trade, though sea-borne, was internal trade and free from customs duties, and when separation was proposed it was seen from the first that some special convention was desirable to prevent the serious upheaval which would be caused by suddenly treating all this as foreign trade, liable in each country to the customs duties payable on foreign imports.

There were considerable differences of opinion on the subject, as was only to be expected. It was held in some quarters in both countries that tariffs would be necessary for revenue purposes; certain sections of Indian opinion, which were opposed to separation as involving a financial loss to Indian revenues, were in favour of taxing imports from Burma, and English exporters, particularly in the Lancashire textile trade, which had hoped to reap some advantage in the Burma market, were naturally disappointed at the prospects of their situation remaining as before. Commercial opinion on the whole, however, was in favour of free trade—at any rate for a period long enough to allow the important and intricate issues involved to be discussed in a calmer atmosphere than prevailed at the time—and eventually a Trade Agreement was concluded for three years from April 1, 1937, during which time free-trade continues between the two countries, and as a corollary

Burma continues to impose on all foreign imports which compete with Indian imports the same tariffs as are imposed by India. This agreement is to remain in force until one year after notice given by either party to terminate it; the earliest date on which such notice can be given is therefore April 1, 1939, and at the time of writing no such notice has been given, though it is understood that the question is under consideration in Burma.

Next to the outstanding position of India both as a supplier and as a market, the most important feature of Burma's trade is that it is almost all in the hands of foreigners. Apart from the retail trade of the up-country bazaars the Burmese themselves take little part; all the wholesale trade and commerce is in the hands of three foreign communities, British, Indian, and Chinese, and the amount of foreign capital invested in the country amounts to many millions sterling. In addition to the interest on this which leaves the country, a very large sum is taken or sent to India by the Indian labourers who come over annually in numbers amounting to between 200,000 and 300,000, to work at the harvest, and on heavy labour in docks, mills, railways, etc., which until recent years the Burman found much less to his taste than agriculture. Trade therefore has a strongly national or racial element, which in these days when nationalism is so much to the fore is unfortunate; not only has it led on more than one occasion to serious rioting and bloodshed, but it influences public opinion in matters which ought to be decided on cold economic grounds.

Another feature which is not without interest is that the Burmese politicians naturally know little about commercial matters, partly because commerce, having been a central subject under the old Constitution, was only discussed in the Central Indian Legislature and not in the Burmese Legislative Council, and partly because so few Burmans take any active part in commerce. To find a Minister with qualifications for the portfolio of Commerce and Industry was therefore not easy, and none of the Ministers or Burmese members of the Legislature have anything like the knowledge of commercial affairs which is to be found in the Parliaments of most countries where business men usually form a large proportion of the members. Commercial affairs have not yet occupied so much of the time of the Legislature or attracted so much attention in the Press as other matters, particularly those connected with the land and agricultural indebtedness, but there are signs that they will in the near future require more urgent attention.

In the first place the question arises of the renewal or abrogation of the Indo-Burma Trade Agreement, which is intimately connected with the finances of the country. When separation was first discussed, views as to its effect on the finances of Burma were

based on the budgets of the prosperous years preceding the slump which hit Burma in 1930. By the time that separation took place all these calculations had been completely upset by the trade depression, and in particular the income of Burma from import duties had fallen to about half the figure originally anticipated.

Though there was some improvement in the years 1935 to 1937, trade has never approached the level of ten years ago, and there is no prospect of its doing so in the near future. In addition to this the proportion of imports from India which enter the country duty free continues to increase, so that there is little or no expansion in the revenue from customs to be anticipated.

The total of foreign trade (exports and imports) fell from R. 61 crores in 1929-30, the last year of prosperity, to R. 26 crores in 1933-34, at the depth of the depression, and has since recovered only to R. 32 crores in 1936-37. Trade with India in the same period only fell from R. 49 crores to R. 36 crores, and in 1936-37 had risen to R. 50 crores. The proportion of Indian trade to the total trade has therefore increased in these years from 44 to 61 per cent. The natural advantages of free-trade have been assisted by the effect of the Sino-Japanese war on the Japanese textile trade. This trade had assumed such proportions in India and Burma that, tariffs having proved unavailing, a quota of 400 million yards of Japanese cotton piece-goods was imposed by India (including Burma) in 1934. When Burma was separated in 1937, 42 million yards of this was allotted to Burma, in return for which Japan was to take 65 per cent. of Burma's exportable surplus of raw cotton, or 70,000 bales, whichever is less. In the first year, 1937-38, Japan only sent 35½ million yards of piece-goods and only took 34,000 bales of raw cotton, and the present year's figures promise to be even worse, as in the first six months the imports of Japanese cotton piece-goods were only 12 million yards. Though Lancashire has gained a little, the bulk of this deficiency has been made good from the Indian mills, and the effect of this decrease in foreign imports on the revenues will be serious.

Nor is Japan the only foreign country whose trade with Burma shows a decline this year. A comparison of the figures from April to September, 1938, with those of the corresponding six months of 1937, shows that Japanese trade has declined by R. 68 lakhs or 41 per cent., German trade by R. 50 lakhs or 30 per cent., United Kingdom trade by R. 94 lakhs or 16 per cent., and Indian trade by R. 119 lakhs, which only represents 6 per cent. The Budget therefore must have caused the Finance Minister grave anxiety, and the situation will give ample arguments for those who wish to abrogate the Trade Agreement and put a tariff on imports from India.

But there are many things to be thought of in addition to the immediate effect on the revenues. Though the Indo-Burma trade amounts to about 60 per cent. of Burma's total trade it only forms about 7 per cent. of India's trade, and India could easily retaliate with effects which might be disastrous to Burma. Burma's timber, of which teak is the main item, is by no means essential to India. The best qualities of teak are almost a monopoly of Burma, and teak looms very large in the eyes of the Burmans, who do not realize, it is to be feared, that it is no longer of such importance as it used to be. Not only can other timbers be used as substitutes, but metals can be and are being so used in increasing quantities, and a duty on Burma teak in India might do untold harm to Burma without being more than a comparatively slight inconvenience to India. Burma oil holds its position in India by a small preference and by means of certain agreements among the producing companies, and India would have no difficulty in obtaining all the supplies she needs from other sources. As to the main export from Burma to India—rice—it is very difficult to say whether India would be able to put a duty on this. Siam and Indo-China, Burma's two great competitors, export between them less than Burma, and if they had to supply India, Burma might gain some of their present markets, for up to the present time rice is one of the few staple foods for which even at the worst period of the depression demand has never failed to keep pace with supply, but even if this did occur the dislocation of trade would have serious effects. Also the food production of India does not increase in proportion to the population, and the statistics seem to show that India will need for many years to come to import a larger rather than a smaller quantity of rice. On the other hand there have been repeated agitations in India of recent years, mainly in Madras but also in Bengal, against the imports of Burma rice, on the ground that Burma is dumping her surplus produce at uneconomic prices. The accusation of dumping is completely baseless, and it is difficult to believe that the amount of Burma rice imported, which at the most only amounts to 4 or 5 per cent. of India's own rice crop, can have any real effect on local prices or do any harm to the Indian cultivator. On the contrary, it is a godsend to the poorer classes in years of local scarcity, and there is local scarcity somewhere in India nearly every year. The feeling, however, is there; it is fomented by a section of Nationalist politicians and Burma cannot afford to ignore it.

To impose tariffs on Indian imports into Burma, though it might improve the revenues, would also be a doubtful blessing to the people of the country in general. Burma is not an industrial country, and in spite of the ardent enthusiasm of the Burmese

nationalists it is doubtful how far she is ever likely to become one. The absence of coal and iron militates against the heavy industries; the comparative smallness of the local market, the higher standard of living and higher rates of wages than those prevailing in India, and the Burmese temperament, which is not readily adaptable to the strain of modern industrial life, make it doubtful whether Burmese industries would be able to meet Indian and Japanese competition without artificial support from the revenues, which would swallow up much of the gains from tariffs, and would merely result in increasing the price of manufactured articles for the bulk of the population.

As an agricultural country it would be much to Burma's advantage to develop the markets for her natural products and to admit imports with as low tariff rates as possible, but there are many difficulties in the way. In the first place the doctrines of economic nationalism prevailing in certain countries lead them to refuse to take Burma's rice unless she will take an equivalent quantity of their products which may not be suitable to her needs. A more serious difficulty, however, is the idea prevalent in the minds of some politicians that agriculture is inherently inferior to industry, and that Burma must endeavour to foster industrial development. This idea is by no means peculiar to Burma, and the arguments against a country being entirely dependent on foreign imports of manufactured goods are too obvious to need discussion, but to bolster up industries unsuitable to the nature of the country merely to gratify nationalist ambitions is not likely to be of benefit either to the revenues or to the private purses of the inhabitants. Unfortunately the fact that such industries as do exist are largely in the hands of non-Burman communities encourages the ardent nationalist, whose knowledge of economics is sometimes not very extensive.

The importance of Burma's export trade does not appear to be realized by some of her representatives. For instance, one of the leading Burmese-owned newspapers recently said that it agreed with the Commerce Minister that the Burmese cultivator would not be affected one way or the other if India did cease to take Burma rice, apparently on the ground that the rice-export trade is in the hands of foreigners. This completely neglects the fact that half the rice grown in Burma is exported, to an amount of over 3,000,000 tons a year, and that the value of this export surplus to the cultivator at the very moderate figure of R. 75 per hundred baskets of paddy is between 12 and 15 crores of rupees, or about R. 10 per head for the whole population of the country, 70 per cent. of whom are agriculturists. To deprive the bulk of the population of this large proportion of their income would in reality remove the main source of their prosperity. Whether

the Commerce Minister really said anything which could support this surprising conclusion seems hardly credible, but there is no doubt that this depreciation of the natural wealth of the country and the demand for new "industries," in defiance of the obvious fact that agriculture is the greatest and most essential of all industries, finds considerable support.

Another question which has to be faced in the near future is the question of a trade agreement with the United Kingdom to replace the Ottawa agreement, which India (which included Burma at the time the agreement was made) has decided to terminate. The nationalist sentiment in India is not favourable to the conclusion of a new agreement on similar terms, and negotiations between India and the United Kingdom last year proved unsuccessful. There is no doubt that the Ottawa agreement, which gave substantial preferences to Burma rice and timber, was advantageous to Burma, and there is no reason why she should follow India in refusing to renew it; but nationalist feelings are prominent in both countries, and it is to be feared that there will be strong opposition in Burma to any preferences on imports from the United Kingdom, and that the possibilities of the loss which might occur if the United Kingdom were to withdraw her existing preferences on Burma's products may not be fully realized.

To turn now to the question of the overland trade with China, mentioned at the commencement of this article, recent events have only given fresh encouragement to what is a very old idea. The road from Bhamo across the frontier to Tengyueh, thence to Yunnanfu and on across China to Pekin, has existed for centuries, and until recent years has been what it always was, a pack-road for mules. When in the eighties of last century it became apparent that the misrule of King Thibaw could not much longer be tolerated and that our relations with Upper Burma must soon be placed on a different footing, the idea of Rangoon forming a port for Western China was one of the arguments in favour of annexation. Even in the sixties the idea had been mooted, and when in 1867 Government sent an exploring expedition to Western China through Bhamo, it was accompanied by "a mercantile man," Mr. Theodore Stewart, and the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce wrote him a letter in which they expressed the hope "that the result of your researches may be such as to inspire us with a well-founded hope that a prosperous trade will ere long be established between China and British Burma."

More accurate knowledge of the geography of Yunnan showed the great difficulties in the way of railway construction, and Major Davies, who explored Yunnan in the nineties and wrote what is still the standard book on the subject, showed how great these difficulties were and how little trade could be expected in this

thinly populated province. The construction of the Red River Railway from Haiphong to Yunnanfu has facilitated the natural outlet of the country to the Pacific, and the development of motor transport had little effect until the last year, when war with Japan and the closing of the ports revived interest in the old question of opening this backdoor of China into Burma.

A motor-road has now been made from Chungking on the Yangtze to Yunnanfu, and thence to Talifu and on to the Burma frontier, aiming, however, not for Bhamo, but through Muse to Lashio, the railhead of the Northern Shan States Line. The first motor-car was reported to have made the through journey in December, but pictures of the road and in particular of the bridges do not look as if it would stand up to heavy lorries. It is some 1,400 miles from Chungking to Lashio, Yunnanfu being about half-way, and Lashio is about 550 miles by rail from Rangoon, so that freight is bound to be an expensive item.

Whether this road will encourage the overland trade remains to be seen, but trade will have to increase largely before it can pay for the expense of keeping this vast length of road, much of it through mountainous country, fit for motor-traffic. At the present moment there is a considerable traffic in war material, but this is presumably only temporary. The ordinary trade has decreased in recent years, mainly owing to the abrogation in 1929 of the Burma-China Trade Convention of 1904, under which very small duties were charged. In the ten years from 1927 to 1936 the value of the exports from Burma to China fell from 5½ million to 1 million Shanghai dollars, six-sevenths of which consists of raw cotton and cotton yarn. Imports into Burma, 80 per cent. of which consists of raw silk, have not fallen to the same extent, but the increasing preference of Japanese artificial silk to silk woven in Burma from Chinese raw silk makes any large increase in this trade improbable. Motor transport may, of course, encourage trade in other articles which could not be transported by pack-mules, but it is difficult to believe that this trade will ever amount to anything very considerable, or that it will ever be more than a small fraction of Burma's maritime trade.

It is on her maritime trade that her prosperity depends, and it is much to be hoped that those now responsible for the government of the country will realize this, and that they will face the clear economic facts of the situation. The exportable surplus of rice, as already pointed out, puts from 12 to 15 crores of rupees direct into the pockets of the cultivators. The oil and timber industries provide employment for many thousands of people, and the wage bill of each is estimated at over a crore of rupees a year. The oil industry pays about one and three-quarter crores a year to the revenues in royalty, excise-duty, customs duty on im-

ported machinery and income-tax, and teak pays royalties of some 70 lakhs a year, in addition to large contributions to the revenues from income-tax, import duties, etc., directly due to the timber industry. Burma would be well advised to consider carefully any changes in her fiscal and industrial policy which would upset her present trade for the somewhat nebulous advantages to be gained by encouraging new industries whose prospects of success are far from certain.

How far those who are now responsible for the government of the country realize this is unfortunately doubtful. For the last six months there have been serious disturbances, partly anti-Indian and partly a deliberate attempt by a section of the Opposition to wreck the new Constitution and to make government impossible. The attacks on Indians, though their immediate cause was ostensibly religious, undoubtedly have an underlying motive in the jealousy felt by Burmans of the predominating position in the commercial life of the country held by Indians and Europeans. Though there have been no actual anti-European riots, the politicians have encouraged strikes of the workers in European undertakings, and the normal business of the country has been seriously affected. The full effect of this on the revenues and on the general prosperity of the people has not yet been felt, and even if the new Ministry which has just been formed is able to control the unruly elements, it will be a considerable time before recovery is complete and before any general improvement in trade can be expected.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA

By Stanley Rice

When I first met the Maharaja of Baroda, in the summer of 1927, he was already becoming an old man. He seemed to have little or nothing left of that fiery enthusiasm, that dynamic energy, which had not only carried him triumphantly to success within his own States, but made him the darling of the Nationalist Press. For there had been a time when India waited upon the Maharaja's words. He, as no one else of his clans, was able to stir his audiences, whether in Calcutta or the United Provinces. It was this espousal of the Nationalist cause which at one time made him suspect in English eyes. The eyes in question did not see very far and they were partly obscured by prejudice. The Maharaja had no personal axe to grind; he believed what he preached and believed it with a flaming sincerity which was not always conspicuous elsewhere. Moreover, he was not always happy in the occasions which he chose for a display of zeal, and there were times when the surrounding atmosphere seemed to colour his utterances and to make him appear disloyal to the British Government. In his heart, however, the Maharaja had always believed in the British connection, and when the opportunity came in the Great War no Prince contributed more loyally than he.

Yet for all that there were points that rankled. His letters show that he chafed under the imperiousness of Curzon, and he specially resented the famous circular which was intended to limit the freedom of action of the Princes in the matter of journeyings to and sojourn in Europe. On that point he had his way. King Edward disapproved and the circular became inoperative. But Lord Curzon was wrong in principle. The Maharaja did not come to Europe, as someone (I think Sir Sidney Lee) has said, to gratify his *wanderlust*. He came for his health, which had been poor ever since he lost his first wife, and he came with every intention of governing the State by order in letter and telegram, so far as he could, otherwise having placed it in the hands of the most capable of his advisers. But there were other ways in which he was hurt, not so much by any major action as by small humiliations. He felt himself to be a Prince; he knew that his administration was good—not far short, if at all, of the British standard—and he resented it that he was not always treated as he

thought a Prince should be treated. He was not too happy when custom on the Political Department ordained that he should share the silver sofa with the Resident. He was quite ready to do the Resident honour by giving him a seat at his right hand; but why insist on the same sofa? It was his view that there could only be one Prince in Baroda: he must appear before his people as their Ruler, and to share the seat of honour suggested that he was prepared to share or actually was sharing the power.

These were small matters that affected the Maharaja personally; there were others that affected the State. Baroda State was the core of the Maharaja's whole being. He had raised it from chaos and misgovernment to a foremost place among Indian States, and though he acknowledged his debt to Sir T. Madhava Rao, who had first set it on the road to improvement, he was justly proud of his own achievement. He resented any undue interference by the British Resident in the internal affairs of the State, and while he was ready to defer to him in matters within his competence, he showed plainly where he thought the line should be drawn. One particular grievance was the opium revenue. Largely under missionary influence, the Government of India had decreed that there should be no more opium exported to China and invited the Princes to co-operate. The Maharaja did so under this pressure, but he was not convinced. If India ceased to export opium, China would simply grow her own, and the only result would be to transfer the profits from India, including, of course, Baroda, to the pockets of the Chinese farmers. He did not see why his own ryots should thus be deprived of a lucrative trade, though he would gladly have acquiesced if his common sense had approved.

For His Highness was eminently reasonable. That was a characteristic that seemed to pervade the deliberations of his Council, even when he was not present in person. He was, of course, an autocrat in theory, but he ruled as a constitutional monarch, and though his will was the *ultima ratio*, he was always ready to listen to argument, and would sometimes allow himself to be persuaded. His ministers knew this, and though there was often an inclination to say that "Huzur orders" were so-and-so, as if that ended the matter, there was always a feeling that he would reconsider a decision if the matter were properly represented to him. There was a dentist attached to the hospital on a State salary. The Maharaja, disgusted at the public reception of his services—for there is always a tendency to grudge fees, however moderate, if you can get the work done for less or for nothing—suddenly decreed that he should be dispensed with. The Council protested that without a dentist the doctors could not work satisfactorily, and I myself, greatly daring, ventured to remonstrate. Eventually

the dentist was restored. The Maharaja was always insisting on common sense; if your common sense told you a thing was right, you should do it. But he sometimes found it lacking. The difficulty was to know what he would call common sense; your own idea of the quality might not exactly jump with his, and you could hardly be blamed if you preferred rigidly to adhere to the letter rather than risk censure or perhaps punishment by "interpretation."

In pursuit of perfection for his State, the Maharaja was inclined to be restless. He would not leave well alone, but was for ever seeking to improve, or if not to improve at least to alter. When I first arrived in Baroda I was given charge of several departments, some like Revenue of importance, others mere sinecures. My colleagues were also similarly in charge of branches of the Administration. This system, which is the usual one, had been working well enough, but the Maharaja decided to alter it. He put an officer in charge of all the executive work of the State, except those subjects which had to be dealt with by the Council—that is to say, should be decided by consultation. The consequence was that the ministers other than the executive officer had not enough to do, for the subjects to be decided by Council were only some forty a week. The Maharaja's intention was to set the ministers free for more inspection work, for he always set great store by inspections. So far as I am aware, this intention was not fulfilled. If there was more inspection, it was not so much as to claim the full time of an officer who was otherwise underworked. A second idea was that it would give leisure to think out new schemes. But this, too, bore little fruit. After all, you cannot expect new schemes to be invented by men poring over them, especially when those same men are divorced from the everyday hour-to-hour working of the Administration. It is out of the small matters that arise from time to time that new ideas are born. If in the course of your work you notice a bad outbreak of cholera or the inadequate working of co-operative societies, it may occur to you to suggest improvements; but you are hardly likely to sit down and invent an imaginary outbreak or to ponder over a system of which you only imperfectly know the details. For all that, the new system worked well enough; the State is not so large that the executive work could not be done by one man, and if the reasons which prompted the change were largely theoretical, so also were the objections, though the distribution of the work did seem to be unequal.

But if the Maharaja was restless in this pursuit of perfection, he was not capricious, except in the matter of his own travelling. What measures he took for the State were only taken after careful thought and always had reason behind them. But since administration consists of choosing the course that commends itself

out of several possible lines of action, it follows that the reasons which commend it to one man may not equally commend it to another. Thus the Maharaja was fond of training men so that they could be useful in any department. A man might be appointed to the Survey and Settlement and find himself a few months later in the Police. This method had the advantage claimed for it that a man could be transferred from one department to another without that loss of efficiency that must occur when the transferee is quite new to his new job. On the other hand, it had the disadvantage that no one was a real expert in any one line. I do not, of course, mean that this was universal; it did, however, sometimes bring about the result that a man's services were lost to a line which he knew well while he was picking up a somewhat superficial knowledge of another one.

In the matter of religion and religious observances the Maharaja was exceedingly tolerant. The great majority of the people are Hindus, but there is a certain sprinkling of Mussulmans and here and there a trace of Christianity. In the South, in the district of Navasari, there is a large Parsi population, and there is also a fair admixture of Jains. No one ever suffered by reason of his religion; there was no conscious discrimination on that account. It is true that there may have been a slight undercurrent of discontent among Mussulmans that they did not receive what they thought was their fair share of the loaves and fishes; that was to be expected. If they lagged behind in the service of Government it was because they had not proved themselves so efficient. Even so, I do not think the complaint, well- or ill-founded, was against the Maharaja himself; the idea seemed to be rather that His Highness was under the influence of his Hindu advisers, and it was those who made suggestions that were chiefly blamed. There was, however, no real ground for complaint, and the grievance, such as it was, was inarticulate. In fact, such religious clashes as he had in his earlier years were with his own co-religionists. He had to encounter strong opposition when he decided to do away with the practice of distributing food doles to a number of Brahman parasites, for it was his inflexible rule that men should work for what they received. He had no use for the idle who lived at the expense of the State. But the Maharaja, though he would not tolerate this kind of idleness, was nevertheless a Hindu, and as such found it difficult to overcome orthodox opposition. Perhaps one of his most strenuous fights was in connection with the performance of certain ceremonies in the royal household, which were ordinarily reserved for the higher castes. The details do not greatly matter, but it is easy to understand the opposition of the orthodox to whom such matters were all-important. In both these cases the Maharaja had his way, by

sheer force of character. But, at any rate, from the European point of view, which can hardly appreciate the niceties of the customs "which Moses delivered us," his greatest achievement in this field was the doing away with the more hampering external restrictions of caste. These restrictions have, it is true, been slowly giving way even in the South, where strict orthodoxy is strongest. It was a pleasure to be able to sit down to table with Indian friends without the feeling that their scruples might be shocked. But whereas such occasions there might almost be counted exceptional, in Baroda they were the rule and no one thought twice about them. Brahmans and Sudras, Mussulmans and Parsis and Europeans were all entertained together, and this naturally made for closer intercourse and better feeling. It is possible to make too much of this reform, great as it was. In all the essentials of caste things remained very much where they were; the marriage customs were unchanged, and these were, of course, the most important. Moreover, the reforms did not spread outside the educated urban community. In the villages orthodoxy was as strong as ever. The villagers strongly resented the admission of outcastes to the caste schools, and the denial of access to the village wells caused at times the usual hardship, and to some extent was a burden on the State, which had to supply two wells where one would have sufficed.

But here, too, the Maharaja showed himself a wise and broad-minded ruler. When he went on tour the outcastes would flock round his car, waving their petitions, and whatever the attendants may have thought, the Maharaja never denied them access to himself. He set up schools and hostels for these unfortunates and would himself visit them. The education of these people was as much his concern as that of the more favoured classes. And this attitude of informality and of universal tolerance he carried into his private life. Though reputed to be exceedingly wealthy, he eschewed all ostentation. He was scrupulous in his dress, but he seldom or never wore jewellery. He would advance into the Durbar Hall for a levée clad simply in a coat of silk brocade, with his favourite Maratha cap and leaning upon his faithful and beloved walking-stick. Only on the great occasions did he even wear orders set in brilliants, and one felt that he did so not from choice but from obligation. For he had a very shrewd sense of his dignity and what was owing to it. If he drove abroad he would use a plain car and sometimes a carriage; he had driven me round the city in an unpretentious one-horse gig with a syce standing behind, like any subordinate of the old days in a firm or in Government service driving to office for the day's work. In food, too, and drink he was abstemious; he rarely touched alcohol, but it was said that he did his health no good by indulging in the

rich food of the Maratha country. Finally, his courtesy was unfailing. All Indians are by nature courteous, whether they be illiterate villagers or exalted Princes. That is perhaps one cause of difference between them and the white men. What the Anglo-Saxon prides himself upon as a certain bluffness, a downright manner, seems to the Indian just rudeness, and what the Indian regards as instinctive courtesy seems to the Anglo-Saxon to be obsequiousness, which may or may not conceal a deep-laid intrigue. One could never feel that with the Maharaja. He was too big a man, too great-hearted for such tricks. One could not be long with him without feeling the charm of his personality. You would not call him affectionate; he had a high sense of duty, but he made few real attachments. When you left him, you had a feeling of something inscrutable, of some barrier behind which it was impossible to penetrate. Other Princes impressed you more with their geniality; but with the Maharaja you got the impression rather of a deep sincerity.

Take him for all in all, he was a great man, especially when we consider the conditions of his early years and the chaos of the State which he was called upon to rule. His successor will have a task both easier and more difficult—easier in that he comes into the control of a State already running smoothly, and more difficult in that the late Maharaja was greatly beloved, and his place will be hard to fill. But Maharaja Pratap Sinh has already shown good promise. With characteristic thoroughness the late Maharaja trained him by several stages, first in the lowly post of a tahsildar (called in Baroda vahivatdar), and so through that of divisional officer and suba (collector) to the Executive Council. He always showed himself willing to learn and often made shrewd observations on the business in hand. With the National Congress agitating against the Princes, it may be that the times ahead of him will not be too easy, but his disposition is not towards extravagance, and we may well anticipate that his general level-headedness will carry him through times that may be troublous.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST: CHINA'S PROSPECTS

By Chang Su-Lee
(Late Editor of the *China Review*)

In order to understand the situation in China in 1939 it will be useful to draw up a balance sheet for a year's events. At the end of 1937 the battle of Shanghai had just come to a close with the Japanese army advancing steadily towards Nanking, which the Chinese Government hastily abandoned. In North China the Japanese were holding the area around Peiping and Tientsin. The first phase of Sino-Japanese hostilities was over.

It may be pointed out that Japan had a choice of two methods by which she hoped to conquer China—namely, by swallowing her like a whale gulping its prey, or by nibbling at Chinese territory slowly like a silkworm. So far as China is concerned, she was not afraid of being swallowed, but she was afraid of being nibbled off bit by bit. So when Japan began to nibble at North China, the Chinese Government decided to engage her on a huge scale. Hence Japan was drawn into fighting in the Yangtze valley. It was a stroke of strategy on the part of the Generalissimo to avoid a pitched battle in the narrow plain of Hopei Province, by extending the area of hostilities. Although in the battle of Shanghai China lost in wounded and killed approximately 200,000 men, including some of the best divisions of the Government, Japan was compelled to face a situation of war on an unprecedented scale in her own national history and not just an incident.

After the fall of Nanking, Japan could have pursued the Chinese, and if she had, she might, by speed and organization, which she had and which China lacked, demoralize the Chinese forces, which were badly shattered at Shanghai and were in full retreat. Thanks to the Japanese overtures for peace following the fall of Nanking, which were refused, the Chinese had time to pause, to reflect, and to reorganize. At the junction of the Tientsin-Nanking and Lung-Hai railways, the Chinese Command established its military centre for the north and held the Japanese in check for months. The so-called pincer movement which Japan began in January did not succeed until April, in the course of which China won a signal victory at Taierchwang. When Hsuchow finally fell into Japanese hands, the Chinese forces withdrew and avoided being trapped.

When this phase was over the Japanese continued to advance

along the Lung-Hai railway with the objective of capturing Hankow. The advance towards Hankow from the north along the railway was easier than the advance along the Yangtze, where land communications were poor. The second strategic move on the part of China was the cutting of the Yellow River dyke in June, which immobilized Japanese mechanized units and artillery and blocked the advance from that direction. The north front for the time being became stagnant, thanks to the skilful, if costly, operation of the forces of nature. For once China's Sorrow, as the Yellow River was called, became a military blessing. Meanwhile, China prepared to resist the Japanese advance along the Yangtze.

In June the Japanese began their offensive on the Long River in earnest. For two months the Chinese gave them the run for their money and life, and the advance, though by no means stopped, was made at a snail's crawl as compared with the march from Shanghai to Nanking. When at last the Japanese broke through Matang on the south and reached Kuangsi on the north bank of the river, Hankow was in grave danger. This was in August.

It was significant that the Changku-feng affair between Soviet Russia and Japan occurred at this time. For three weeks Japan made no advance, while troops were being hurried to the Siberian border. A few hundred Japanese and Russian soldiers fell on the worthless ground of Changku-feng while Hankow reorganized its defence line. When Hankow was eventually evacuated at the end of October, Japan suffered another defeat at Tehan, at which more than six thousand soldiers and officers were annihilated. Hankow fell five months later than the Japanese had expected.

In the war between China and Japan, China is on a fifty-fifty basis so long as she can avoid a Sedan or an Austerlitz, so long as she can upset Japan's military schedule, and so long as she can make Japan pay in lives and money for places taken. The accumulated effects of the continued strain will decide who is the victor.

After many months of war, Japan is no nearer her real objective —that is, the responsible surrender of the Chinese Government— than she was at the beginning. Japan has lost, according to reliable sources of information, four hundred thousand men wounded and killed, and she spent upwards of eight billion dollars or approximately £500,000,000. It represents four times her losses in the Russo-Japanese war in human life, and fifty times in money. The Russo-Japanese war lasted only ten months, and only one hundred thousand Japanese lives were lost.

As for China, her losses are incomparably larger. Two-thirds of her territory is nominally and temporarily under Japan, but the occupation is confined to cities and main lines of communications. In Northern Kiangsi and Eastern Shantung ten divisions of Central Government troops are still fighting as an army behind the

Japanese lines and recently recaptured Taierchwang, scene of their celebrated victory. In the Kuling mountains five divisions are still entrenched and are fighting from the rear. Along the lower Yangtze the newly organized Fourth Army operates in the manner of the guerillas in the north. China has lost in killed and wounded upwards of one million and two hundred thousand armed men and officers, nearly all her nascent industries, practically the entire revenue administration. It has been costly to both sides, but it has not been decisive.

It is significant that Hankow was evacuated. Once again the Generalissimo did not put his whole stake on the table at a gambler's throw. He is the shrewdest and most far-sighted and calculating statesman of modern China. He keeps his field army as an organized force still under his control. He has been forced to retreat to territory which is part of China and under the control of the Chinese Government. But his control of these provinces before the hostilities was not so effective as it was in other provinces which are now overrun by the Japanese. He must keep his armed forces to maintain his military leadership and authority in what would be the future base of Chinese resistance. Then, too, no matter how important and effective guerilla warfare may be, a field army is absolutely necessary to turn the tide of war when the time comes. The Generalissimo, besides being a statesman, is a military man in the modern sense of the term.

In fact, one of the most important and interesting features in the present-day political life of China is the outstanding personality and leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. General Chiang Kai-Shek rose to power and leadership through the Kuomintang Revolution. Theoretically, he is an instrument of the Kuomintang. But as the war of resistance began to widen to a national scale, General Chiang's leadership gradually towered above any one political party. Today his personal leadership transcends the political leadership of the Kuomintang. He is the national leader to whom all revolutionary parties and groups pledge unconditional support so long as he stands for national resistance against Japan. On account of his personal importance and exceptional leadership he symbolizes national unification. His person and leadership are a guarantee for co-operation among all political groups in China. He would not tolerate political antagonism and regionalism to dissipate the energy and solidarity which are so vital to the success of China's struggle.

China has entered 1939 under the unchallenged leadership of the Generalissimo, with a field army shattered but undefeated, with more men of ability and character in control of the nation's affairs, with co-operation between various revolutionary groups still maintained, and with a growing co-ordinated guerilla campaign

behind the Japanese lines. This side of the balance sheet appears to be reassuring.

We must now turn our eyes to the other side of the ledger, which is underlined in red ink. Five hundred thousand square miles of Chinese territory are under military occupation, practically all the sources of revenues have for the time being gone, all the nascent industries laboriously built up during the last fifteen years are destroyed or in Japanese hands, all communications by sea with the outside world have been cut off, and at least one hundred million people are destitute. This was bound to have a telling effect on the future of China's resistance. As we turn over a new leaf for 1939 three questions may be asked. In the first place, would the unoccupied territory be able to support the National Government and enable it to pursue the campaign? Secondly, can national unity be maintained under present conditions for long? Thirdly, how would the future course of the war be pursued? These questions are interdependent and closely linked up with China's diplomatic position. The answers to the second and third questions vary as events both within China and in the outside world develop.

Let us turn to the remaining territories. These are, roughly speaking, the Provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Kansu, Shensi, and Hsi-Kong. These provinces have been the most undeveloped parts of China. Of these provinces Szechuan probably is the most important one as a base. Szechuan has been called the "celestial province" of China. But Szechuan is only celestial agriculturally. It has neither coal nor iron of appreciable quantities or of high quality. Besides, its communications are still poor. We have a saying in China that the roads in Szechuan are as difficult to travel as going to heaven. It is only a matter of three years since the influence of the Central Government reached the province and began the process of modernization. Nevertheless, Szechuan is a vast granary, and it alone can produce enough food to feed the surplus population and the army. There are small industries and munition factories which produce low-grade piece-goods, rifles, cartridges and machine-guns. But for heavy equipment necessary for war, China cannot depend on these provinces. For that matter China is not worse off, because she has to import them in any case. The other provinces are more or less the same. Although Yunnan may have better and more mineral deposits, these cannot be put to immediate use.

During the past year the railway between Kwelin in Kwangsi Province and Hengchow in Hunnan Province has been completed. It is a notable achievement. Hengchow is at present the military centre of the campaign on both fronts. Between Luling and Ping Shek the country is mountainous, and if the Japanese want to

effect another pincer movement to complete the occupation of the Canton-Hankow railway, it would at least require four more divisions, in addition to the four divisions now concentrated in Canton. Not until that eventuality arises would China be forced to defend herself in the mountain passes of Western Hunnan. China can depend on the remaining provinces for food and for the maintenance of the Government administration. But for medical supplies and heavy arms she had to depend on foreign countries through Indo-China, Burma, and the north-west route through Sinkiang.

So long as Hongkong remained open, no transport of appreciable quantities of heavy arms were carried through the Burma and Sinkiang routes. Now that China's sea communications from Canton to Tientsin are closed these two backdoor-ways will be more important in the coming year. Already a strong air base has been established in Lanchow for the north-west, while Yuannanfu is being made into one for the south-west.

China's capacity to resist is inexorable and inexhausted. But how is the war of resistance to be pursued henceforth? After the fall of Nanking, General Chiang Kai-Shek issued a statement in which he said: "Prolonged resistance is not to be found in Nanking, nor in the big cities, but in the villages and in the fixed determination of the people. The time must come when Japan's military strength will be completely exhausted, thus giving us ultimate victory." The Japanese militarists entertain the hope that once the armed forces of the Chinese Government are crushed and once they have struck terror into the heart of the people, China will submit. This might have been effective fifty years ago, but it cannot work at present against a people welded together by a deep national consciousness. That consciousness will express itself by sabotage and guerilla warfare in the occupied areas and by tactical warfare in well-chosen grounds, where China possesses strategical advantages. The supreme objective of the Chinese activities is to make it absolutely impossible for the Japanese to build on what they have already reduced to ruins. Chinese guerillas will gradually bore their way into the effective but thin line of Japanese garrisons. The time will come when an expeditionary force of over a million men fighting against their own wishes become tired and wearied. The initiative for offensives would then be in Chinese hands.

However, the situation does not warrant undue optimism. There is a story in the Chinese classics about a philosopher and a fish. One day while taking a walk at the seaside the philosopher saw a fish stranded in the sand. The fish asked him for help. The philosopher said: "Yes, I shall go to bring the water from the west river to rescue you from this predicament." The stranded

fish said: "Sir, by the time you led the water from the west river here, you may find me in the dried fish market." The situation in which China is at present may not be so desperate as that of the fish, but the moral of the parable suits the case. The three tasks before China in 1939 are the sinews of war, the preservation of national unity, and the course of further resistance. From the democratic countries and Soviet Russia China wants sinews of war. Assistance from the democratic countries will contribute to the preservation of national unity on the basis of resistance to the end. The course of the war depends on the extent to which the first two needs are satisfied.

China entered 1939 as a man goes through the latter part of a long night. The fall of Hankow is symbolical of midnight. The hours before the dawn are the darkest hours of the night. But with heads high and hearts brave, she will endure the agony of darkness and fight on until the approach of dawn.

The recent credit loans from Great Britain and the United States are a hard-earned encouragement which the two democratic Governments have given to China after she has proved what she could do if she had the means to defend herself. These modest efforts to assist China have been further increased by the establishment of an Exchange Equalization Fund for the maintenance of the Chinese currency. The fund is to be subscribed jointly by British and Chinese Banks, the British contribution being guaranteed by the Government. The official participation in so important an undertaking is a clear indication that Great Britain is steadily moving toward a policy of open and active support for China. If the Britishers with their extraordinary business acumen are prepared to bet on the China horse with real stakes, it augurs well for the ultimate victory of China in her race against Japanese domination.

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INDIA

SOCIAL SERVICE IN INDIA. An Introduction to some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People. Written by six Contributors, and edited by Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (retired). (*His Majesty's Stationery Office.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.)

In 1936 a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Atul C. Chatterjee to enquire into the system of probation for the Indian Civil Service. It recommended that the curriculum should include a series of lectures on Indian Social Welfare. This recommendation was carried into effect by a further committee, presided over by Sir Edward Blunt, which arranged for bringing out a text-book, consisting of a number of chapters on different aspects of the subject, each written by a contributor with special practical experience of the particular subject dealt with.

During the post-war period many changes have taken place in India, and with the passage of time they are moving with an ever-increasing momentum. Various causes—social, political and economic—are at the back of this. First of all, owing to the maintenance of law and order and freedom from invasion, the suppression of epidemic disease and the conquest of famine, the population has increased with startling rapidity. Secondly, as the result of education, political changes and the multiplication of contacts with Western civilization, neither the peasant nor the industrial worker is any longer pathetically contented with his lot. He has discovered that there are many amenities which he lacks, and he is determined to get them. Thirdly, both the classes and the masses are becoming increasingly resentful of the social restrictions imposed upon them by orthodox religion. The task of the district officer is thus infinitely more complicated than it was twenty-five years ago. He is still primarily responsible for the welfare of the masses under his charge. Though no specialist himself, he has to act as a liaison between them and the various specialist departments—Agriculture, Public Health, Industries, Co-operation—and interpret their advice to the people, and the people's wishes to them. The editor points out that the book does not claim to provide a cut-and-dried solution for every problem of Indian social welfare, or to suggest a remedy for every disability under which the population of the country labours. Its objects are to describe conditions; to explain how they came about; to record the efforts already made to ameliorate them; and to suggest lines along which future improvements might move.

In the opening chapter the editor deals with the geography of the country in relation to its products, transport and communication, the occupational distribution of the population, vital statistics and the economic effects of caste and religion. Discussing the question of the growing pressure on the land, he points out that though the peasant can by unremitting toil make ends meet in a good year, he can put by no reserves against a bad one, and can only tide it over by borrowing. This is the root of the

whole problem. The *ryot* has not the capital wherewith to finance an extension of cultivation or a subsidiary occupation; his only hope is to secure a better yield for his land by improving his system of agriculture with the assistance of Government. Sir Edward Blunt does not, however, take the pessimistic view of the situation held by some economists. One-fifth of the cultivated area is under money-crops, and the cultivation would probably gain rather than lose by substituting food-crops for them. Two remedies for overcrowding are emigration to newly irrigated areas like those opened up by the Sukkur Barrage Scheme and some form of birth control, but both are difficult to bring about in the case of an intensely conservative people, who regard all new ideas with the utmost suspicion. Sir Edward Blunt goes on to give a very lucid account of caste, particularly as regards its influence upon social life, and of its concomitant, the *panchayat*, the proper understanding of which is essential to the young civilian. He concludes that though the decrease of caste will ultimately be brought about by old age and internal decay, the body has still plenty of vitality, not always of a harmful character.

Chapters III., IV. and V. deal with practical aspects of rural life, which form the chief preoccupation of the district official. The authors, C. G. Chenevix Trench and R. G. Allen, write from long practical experience, gained in the one case as district and settlement officer and in the other as Director of Agriculture. Mr. Trench's account of the Indian village, and particularly his explanation of the complexities of land tenure and land revenue, is extremely clear and interesting, and will be of the utmost value to the young officer going out for the first time to a strange environment. He lays stress on the necessity of patience and a sense of humour in dealing with the Indian villager, particularly in revenue matters, and he quotes as an instance the case of some Bhils who came to complain that they were paying too much. The settlement officer proposed as a solution to send a surveyor to measure their fields. "If any surveyor sets foot on our land," replied the Bhils, "our women will raise the war-cry, and we'll fill him full of arrows!"

Mr. Trench notes the increasing dissatisfaction with their lot among the cultivators, but does not think it altogether a bad sign. "Great events are rapidly taking shape on the sub-continent of India, and the young entry of civil officers in every service will be in at their birth. Adventure is in the air. The old administrative landmarks may have changed their shape and position, or even disappeared, but who would not rather sail uncharted or partially charted seas than travel on a personally conducted tour?"

Mr. Allen's chapter on Agriculture forms a necessary corollary to the preceding one, dealing as it does with the Indian farmer's disabilities and limitations, and the efforts of the Agricultural Department to deal with them.

Sir John Megaw's account of the Medical and Public Health Services shows that the chief causes of the high rate of mortality are lack of sanitation and malnutrition. The remedy, therefore, lies in agricultural improvement. In view of the efforts being made by the Congress party to force

prohibition on the country, it is interesting to note that the liquor consumed is mostly of an innocuous character and does little harm. Owing to poverty, nearly 90 per cent. of the population is teetotal, and the principal effect of prohibition has been to encourage illicit distillation. Sir George Anderson writes at some length on the problem of rural education. The root of the evil of the present system is the implication of superiority attached to English studies, which is antagonistic to rural progress. At the very time when an indigenous agency is so urgently needed for guiding rural reform, the pick of the pupils are sucked into the towns to pursue a purely literary and urban education. Thus the well-being of industry as well as of agriculture is jeopardized. Pupils with a literary training are averse from manual occupations, and the qualifications of the foreman class, so vital to the progress of industry, are sadly defective. In consequence India is faced not so much by a problem of unemployment as of unemployables. Those who might have promoted the well-being of the Indian countryside and Indian industry loaf in the market-places seeking work and finding none.

The last four chapters, by Sir Frank Noyce and Mr. C. F. Strickland, deal with Industrial Labour, Co-operation and Voluntary Effort for Social Welfare. Despite the pretensions of Congress to be the champions of the lower classes, it is interesting to note that much of the work for the uplift of the nation has come from Christian missionaries or Government servants; the Poona Seva Sadan and the Servants of India Society are honourable exceptions. Mr. Strickland dwells at some length on the Gurgaon experiment, which has had remarkable repercussions all over India. It has proved that even in a backward district the people can be persuaded by an officer whom they trust to abandon unhygienic and uneconomic conditions. The weakness of the plan lies in the tendency on the part of the peasant to relapse into his old habits as soon as the officer in question is transferred to another district. Mr. Strickland touches briefly on the attempt of Sir Frederick Sykes in Bombay to find a remedy to this defect in Brayne's scheme by encouraging the villages to make efforts for self-improvement themselves independently of outside control.

This book is illustrated by a large number of fine photographs, plans and maps, and has an admirable glossary of vernacular terms, a bibliography and an exhaustive index. Not only will it be of the greatest practical utility, but it is a very serious and up-to-date contribution to the study of Indian economics. The only criticism one feels inclined to make is that, like so many of its kind, it is written rather more from the point of view of Northern than Southern India.

THE GATEWAY TO INDIA—THE STORY OF METHWOLD AND BOMBAY. By A. R. Ingram. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

Dedicated to "the adventurers who first made noble attempt to goe meete the sunne," this book tells the story of the early enterprises of the East India

Company and more particularly of the career of William Methwold, merchant and administrator, who, starting on his Indian career as a man of twenty-five, with previous experience as an apprentice merchant in London and in Holland, was led by contact with the merchants and mariners of the Dutch East India company to seek service in India. After a brief probationary period in the English Company's London Office, he sailed with their 1616 fleet and landed at Swally Bay, the port for Surat, on September 20, 1616. A tedious voyage of nine months had been enlivened by a vigorous fight with a Portuguese carrack, for in those days upon the high seas rivalry was sharp and unsparing between Holland, England and Spain, which then included Portugal.* Methwold's linguistic accomplishments made him useful as an interpreter to the commander of his fleet. Later on he did excellent service at the Surat factory, on the other side of India, as chief factor of the Coromandel coast, and even as far away as Bantam in the Spice Islands. On the Coromandel coast the Dutch were fully established "abounding in all bravery in their suits of cloth of silver, hat bands all set round with fair diamonds most richly to behold"; and later on at Masulipatam his headquarters, Methwold harboured the scattered and demoralized remnants of the English fleet that had been driven by Dutch ships from Malaya. Peace between England and Holland relieved the situation, and things went fairly smoothly for the rest of his period of office. In 1623, under orders from his employers, he returned to England to answer charges from which he successfully cleared himself. His service was, however, temporarily terminated, but after ten years he was offered and accepted the most important post in the Company's employment, the Governorship of Surat.

In 1633 a combination of disasters had brought the Company's chequered fortunes to the lowest depths. At home the shifty and hard-pressed Charles I. had been prevented from abrogating their charter and thus placing them on a level with piratical interlopers only by the intimation that if this were done they would withdraw altogether from the Indian trade. In India a terrible famine, followed by tremendous floods as well as by widespread plague and cholera, had desolated great stretches of country from Guzerat to the Coromandel coast. "The peasant died in the field and the weaver in his hut. The dead lay on the highways, but there were none to bury them."

Dutch rivalry which had already triumphed in the Spice Islands was active on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. Just before Methwold sailed with a convoy on March 25, 1633, news arrived that his predecessor Rastell had died of plague; and after his arrival at Swally on November 7, the gaunt and emaciated *locum tenens* Hopkinson collapsed and followed Rastell. Mr. Ingram quotes the remarkable code of morals which Rastell, deeply impressed by the belief that the epidemic which had carried off so many of the small body of factors was due to the wrath of God, had drawn up for the spiritual betterment of his subordinates. It contains the

* In the East, however, the distinction between the two kingdoms was punctiliously observed.

sentence: "The people of the country are apt to notice the least of our errors."

And so we come to Chapters VI. to IX., which tell of Methwold's reign at Surat from 1633 to 1638, when he was recalled to London by his masters, "the jeopardy of the Company's existence lying not in India but in England." Of the notable achievements which marked his rule at Surat the pact with the Portuguese authorities at Goa produced the furthest-reaching consequences, for it carried with it the use by English vessels of the Portuguese harbours which lay along the western coast of India. The value of being able to seek shelter at Bombay, which, only forty leagues south of Surat, was placed between the Moghal dominions and those of the then independent Muslim kingdom of Bijapur, particularly appealed to Methwold. In that splendid natural harbour ships of the greatest burden could ride landlocked, free from winds and weather. The need for such a refuge as an alternative base to Swally had been impressed on him by ingenious persecution of the foreign merchants at Surat which had just been started by the Emperor Shah Jehan. Pages 54-55 record how this was countered by Methwold's firmness and courage; and later on he voyaged to Goa and, meeting the Portuguese Viceroy personally, obtained from him the use of the Portuguese ports of "the protection of their fortresses and wintering anchorages in their harbours." "And here," he wrote to his employers, "endeth for two years certainly (we hope for ever) the unprofitable hostility which for soe long hath sown much trouble if not endangered either nation." As Mr. Ingram observes: "He wrote with prescience for the peace then established has continued to the present day." We are taken through the rest of Methwold's career, his services to the Company in England up to the close of his life in 1653. We are further shown how the entire fabric of his "castle in the air" eventually "thrust its foundations into the earth"; and Bombay became the gateway of India.

The book consists of only 191 pages, including a useful bibliography, index and map, but is of real historical value. There are quotations and incidents which display in striking fashion the fine qualities of a gallant Englishman who was essentially a pacifist ("a rare product of a century when the sword ran freely its sheath"), of a great pioneer who could "look before and after," but unwittingly "in pursuit of peaceful trading sowed the seeds of Empire." He would not have been so successful had he not possessed a courage which nothing could shake and a marked sense of humour which gave him understanding and forbearance. All honour to William Methwold!

There is an obvious misprint on p. 101. For 1693 read 1639.

THE INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION. By M. K. Varadarajan, M.A., B.L. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

To *satyagraha*, soul-force, the political weapon invented by the little Hindu Faqir, Gandhi, appealing as it does to the immature and super-

stitious mentality of the Hindu peasant, the Congress owes much of its success in British India. To complete the Hindu reconquest of India the capture of the Indian States is essential; the new weapon should be equally potent in the realm of Indian autocracy. It will therefore hardly occasion surprise that soul-force and non-violence have swept over the frontiers, and in many States Gandhi's lieutenants, notably his principal coadjutor, Patel, have preached and are preaching sedition against the governments of the Princes. "Patel or Paramountcy" is a subject much discussed of late in the Indian Press. Are the States to come to terms with Gandhi, or is there to be a life-and-death struggle between Congress and the Paramount Power which is bound by treaty and equally binding convention to protect the Princes against interference from outside?

That is the question of the hour in India. It brings federation to the front in Indian politics, and for that reason to everyone interested in India's future the appearance of an excellent work on federation as it affects the Indian States will be all the more welcome.

The author, Mr. M. K. Varadarajan, does not commit himself on the merits of the scheme of federation as provided in the India Act, though like most educated Indians he considers the safeguards overdone. But these are to a great extent necessary to enable the British Government to fulfil its treaty obligations towards the Princes. On the thorny question whether it is in the interests of the Princes to accede to the new Central Government he expresses no clear opinion. At the same time he is careful to point out that the process of slow but remorseless encroachment on the federal units of supreme power at the Centre, may in the end, despite safeguards, wipe the States off the map. Evidently he would advise Congress to choose the constitutional course of promoting the federal scheme offered them and thereby ultimately obtaining complete control of the Government, rather than provoke a crisis by a frontal attack on the States which might lead to Congress discomfiture.

In discussing the question of the allotment of seats—in other words, the distribution of political power among the States—the author emphasizes the anomaly of giving to the smaller States practically all the weightage allowed to the States in the matter of representation. The result is that States with the largest population, like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Kashmir, Gwalior, get one-third less than their proper share on the basis of population: they should get 23, 10, 8, 6 and 6 respectively; they get only 16, 7, 6, 4 and 4, fewer in the case of Hyderabad and Mysore than British Provinces of comparable size and population. With 23 representatives in the Federal Assembly Hyderabad would have been in a very strong position, especially if it could ensure the loyalty of its federal contingent. Should Congress win in the present struggle, this leading Muslim State would hardly have a single representative. How the principle of over-representation of the smaller States will work remains to be seen. There is always the possibility that the smaller States, especially those grouped together for purposes of representation, may be the prey of the Congress lawyer. The representation of the States in the Council of State on the basis of the salute in guns of the Ruler is a still greater anomaly.

Mr. Varadarajan takes up the cudgels for the States which claim the abolition of their military subsidies before accession. He marshals his facts clearly, and there is no doubt much to be said from the point of view of the States most affected. Stress is laid in particular on what he considers the illogical principle of making the abolition of subsidies dependent on the payment to the Provinces of a share of the income-tax. One may be permitted to express a doubt whether full consideration has been given to such facts as the payment from central funds of large subventions to various provinces, so far as the Princes are concerned. Surely the States should not be expected to contribute to the funds required for such a purpose. Whatever may be the merits of the controversy over various aspects of the financial settlement with the State, one feels that from both the British and British Indian point of view it would be sound policy, if at all possible, to attempt to secure that the States should enter federation without any sense of grievance.

Once the Rubicon of federation is crossed there is no going back. A further strengthening of the Federal Government by Act of Parliament might render the instruments of accession invalid; it would need great moral courage on the part of individual Princes to seek on that ground to break away from the federation. And as to guarantees, much will, it is argued, depend on how far provincial Governors or the Governor-General are able to influence their Ministers. Neither would wish to provoke a crisis by insisting that action should be taken under the Princes Protection Act or otherwise to prevent interference in the States by politicians from the Provinces. In the present crisis it would appear that so far little has been done to restrain Congress activities across provincial frontiers. It is an embarrassing position for the British Government to appear in the rôle of the champion of feudal autocracy in a fight for civil liberty. Let it take comfort in the fact that so far we have no real indications of the true democratic spirit in the Congress High Command.

When all is said, good government, even if not entirely based on democracy, is the best reply to Congress encroachment. That is a matter for the Princes. Already there are signs that, if the worst comes to the worst, there will be strong support for the Ruler in the well-administered States.

ORDEAL AT LUCKNOW. THE DEFENCE OF THE RESIDENCY. By Michael Joyce. (*Murray.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I.)

The story of the Siege of Lucknow has been told many times and from many points of view. The entries in Mr. Joyce's list of sources number over eighty and do not, of course, include any works of fiction. But that does not make his book any the less welcome. For he has done and done admirably what was well worth doing. He has collated all the available material and has skilfully woven it into a continuous narrative which enables us to watch the progress of the siege from day to day and sometimes

from hour to hour during the hundred and forty days for which it lasted. As it is hardly likely that any further first-hand accounts of the siege will come to light, we now have the story in its final form. Of the new material Mr. Joyce has used, the most important is the "Army Record" of Private Henry Metcalfe of the 32nd Foot, who first comes on the scene as the saviour of the Senior Chaplain's white terrier, Buster, from an untimely end. This document is said to have only recently been discovered. We might have been told how and where it was found and in what form it was compiled. Private Metcalfe evidently had a gift for vivid narrative unusual in one of his rank.

Mr. Joyce avoids the snare into which so many of his predecessors in this field have fallen and there are no purple passages in his book. In the main, he is content to stand aside and to allow those who participated in what is perhaps the greatest episode in British history to speak for themselves. Whilst he certainly sets down naught in malice, he makes no attempt to conceal the fact that, though in moments of crisis even the most ordinary of mortals can rise to superhuman heights and that most of those in the Residency, both Europeans and Indians, did so, that was not true of all of them. Nor does he gloss over the failings—infinitesimal in comparison with what they were called upon to endure—of the heroes and heroines whose deeds he recounts. Tempers sometimes—though astonishingly seldom—got frayed, and even in that terrible time and that confined area the bands of red tape were not entirely loosed. Though their quarters were within a few yards of each other, we find Brigadier Inglis, who had been nominated by Sir Henry Lawrence to the command of the troops after his death, Major Banks succeeding him as Chief Commissioner, sending formal and distinctly acid letters to the intrepid but hotheaded Martin Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, who, as the senior civilian, had expected to take over the Chief Commissionership.

At the commencement of their recent history of *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Messrs. Thompson and Garratt quote *The Times* of February 28, 1892, as saying, "Indian history has never been made interesting to English readers except by rhetoric." There is no rhetoric in Mr. Joyce's book, and it is therefore pleasant evidence of a change for the better in this respect that it has received the recommendation of the Book Society. Its publishers deserve a word of praise for the excellence of its format and of its type.

JUNGLE TRAILS IN NORTHERN INDIA. By Sir John Hewett. (*Methuen.*) Price 12s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by* A. E. WATSON.)

That very distinguished servant of India, Sir John Hewett—he was Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces during 1907-12—has made a notable contribution to our literature on big-game hunting. It is a mixture of interesting, and often amusing, autobiography, travel and adventure, and Sir John, in a fascinating and informative manner, has delved deeply into

the memories of his many years in India to tell us much about that most exciting sport in the world—viz., tiger-hunting.

His chapter on "The Relative Dangers of Different Methods of Tiger Shooting" will be read with great interest by all who have tried conclusions with the cat tribe's most audacious representative, and perhaps with mixed feelings by those who contemplate doing so. The chapter, in short, is a well-reasoned argument for the avoidance of fatal accidents by the refusal to neglect those elementary rules universally accepted as necessary to the sport.

Shikaris will specially welcome a chapter on statistics relating to the lengths and weights of tigers, and some may find matter for contention. Sir John mentions that the biggest tiger shot in recent times measured eleven feet, and that it fell to the rifle of the Maharaja of Datia.

In the description of his many shooting parties, Sir John does not confine himself strictly to Northern India, for he was one of those fortunate people who secured permission to shoot in what is undoubtedly the world's finest game preserve—the Nepalese Tarai. The author was an adept with the camera as well as with the gun and rifle, and a number of intriguing photographs are the result. Altogether the book contains over forty illustrations.

Jungle Trails will have an appeal far beyond that band whose interest in the jungle is academic, as the reaction of the general reader has not been forgotten. Sir John has much to say on snakes and their ways. He mentions one occasion after a flood when he saw trees on the side of the road literally festooned with snakes, yet he is able to observe that it would not be unfair to assume that the chance of a European being bitten by a snake in India is not much greater than in England.

Sir John has some extremely valuable comments to make upon wolf-children, and after citing a number of instances where children had actually been brought up with wolf cubs and survived, he states his own clear belief that wolf-children "do sometimes, though rarely perhaps, occur."

Also of absorbing interest are the elephant stories, and especially the love story of Chand Murat—a very remarkable tusker—and Lachminiya, who was, of course, named after the Hindu goddess of fortune.

Also to be found in *Jungle Trails* are some engrossing stories emphasizing the elephant's power of scent and memory.

Sir John Hewett has also something to say about the tiger shoot arranged for the German ex-Crown Prince when he visited India in the cold weather of 1910-11, and his comments on some of its repercussions are of real historical value.

History of Zoroastrianism. By Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla. (*Oxford University Press.*) 24s. net.

(*Reviewed by* Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams.)

Dr. Dhalla, the learned High Priest of the Parsis in Karachi, has now produced a revised and enlarged edition of his earlier work, published some fifteen years ago under the title of *Zoroastrian Theology*. This new recension

is a compendious volume of more than five hundred pages, and represents an epitome of the history of the Parsi religion from the time of its foundation to the present day. There is an elaborate bibliography and a useful index. The book will undoubtedly take rank as the best one-volume history of Zoroastrianism that has hitherto appeared. But no one will find it easy reading, and its primary purpose is to appeal to the serious student rather than to the casual enquirer.

Dr. Dhalla adopts the linguistic basis as the frame of his arrangement. The earliest Zoroastrian documents are written in the Gathic dialect, and the epoch when this flourished is taken by the author to round off the preceding period of evolutionary religion among the ancient Iranians. To the Gathic dialect succeeds the Avestan, which in its turn is superseded by Pahlavi, which long survived the fall of the Sasanians, the last of the Zoroastrian Empires. From this time onwards, however, Zoroastrianism ceased to be an "Imperial" religion; and those who practised it, whether in Persia or in India, survived in some degree owing to their obscurity. Then, with the emergence of British rule in India, Zoroastrianism comes once again into prominence with the prosperity of the Parsi community.

The author writes of all these epochs with the great learning characteristic of a religious scholar. His standpoint is commendably objective when he comes to deal with controversial matters; although, as is only to be expected, he deals with the truths of revelation less critically than with the truths of history. His account of the essential teaching of Zoroaster has the merit of being concise as well as of being detailed, and it would be hard to discover any more convenient book of reference for the student who desires to acquaint himself with the fundamentals. Here the material is copious, and Dr. Dhalla has made the best possible use of it. For the Avestan period, again, this book is a very serviceable guide; while for the Pahlavi period it is excellent. But Dr. Dhalla has not been much more successful than some of his predecessors in bridging the gulf between the seventh and the eighteenth century. It is true that his purpose is concerned rather with the history of the religion of Zoroaster than with the fortunes of those who professed it; but far more material must be forthcoming before we are in a position to weave a continuous narrative. The former excellence of the work is well sustained when the author comes to deal with the modern period; and his account of the controversies which have sprung up both within and without the Zoroastrian fold are of great interest.

Zoroaster's immortal prescription of "good thoughts, good words, good deeds" has lightened the burden of this mortal life for many millions of people, and it is a remarkable testimony to the essential truth of the great Prophet's teaching that it has survived the ruin of the Empires which adopted it. Despite exile, persecution, and oppression, those who made his tenets their own have survived triumphantly through the centuries, drawing a ceaseless flow of moral and spiritual inspiration from this lofty doctrine. Of the Prophet himself but little is known. Even the exact epoch of his birth and of his death is shrouded in a profound mystery. But he attains immortality through his teaching; and it appears difficult, after studying Dr. Dhalla's learned and impressive pages, to cavil at the sublime confidence

with which Zoroaster himself announced that his religion would survive for ever and his followers continue to do battle with the forces of evil even unto the end of the world.

Some Social Services of the Government of Bombay. A Symposium. Edited by Clifford Mansard. (Bombay: *Taraporevala and Sons.*) Rs. 3-4.

(*Reviewed by* Professor H. G. Rawlinson.)

This little volume is a reprint of lectures delivered at the Nagpada Neighbourhood House under the auspices of the Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work. It is an attempt to present in a concise fashion for the general reader some of the social services performed by the Government of Bombay. Every department of government has its social aspects, but the present book is confined to those functions which deal directly with the welfare of the people. It is an endeavour to point out some of the resources available to those who are interested in social improvement.

The lectures here reproduced fall roughly into three groups. First and foremost comes the medical side: Dr. Shiveshwarkar, Assistant Director of Public Health, writes on the Public Health Programme, and Colonel Jalal Shah on the work of the Medical Department. Next come five contributions by experts on Labour conditions in Bombay and other great industrial centres in the Presidency: these deal with the work of the Labour Office, Factory Law, and Industrial Housing. Last of all we have two lectures on Village Improvement and the work of the Co-operative Societies. The series ends with an admirable lecture by Miss M. K. Davis on work under the Bombay Children Act. The impression left on the reader is chiefly that of the enormous work being done by the Bombay Government to fight against poverty, disease and ignorance and their attendant evils, and the difficulties of the task in the face of inadequate financial resources and the immensity of the population, spread over a wide area with very little in the way of roads and other means of communication. The Department of Public Health has a never-ending contest against smallpox, plague, cholera, malaria and other endemic diseases, and this includes not merely prophylactic measures, but experiments in such matters as conservancy and the inculcation of sanitary habits. Problems of almost inconceivable perplexity are raised by the influx into a city like Bombay of about half a million men, women and children from the villages, seeking occupation in the mills. Owing to the *laissez faire* doctrines prevalent in the last century, the condition of the mill-population was at one time appalling, and this led to serious discontent which culminated from time to time in rioting and bloodshed. The reader will gather what is being done by legislation and voluntary work to ameliorate these conditions. One interesting aspect of the work is that done by the Children's Aid Society to prevent children from being sucked into the maelstrom of delinquency and crime.

Only two lectures deal with strictly rural work, but these are of unusual

interest. Mr. Perry gives a fascinating account of the work of the Village Improvement Association in the Nasik District. Magic lanterns, loud-speakers, and, lately, broadcasting have been enlisted in order to induce the villager to "bund" his fields, consolidate his holdings, sieve his seed, use iron ploughs, improve his cattle, and plant trees. The Co-operative Society tries to inculcate thrift, and to save him from the clutches of the money-lender by advancing money at a reasonable rate of interest. The chief obstacles in the way of rural progress are the heavy load of unproductive debt of the average Indian farmer, his habit of investing his savings in ornaments, his love of spending money on weddings and other social occasions, and last of all his illiteracy. This last item brings us to the only criticism we have of this admirable and informative series of lectures; none of them is devoted to the subject of education, which is, after all, the key of the whole problem. No real progress is possible until the rural and urban population are sufficiently educated to co-operate with the efforts made to improve their condition, and the reader naturally expects further enlightenment on this point.

FAR EAST

Buddhist Art in Siam. A Concise History. By Reginald Le May, Ph.D. (Cantab.). With a Foreword by Sir John Marshall. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 42s. net.

(*Reviewed by* J. H. Lindsay.)

All interested in the art of the East will be grateful to Dr. Le May for his concise history of Buddhist art in Siam, which, fully illustrated with more than two hundred photographs and two excellent maps, confirms his reputation as an authority on Siam and especially on its Buddhist sculpture. As the country is by no means homogeneous and has been subject to invasions, cultural and political, from many directions, the subject is vast and intricate. Dr. Le May, however, has been able to sketch out a general framework of the course of Siamese Buddhist sculpture into which later workers will be able to fit the results of more detailed research. Admittedly there are still many problems which must await years of scientific excavation before a reasonable solution can be expected and these have been frankly stated, but the author has been able to make a systematic classification of Siamese art into nine periods.

Naturally the first period up to the fifth century A.D., the "Pure Indian —*i.e.*, brought from India itself"—is the most tentative, and the material is insufficient to determine how exactly Buddhist art reached the country from India. Dr. Le May discusses four possible routes for the journey, but I think he underestimates the importance of the all sea route to South Siam. If Indian ships could reach China in the second century, as they certainly did, they could sail to the south coast of Siam.

For the second period the Mon-Indian (Gupta), fifth to tenth centuries A.D., which left its mark on sculpture in Lower and Central Siam throughout its history, there is much stronger evidence. This consists of Buddha figures that have an obvious affinity with Gupta work in India. As Gupta motifs are common in China from the end of the fifth century, it is not surprising to find their influence in Siam in the second half of the first millennium of the Christian era.

The third period is that of the Hindu-Javanese school at Çrivijaya in the Siam peninsula, from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. The various theories about this Çrivijaya kingdom are discussed. Dr. Le May has suggested that this school was influenced by the Pala school of Bengal, and shows that possibly it was the centre of inspiration for the wonderful sculpture of Borobodur in Java.

Having thus sketched the early history of Siamese sculpture, Dr. Le May is able to deal more fully with the Khmer and Tai schools for which Siam is specially noteworthy. The Khmers, who were responsible for the magnificent temple of Angkor in Cambodia, occupied in their conquests the eastern half of Siam. As they travelled west, their sculpture came under the influence of the previous Mon-Gupta tradition, as is clearly brought out by a series of illustrations. The strong, ruthless, human type of the Khmer Buddha was alien both to the Mon and to their successors, the Tai, who had assimilated the Indian idealistic conception of the Buddha. The Tai disliked the Khmer Buddha so much that they covered their faces with black lacquer moulded to the preferred idealistic smiling Buddha.

The Tai or Siamese were a Chinese race, who from the ninth century began to filter into the north of Siam and ultimately drove out the Khmers in the thirteenth century. Their art has been divided into various schools beginning with that in the north connected with the Pala sculpture of Bengal. Later this was blended with fresh influences coming from Ceylon resulting in the characteristic Tai Buddha, an idealistic face with semi-circular eyebrows, a prominent nose and upturned corners of the mouth. These facial features were all characteristic of the earliest Chinese sculpture, commonly known as the Northern Wei, and Dupont has actually suggested that these characteristics must have come from China. Dr. Le May naturally discards this idea, as these features had disappeared from Chinese sculpture by the seventh century. It is now known that the Northern Wei type of sculpture was not confined to the nomad race of that name, but was the Chinese sculpture adopted by them. The peculiar features of the face were the result of the Chinese reaction to the Indian type of face. Five or seven centuries later the Chinese Tai met this type of face in models from India and Ceylon, a type so different from their own, with the same result in the reproduction of semi-circular eyebrows, prominent nose and smile. This I suggest is the explanation of the similarity between the two styles so wide apart in point of time.

SPOILS OF OPPORTUNITY. By Janet Mitchell. (*Methuen.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Adequately to review a book of this kind is a task of delicacy. The author takes us so deeply into her confidence that we are conscious of some hesitation in expressing an opinion, lest we should be guilty of an impertinence; of an intrusion, as it were, into the private life of a perfect stranger. To write frankly of things so intimate cannot have been easy; to deal objectively with what has been treated so subjectively is more difficult still. The fact that such a revelation was uninvited is nothing; it remains none the less a revelation, and, as such, must be treated with respect.

Miss Mitchell's life has been adventurous; but, unless we are gravely mistaken, the purpose of this autobiography is less to set out these adventures than to reveal what they have meant to the adventurer. She has passed through fierce vicissitudes—thanks to her almost *farouche* sense of independence; and although she has triumphed over them, and has achieved security, which seems to mean little to her, and her special niche in life, which obviously means a great deal, her tribulations have not left her unscathed. Upon some aspects of these she has preserved reticence; and where she is silent it is not for a reviewer to intrude his speculations. Yet it must be plain to all who read her narrative with sympathy that her wide gifts of clear-sighted affection, which won her friendships as diverse as those emanating from Russian refugees at Harbin and British intellectuals in London and Manchester, might have been even more apparent had they received the stimulus of more intimate ties.

The record of her childhood in Australia, of her student days in England, of her first important appointment and its tragic sequel, of her experiences during the Japanese occupation of the territory now known as Manchukuo, of her struggles as a freelance journalist—is of great narrative interest and suffices to put this book very high among the autobiographies of adventurous souls. But its peculiar quality as a record of spiritual progress is of wider interest still. Miss Mitchell is able, thanks to her consistent integrity of outlook, to weave the results of her experiences into a Credo of her own. She has learned to distrust causes and catchwords. She has a lively dread of propaganda. She has seen so many horrors that she hates the very name of war. Yet she is no pessimist. With the mind and temperament of a sceptic she has "come right through" the easy materialism *plus* humanitarianism of the present day and out the other side. No doubt the spiritual experience she underwent upon that dark and lonely Harbin road marked a turning-point in her life. Such personal revelations are perhaps less rare than we are apt to imagine; and they do not always survive the dimming effects of the years which pass. But, in the case of Miss Mitchell, every subsequent happening has given her a deepening realization of God as an active power in human life. She finds in a life surrendered to God, and in the Christian fellowship which is the issue of such surrender, the foundation alike of democratic society and of a better world.

JAPAN IN CHINA: HER MOTIVES AND AIMS. By K. K. Kawakami. (*John Murray.*) 5s. net.

Viscount Ishii has written a preface to the volume, in which he describes the want of China's adaptation to modern life. He further refers to the bombardment of the Japanese coasts by European and American fleets and to the unequal treaties forced upon Japan. This brings Viscount Ishii to self-defence, which has regenerated his country, while the Chinese have become more or less stationary. It is the Red danger which brings Mr. Kawakami into the field, and it can be understood that Japan does not wish to face a Red country near its shores.

In addition, the author claims that over-population of Japan forces her to look for territory where their people may find room, but also to find new outlets for her industry and trade. He quotes Mr. Edison, who from his viewpoint justifies and even encourages Japanese action. What further the author complains of is European propaganda through the press against Japan. This book gives the Japanese point of view in a clear, vivid style.

THE SILENT TRAVELLER: A Chinese Artist in Lakeland. By Chiang Yee. (*Country Life.*) 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Chiang Yee does not require an introduction to the English public. His book on Chinese art and how to approach it, as well as the one on the art of Chinese Calligraphy, are well known and have been much appreciated. The new volume is prefaced by Sir Herbert Read. In beautiful words and with fine feeling Sir Herbert Read explains what we may expect in the body of the book. It is East and West that meet in the English Lake District. Their words may differ, but both bring towards the beauty of nature the soul of man, and those who have taken an interest in Chinese art will also appreciate the mind of this Chinese painter and follow him in his pictures, which are designed in his own style.

ALIENS IN THE EAST: A new history of Japan's Foreign Intercourse. By Harry E. Wildes. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

The author's profession has taught him a wise lesson: that a nation's present mentality can only be explained by its past history. This is a philosophy in itself. We have therefore to look in historical literature for those writers who have devoted years of serious study to the development of a nationhood. Mr. Wildes has followed this significant principle. The beginnings of Japan's foreign intercourse must be attributed to the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, who were followed by the Dutch and later by the British and Russians. We are told that the particular trait in relation to the foreigner was an innate suspicion of all of them. The Japanese must have thought that the intrusion of unknown people would mean a disturbance in their independence, their social development and religious attitude.

Although the Japanese in course of time have been obliged to adopt certain Western methods, in their heart of hearts they have remained in the essence true to their time-old characteristics. The great disturbance which threatened them in their attitude is overcome in spite of Commander Perry's expedition in 1854; the patriotism of the people as a whole has been strengthened, the Russian danger has united them more than ever, with the result that they are now considered one of the great nations whom Foreign Powers will hesitate to attack.

Mr. Wildes' history is well and carefully written and is based on understanding and study through years of residence in that country.

CRISIS IN CHINA: The story of the Sian Mutiny. By James M. Bertram. (*Macmillan.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. Bertram is a journalist who went out to China in order to see with his own eyes the development of events in the Far East. He made, in spite of the upheaval, the dangerous journey from Peking to Sian, and is therefore in a position to give a good account of the events during the Sian crisis, and to show its significance to China. We are informed that Chiang Kai-shek had the choice between democracy and dictatorship, between civil peace and civil war. It is, however, difficult to explain such expressions, and it requires a thorough understanding of the situation and of the minds of the leading actors. The most important part of the volume, which contains a number of good photographs, is devoted to a clear presentation of the Sian affair and the development of events leading up to the release of Chiang Kai-shek.

NEAR EAST

DESERT AND DELTA. By Major C. S. Jarvis. (*John Murray.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A SERVANT OF THE EMPIRE. By Clara Boyle. (*Methuen.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* G. L. W. MACKENZIE.)

Major Jarvis is that redoubtable phenomenon, the man of action who commands the sword and the pen with equal facility. Since he retired from the Governorship of Sinai a couple of short years ago he has been as active in the world of books as he was in his administrative sphere. It is as if those long years of sojourning in the desert had bred in him the desire to break the silence that commonly envelops the activities of British soldiers serving the Egyptian Government. The note which he struck in *Three Deserts* and which has signalized most of his articles in the Press, he has struck again very happily in *Desert and Delta*. It is, on the whole, a wise book written very understandingly by a man mellowed by years and experience.

Major Jarvis, or Jarvis Bey, as Egyptian residents prefer to call him, knows the Bedouins of Egypt intimately, and he has spent a large part of his life among them. He knows their good qualities and their faults, and he has a great affection for them. It is only natural, then, that there should

be more about the desert than the delta in his book, and that he should judge the nomad more sympathetically and penetratingly than the townsman. Of the fourteen chapters which make up the book some nine concern themselves with the Bedouin, while the remaining five are devoted to miscellaneous subjects affecting both desert and delta.

Jarvis Bey is the possessor of a very easy colloquial style. He writes from the fullness of his mind and in the natural, direct manner of the soldier. He is happily discursive and always illuminatingly anecdotal where anecdote can add to the force of his narrative. Perhaps his most notable gift is one for apt and pithy simile. As an instance—one amongst many—speaking of the difference between the Christian and Moslem views of religion, he remarks that "for an Egyptian to fail to observe the Ramadan fast is on a par with an Englishman letting his Club down with a R.D. cheque or being caught cheating at cards." This puts the matter in a nutshell.

As a keen fisherman, Jarvis Bey has much to say of the Arab fishermen of Northern and Southern Sinai. He has spent many a long and fruitful day in their company, and some of his best anecdotes concern them. Among them he feels himself one of a great confraternity, and into at least one of his stories of them there creeps an almost epic note.

But fishing, after all, was only a side line, a pursuit of his leisure time, and it is when he is telling of the actual work of administering the wilderness of Sinai that he commands our closest attention. In his hands lay almost boundless power over a race simple in many ways, but cunning also with the cunning of simplicity and driven to shifts and wiles by inexorable poverty. Jarvis Bey played a patriarchal rôle amongst these people, and although he chastened them when necessary it is obvious that they never lacked for a champion in their hour of need.

While perfectly sound, however, on the subject of Bedouins, Jarvis cannot claim to speak with any great authority on Egyptian politics and the ways of the settled people. His life in the desert precludes this. It is a pity, then, that he has allowed himself to be so dogmatic in the earlier chapters of the book. A little more restraint there would have earned him the more respectful attention of the informed.

Desert and Delta contains a good sketch map of Egypt, Sinai, and Southern Palestine, and some excellent reproductions of political caricatures from the Egyptian Press. There are also a number of photos.

In *A Servant of the Empire* Mrs. Clara Boyle, widow of Harry Boyle, who was Lord Cromer's Oriental Secretary, has given the public a memoir of her husband. Harry Boyle was the first Englishman in Egypt to have the title of Oriental Secretary. Since then there has been a long line of able successors, including Sir Ronald Storrs and Sir Alexander Keown-Boyd. But Boyle was perhaps the most original of them all. Indeed, he exhibited all the characteristics of a nonpareil, and only such a contradiction in terms suffices to describe him. Outrageously slovenly in dress, devoid of all ambition, and with little or no wish for anything that money can buy, he combined a masterly knowledge of Eastern languages with the sceptical and detached outlook of some lettered agnostic of the late eighteenth century. Sir Thomas Hohler, who served with him in Egypt, notes, in his

excellent introduction, his predilection for Johnsonian compliments, and his deep knowledge of Latin and of eighteenth-century literature.

Lord Cromer had the most complete confidence in Boyle. "If the Lord" (Lord Cromer was known as "the Lord" in Egypt), says Sir Thomas Hohler, "was in effect the Sultan, Boyle became his Grand Vizier." And Boyle's friends gave him the nickname of Enoch because he "walked daily with the Lord."

Mrs. Boyle has produced an interesting study of the life of a remarkable man who served in an important sphere under a great proconsul. Unfortunately reasons of State have prevented her from giving a lot of information which would have been of the first interest to students of the Cromerian régime. Moreover, such memoirs as Boyle dictated to her were not given until just before he died, and they are necessarily very truncated. About half of the book deals with his life in Egypt, while the rest tells of his subsequent service in Berlin and the vicissitudes of his life after his retirement from Government service.

Le Problème Hittite. By Eugène Cavaignac. Études d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. (Paris: *Ernest Leroux*.) Price fr. 25.

(*Reviewed by* Leonie Zuntz.)

This book will especially interest historians. After Professor Götze had given a full description of cultural life and civilization of the Hittites and their country in *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients, dritter Abschnitt, erste Lieferung, Kleinasien*, a book was needed which would stress the historical point of view, giving the Hittites their place in the development of the Eastern empires: this has now been written by Professor Cavaignac. *Le Problème Hittite* has a wide range: it starts with about 2000 B.C. and comes down to modern times. It is evident that in 190 pages it was not possible to treat all the period with equal thoroughness; there are only two short appendices on Strabo and on more modern times, while the bulk of the book is taken up by an outline of history of the Hittite Empire—*i.e.* a period roughly between 2000 and 1200 B.C.* This historical survey is lively and detailed, while it skirts the difficulty of losing the thread in following each little move of kings and armies given in the Hittite annals. Not only Hittite documents, edited ones as well as inedited ones, have been used for it, but also Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian sources, especially the Amarna letters, have been fully taken into account. It is, however, regrettable that reference to these sources is not fully given; it is, at times, difficult for the scholar to trace them: this applies, *e.g.*, to the "poem" on p. 20. The chapters on the Cappadocian colonies and, most of all, the survey on Hittite hieroglyphs will, on the other hand, serve as a comprehensive and careful introduction to these matters.

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* Professor Cavaignac has used, unlike Professor Götze, the "longer chronology," dating the raid of Babylon 1806, instead of 1756. The divergence between these two chronologies becomes less at later dates and they practically coincide from 1300 onwards.

Most striking is Professor Cavaignac's skill in avoiding all dangerous theories and generalizations while giving all necessary information. This applies to the ambiguous subject of Hittite geography—the maps given are carefully drawn, but I should like to see another one for the "time of the Hittite hieroglyphs" (about 1200 to 800 B.C.)—as well as, *e.g.*, to Professor Götze's theory on the Hyksos, the route of the Hittites into Asia Minor, and the relationship between Asia Minor populations.

A few points which occurred to me while reading the book may serve partly to underline Professor Cavaignac's views, partly to give a few emendations. They are given as they arise from the pages of the book. P. 17: the meaning of *tunakeššar* might be misunderstood; Professor Ehelolf has shown, in ZA, NF ix. 118 ff., that it is the Hittite word for Sumerian É.ŠÀ. P. 42: for Pirhunijaš read Pihhunijaš. P. 58: the dating of the Tavagalava affair is not so certain; according to Professor Güterbock, ZA, NF ix. 321 ff., it seems more likely that it happened only in the reign of Hattušil, a possibility which Professor Sommer had already pointed out in his A.U. P. 58, note 1: read A.U., p. 5, not 59. In the note on KBo IV. 14, on p. 62 a sign has been misread: instead of LUGAL TUR read LUGAL-*i* "to the king," which supplies the necessary dative. Another passage out of this same treaty I translate differently; instead of "je ne fus pas seul à faire campagne" I should prefer to take this sentence as a rhetorical question (the text abounds in such), *i.e.*, "was not I alone to make war . . . ?" I should like to point out here that KBo IV. 14, although quite well preserved, is stylistically one of the most puzzling among the historical texts, a reason why no commentator has tackled it so far. Note to p. 81: the translation of KUB XXI. 38 gives a wrong idea of the state of this text: much more is preserved. Pp. 107 ff.: it seems to me especially useful and enlightening to try to fix the value of money and its worth, compared with wages, in order to find out as much as possible about the standard of living. P. 119, note: one cannot completely rely on the translations from the law-code, based on Hrozný's edition from 1922. Professor Friedrich is working at a new edition which will certainly correct some of our ideas about Hittite law. P. 112: I do not agree with Professor Cavaignac as to the figure of the "warrior." Professor Güterbock quite agrees with me that it is most certainly a man. P. 117: it is to be stressed again that none of the orgiastic rites so well known from later Asia Minor are ever mentioned or even hinted at in Hittite texts, although we are especially well informed on religious ceremonies, and although these are, to a great extent, apparently taken over, language and all, from the "indigenous" populations. The Hittites, as Professor Cavaignac points out so well, belong intrinsically to this world, as warriors, politicians, organizers, and are not in the least interested in philosophical speculations. P. 119, note: *šakuuant-* means "dirty," or, rather, "ritually unclean." P. 127: it does not seem possible, in view of Professor Güterbock's researches in the last few years, to assign so late a date to the introduction of Hittite hieroglyphs, since even the kings of the middle period use them on their seals, as Professor Cavaignac himself shows in another place. This second script and language just adds another puzzle to the "problème hittite." Pp. 131 ff.: it is certainly right

not to date the sculptures from the Tell Halaf too early. But Professor Cavaignac goes slightly too far: at the date given by him these sculptures were apparently used a second time by Kapara. P. 173: it does not seem advisable to call Sandrakshatru an "Asianic" name; a good Indo-European etymology is at hand.

But all these are minor points not worth dwelling on too long. On the whole I wish to repeat that this is not only an elucidating but an interesting book, and since it is also supplied with some good illustrations, I only wish that it will find many readers, not only among scholars but among the general public.

U.R.S.S. ET NOUVELLE RUSSIE. By Alfred Silbert. (Paris: *Les editions Noël.*)

(*Reviewed by* C. A. KINCAID.)

Since the Great War many writers have gone to Russia and have published accounts of things seen and heard; but they have differed amazingly in their conclusions. English socialists and communists have been shepherded round the show quarters of Moscow and come back full of praise for the excellence of Soviet rule. French writers of the extreme left such as André Gide have returned disgusted with the essential bourgeois quality of the Russian republic. Alone of writers on this most fascinating of subjects M. Alfred Silbert has, in my humble judgment, dealt out fair and impartial criticism.

To get to Russia, M. Silbert started from Berlin and passed by rail through Eastern Germany and Poland. At Stolpce, the last station in Poland, the Polish officials looked at M. Silbert and his fellow-travellers as persons condemned to death. A few kilometres farther on the train crossed the Russian frontier and he submitted to the usual customs examination, which proved less troublesome than the Polish one. Arriving at Moscow the following morning, he found instead of a half-oriental city, falling into decay, a great modern town, full of colossal buildings that recalled Chicago. The U.R.S.S. Government have deliberately left St. Petersburg with its memories of the Romanoffs to fall to pieces; but they have expended vast sums in creating a new Moscow. In the middle stands a gigantic monument to Lenin and behind it rises the Kremlin, wherein lives Stalin, the man of steel, the present autocrat of Russia. Our traveller found little bourgeois comfort, but on the other hand, no misery in the great city, for the U.R.S.S. offers work to all. It is true that from time to time "purges" occur, but the public regard them with indifference. The persons "purged" are usually old and therefore embarrassing associates of Stalin, who prefers as comrades young men, who have known no other rule but that of the Soviets. Moreover, young and old alike look forward to a golden age, when the industrial revolution will have been completed, and all can enjoy the fruits of the various five years' plans.

M. Silbert's conclusion was that the people of Moscow were not unhappy. As a Russian acquaintance said to him, "You must not come to Russia full of the *esprit boulevardier*." In other words, we must think of Russian life as it was before the revolution, not as it is in the Paris boulevards. If the

standard of life is low in Moscow, it was far lower before the war save for the favoured few.

From Moscow M. Silbert went southwards by steamer down the Volga. His first stop was Kazan. There the Slav alphabet gave way to the Roman, but the language remained unintelligible as before. As his steamer floated down the great river he saw innumerable Kolkhoz or state-aided farms. M. Silbert admits that in early days the U.R.S.S. administration made every conceivable error in dealing with the peasantry; but as each grave mistake was followed by an equally grave famine, the Government have learnt wisdom, and at present the relations between town and country are as happy as in any other land. In the first ardours of the revolution it was sought to abolish marriage, but experience has overcome prejudice. The state now encourages marriage and punishes homosexualism and abortions. Wages are low both in town and countryside; but against this it should be remembered that women's work is paid as highly as men's. Thus with the combined wages of both parents the family lives in comfort.

M. Silbert penetrated as far east as the Caspian, partly by train and partly by air. Returning by the Black Sea through the Ukraine our traveller reached Berlin. Thence taking an airplane "Air France," he reached Le Bourget four hours after rising above the German capital. He has now recorded his experiences and his conclusions in the best book of travel in Russia that I have yet read.

GENERAL

WEST OF SUEZ. By S. Natarajan. (Bombay: *Indian Social Reformer, Ltd.*) Rs. 3.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

To write an account of the Grand Tour was a fashionable accomplishment throughout the eighteenth century in the eyes of the polite world of England: and it may be conjectured that for every one of these narratives which have survived, a dozen have been consigned, whether by benevolent design or by no less benevolent accident, to oblivion. No doubt there are many people in India today who would resent the statement that a tour in Europe represents for the aspirant to public life more or less what such a tour represented for their predecessors in eighteenth-century England; but the solid fact remains that the habit of "travel for education" is firmly rooted in India. Of those young men whose means allow them to take a European tour, only a mere handful write about their experiences. What hinders them? Perhaps neither indolence nor modesty, but merely the consciousness that there is no need for them to assume the responsibility of enlightening those persons who will in their turn make the tour, while those who will not do so are unlikely to be interested.

Mr. Natarajan's circumstances were exceptional, for during his travels in Europe he wrote regularly for his father's well-known journal. On his return to India, therefore, he found much material already on paper and quite ready to his hand. The result is this book.

Those who read it will at once understand why it has evoked memories of eighteenth-century narratives, for the writer displays the detailed interest in the material side of travel which was so typical of the days when the relative merits of inns, foods and roads were of great importance simply because the choice of routes was so limited. It is true that Mr. Natarajan is not a gourmet; but he is a vegetarian, he is extremely thrifty and is unhappy amidst noise, dirt or disorder. As a result, he resembles the eighteenth-century young man in carrying round with him standards of his own by which he estimates all that comes within his ken. Furthermore, he adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered. But what a pity it is that a traveller so intelligent and so receptive is well-nigh compelled to confine his impressions to urban life! To Mr. Natarajan Europe stands for cities, and the space which separates city from city is just something to be crossed by him by plane, rail or motor-coach. Britain in particular suffers from being observed in so limited a fashion; for despite her vast agglomerations of people, her institutions, her ways of thinking, her very virtues and defects, all spring from that countryside towards which, after centuries of neglect, she is again turning as to the true source of her strength.

HINDUISM AND THE MODERN WORLD. By K. M. Panikkar. (London: *Kitabistan*.)

(*Reviewed by* HUGH MOLSON.)

Some books are important because they reveal facts previously unknown or throw a new light on familiar things. This book is not, and does not claim to be, original in either of these ways. It is, nonetheless, a notable work, and may well prove to be widely influential because of the clear-cut and courageous opinions, supported by example and authority, which it expresses on Hinduism as a social and political system.

The author speaks with an almost brutal frankness of the weakness and lethargy of the Hindu community. This condition of affairs is due in his opinion to harmful customs which continue to be observed because of an erroneous belief that they are an integral part of the Hindu religion. "The orthodox section of Hindus holds that every institution, however abhorrent to humanity (like untouchability), however unreasonable (like caste) and however anachronistic (like the Joint Family), has the implicit sanction of religion and cannot be touched by secular legislation without offending the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus." The author is, in fact, an Hindu Erastian, if the metaphor may be allowed: he denies to his religion the right to control social and economic aspects of life, and looks to a secular legislature, animated by a rationalistic and reforming spirit, to liberate the Hindu people from the domination of religious texts and teachers.

This critical and practical outlook pervades all Mr. Panikkar's thought. He denies flatly the claim that India is more "spiritual" than Europe. Whatever may be the quality of the philosophical thought of Hindu thinkers, religion as understood by the mass of the people is of a deplorably materialistic kind. The idea that sins are washed away in Ganges water is a confusion between physical and spiritual ablution which illustrates a peculiarly gross form of materialism. This criticism of Hinduism will be obvious to Europeans, but they may read with surprise that European idealism, as shown in the monastic orders, the missionary societies and the scout movement, has been the inspiration of most of the social uplift movements in India. Mr. Panikkar's subtlety of thought is apparent when he remarks that, although Mr. Gandhi may be an idealist and a man of the spirit, the value of his teaching lies in his application of his thought to material things—the greater comfort of the poor, the better organization of society and the establishment of equality as a basis of national life.

The greatest single obstacle to progress is the caste system, because of the fragmentation of social life which it causes. Mr. Panikkar begins by stating that the fourfold division of all castes into Brahmins, Kshatrias, Vaisyas and Sudras is only ideological and not in any way based on fact, and he even goes so far as to say that it has never existed. The Vedas give no authority to the caste system, and in Mr. Panikkar's view the Bhagivad Gita does not do so either. It is the Code of Manu which prescribes the caste system, and the author denies that when the Code was being compiled it was regarded as divinely inspired or unchangeable.

The radical character of Mr. Panikkar's thought must now be apparent. He shows throughout a respect for the Hindu religion as the spiritual and philosophical views of Indians. He repudiates, however, any claim that religious opinions should enjoy binding authority in the realm of social and political life. He desires to see a secularizing and rationalizing movement in India which by legislation and political reforms will break through what Maine called the "cake of custom" and direct the energies of Hindus to material progress. Mr. Panikkar may well be the prophet of a new awakening, but prophets are still liable to be martyred. It is easier for the Foreign Minister of an Indian State to prescribe this policy than it will be for his colleague the Home Minister to practise it.

THE JAYAJI PRATAP BIRTHDAY NUMBER. (English section.)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.)

This handsomely produced Special Number, issued on the occasion of the birthday of H.H. the Maharaja Scindia, contains a number of contributions by eminent persons. Pride of place is given to a number of extracts from the speeches of His Highness, which are distinguished for their pithy expression of admirable sentiments. Then comes a charming poem, reproduced in facsimile, from the pen of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore—a translation of one of his own Bengali songs. Sir Manubhai Mehta has a thoughtful and scholarly article, illustrated by references to contemporary happen-

ings, both in Europe and in India, upon the virtues of the Golden Mean as a rule of conduct in public and private affairs. Lieutenant Brijraj Narain writes with intimate knowledge and affection of the young Ruler: and in so doing, treats in interesting fashion of some of the latest developments of progressive Gwalior. Professor Kale shows that co-operation need not be confined to the countryside, but can play its beneficent part for the advantage of townsfolk as well. Dr. Lanka Sundaram, who has a special knowledge of European politics, writes in somewhat pessimistic fashion of the tragedies of international affairs in 1938; while he is by no means confident that the outlook for the future is greatly improved by Munich. Mr. N. E. Ranga believes that Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of Hindi as a universal language has gone far to relieve India from the curse of Babel; and he urges that the language should be simplified from its classical form, enriched by useful words from Urdu, Persian, and the European tongues, and adapted to the simple requirements of the ordinary man. Principal Pearce deals with the three great problems: the purpose of life; the question of competing ideologies; the problem of change for the better. An excellent article on the archæology of Ujjain, illustrated by photographs, aerial and orthodox, is contributed by Mr. M. B. Garde. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai writes an interesting study of Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia, best known to English readers from the vivid description of Dr. Broughton in his *Letters from a Maratha Camp*. Next comes a very modern article by Mr. F. L. Brayne—"Socrates Revisits an Indian Village"—who compares Indian with British farming-practice. More sidelights on His Highness's work for the State are contributed by Mr. Rajwade. The local interest is also sustained by Mr. Salim Ali's excellently illustrated article on Gwalior birds; by Maharaja Krishna Chaddha's survey of industrial Gwalior, past, present, and future; and by Professor Dubey's practical and learned survey of the possibilities of industrial planning for Gwalior. Some articles of general interest bring the English section to a close: Dr. Khirwadkar's discussion of the Indian population problem; Mr. Michael Brown's survey of living handicrafts; Dr. Apte's co-relation of the Wardha scheme with female education; while Mr. Sukumar Chatterji contributes a sympathetic account of the Sriniketan Institute of Rural Reconstruction, which lies close beside the better-known Santineketan of Bolpur. There are excellent illustrations, several short stories, and an interesting survey of some of the fine automobiles of 1939. The printing is admirable, and there are some fine colour reproductions. The whole number reflects the greatest credit both upon the resources and the enterprise of the *Jayaji Pratap*.

FICTION

THE SPEEDY RETURN. By George W. Keeton. (*G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DOROTHY FOOKS.)

In the annals of our country there are a great number of little-known episodes which, before passing into oblivion, greatly stirred public opinion.

One of these has been chosen by the author for the theme of his novel *The Speedy Return*. It is an account of the last voyage of an English merchant vessel, the *Worcester*, in 1702. Two years were spent trading in the East, where her officers and crew had many adventures in avoiding pirates and in contending with storms and sickness. On her return, well laden with cargo, she put in at Leith, and was promptly seized by the Scots to avenge the capture of one of their trading ships by the English. All aboard were brought to trial at Edinburgh on a trumped-up charge of piracy, and a wealth of manufactured evidence was produced against them. Feeling ran high on both sides of the Border, and, in spite of irrefutable testimony from England as to their innocence, the captain, first mate, and gunner were condemned to be hanged. The executions were carried out on Leith sands amidst a mob howling for vengeance.

In the years that followed, the truth about this infamous proceeding gradually leaked out. To use the author's own words: "A new spirit was abroad. Strong men, both English and Scots, had forced the Union through both Parliaments, and a second tragedy like that of the *Worcester* was unthinkable."

MIPAM: A TIBETAN NOVEL. By Lama Longden. (*The Bodley Head.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DOROTHY FOOKS.)

To the majority of Europeans, Tibet is a land shrouded in mystery, a region of strange beliefs and customs. The author of *Mipam*, a Tibetan Lama more widely travelled than most, felt compelled to write this book after discovering the mass of misinformation that existed about his native country.

The story tells of Mipam, the son of Puntsog, headman of his village. Supernatural portents heralded his birth, and his parents were convinced that their son was no ordinary mortal. However, Mipam developed into a normal healthy little boy, though from time to time strange visions and events attended him. At a very early age he meets Dolma, his playmate at first, but as he grows older he falls in love with her. After many adventures, he becomes a prosperous trader, but his destiny was to be another one, and leads him to a remote monastery, where, in a vision, Dolma comes to him, and reveals that he is the long-awaited reincarnation of a previous Head Lama, and foretells her impending death. Mipam's innate, though long-suppressed, inner mysticism now emerges, and he finds peace in his destined rôle.

Subsidiary to the main theme, there are excellent descriptions of the country, its superstitions, and the innumerable ascetics, sorcerers, and astrologers, with an occasional genuine "seer." It is a very remarkable novel, not merely because it is the first written by a Tibetan to be published in English, but also because the tale itself has great quality and charm.

INDIAN TRADE AND FINANCE

By R. W. Brock
(Formerly Editor of *Capital*)

Sir James Grigg's final Budget statement included the significant disclosure that during the last financial year the only notable increases in Customs revenues were derived from larger imports of machinery and raw cotton. India's increasing importance as a buyer of machinery—a natural corollary of the industrialization movement—has not escaped general attention, but it may not be so widely appreciated that in recent years Indian mills have imported over 700,000 bales of long-staple cotton annually. On the long view, it is obviously anomalous that India should rank as a large importer of a raw material so well within its own range of production, and, as the retiring Finance Member urged, perhaps the increased tariff on foreign cottons will do something to promote the growing of longer-staple cottons in India. The immediate inconvenience to the mill industry is apparent, but the new impost affords an opportune reminder that import duties can on occasion be utilized as a weapon for defending the interests of cultivators as well as those of manufacturers. Indian mill-owners have often emphasized the great and growing importance of Indian mills as consumers of Indian cotton, and the higher tariff now imposed on foreign staples will promote closer conformity to the unimpeachable principle that, as far as practicable, the expansion of Indian industries should be based on the utilization of Indian raw materials as well as on the more profitable employment of Indian capital. If further justification is required for the Finance Member's action, apart from the elementary necessity of maintaining a balanced Budget, it may perhaps be found in the circumstances that, whereas the mill industry has for some years enjoyed all the advantages of a highly protected domestic market for its products, the cotton grower, as regards his export surplus, has been confronted in world markets with increasing competition, arising from a juxtaposition of diminishing demand and increasing supplies, for which effective remedies have not yet been found.

The revenue aspect, as indicated by Sir James Grigg, is that the total estimated yield from Customs, at £30 millions, represents

approximately half the sum total of all Government of India revenues; that, in present circumstances, "resources, in so far as new taxation is concerned, are somewhat circumscribed"; and—a decisive consideration—that "Customs duties in general are as high as is consistent with maximum yield." From the standpoint of Indian trade and finance, incomparably the two greatest and most urgent needs are undoubtedly a further recovery in commodity prices and a revival in international commerce, which can occur only as the sequel of more stable international relations. Meanwhile, to quote Sir James Grigg's analysis of Indian revenue prospects: "While there are signs that the present depression should in the ordinary course give way to a general trade revival, the international situation continues uncertain, and conditions do not appear to justify raising the general estimates above the level of the returns for the current year."

That India possesses, and is entitled to exercise, an inherent right to develop her economic potentialities to the limit of her natural, financial, and technical resources represents a viewpoint no longer challenged in any influential quarter. Furthermore, that India's oft-proclaimed fiscal autonomy is a political reality has been made increasingly clear to British industrialists interested in the Indian market, as exemplified by the consistent refusal of the British Government in recent years to override the views of the Indian Executive and Legislature on all occasions when an apparent conflict of interests, as between British and Indian producers, has emerged. If this attitude of studied impartiality characterized the British representatives during the negotiations which culminated in the Ottawa Pact—from which, as the trade statistics attest, India benefited more substantially than Great Britain—it has been equally apparent during the prolonged negotiations which have followed India's denunciation of that Pact, as the terms of the new Trade Agreement will bear witness. For many years past no serious attempt has been made in this country to interpose fiscal or other hindrances to the industrialization movement in India, despite the drastic curtailment of Indian purchases of British goods which the programme of "discriminating protection" was framed, consciously and deliberately, to promote. If statistical reinforcement of this claim is sought, it is sufficient to note that, whereas in 1909-14 the United Kingdom supplied 63 per cent. of all Indian imports, exclusive of treasure

and of imports on Government account, by 1935-36 that proportion had fallen to 39 per cent., and by 1937-38 to 30 per cent.; Indian exports to this country meanwhile increasing from 25 per cent. in the immediate pre-war years to 31 per cent. in 1935-36 and to 34 per cent. in 1937-38.

The Lancashire cotton industry certainly derived no benefit from the Ottawa negotiations, and most of its former export trade to India has disappeared for all time: a loss closely associated with a change in the whole structure of the Indian import trade which has reduced imports of cotton manufactures from the high level of 36 per cent. of all Indian import purchases in 1909-14 to only 9 per cent. in 1937-38. To state the piecegoods position in a highly simplified form, whereas, prior to the war, of every four yards of mill materials consumed in India, Lancashire supplied three yards and the Indian mills one yard, today the Indian mills supply three yards, and the one yard imported is shared between Lancashire and Japan. In his report for 1937-38, entitled "Conditions and Prospects of United Kingdom Trade in India," Sir Thomas Ainscough, Senior British Trade Commissioner in India since 1918, indicates the advantageous position of Indian cotton mills concisely and accurately when he writes: "The Indian cotton manufacturing industry has enjoyed a period of activity greater than any it has experienced for over a decade. Production of cloth in all-India rose by over 500 million yards to the record total of 4,084 million square yards." Furthermore, it would be misleading to allow the impression to prevail that any substantial revival in Indian imports of Lancashire cotton goods can be effected by measures within the competence either of Whitehall or Manchester. An expansion of Indian manufacturing capacity which has reduced imports of cotton piecegoods, by a continuous process of attrition, from over £38 millions in 1913-14 to under £9 millions in 1937-38 obviously represents a movement which cannot be reversed, even if it were desirable to make the attempt.

As a cotton manufacturing country India combines so many advantages that her attainment of a position of complete self-sufficiency is not merely probable, but inevitable, and, in any circumstances, cannot be long deferred. In that respect I find it impossible to envisage either any practicable reduction in the Indian tariff or any "reorganization" of the Lancashire industry which would modify the outlook to any extent worth mentioning.

That the British Trade Commissioner probably would not differ seriously from this estimate may be inferred from his comment that: "Notwithstanding the rise in the purchasing power of the country, of which there is abundant evidence in the increased imports of other manufactured goods, the encroachment of the Indian mills into one after another of the styles which have constitued the staple piecegoods trade of United Kingdom has brought about an inevitable reduction of imports. This tendency is likely to continue as the local mills increase their output and widen the range of their productions." No friend of Lancashire can help deploring the consequent decimation of what was once this country's greatest exporting industry; but, equally, no friend of Lancashire can conscientiously encourage the preservation of hopes which nobody with intimate knowledge of the Indian economic and political position and outlook believes will be justified by the sequence of events. Last year, as the British Trade Commissioner emphasizes, the great rise in the Indian demand for cotton goods was "almost entirely met by the Indian mills, whose increase of production by over 500 million yards to 4,084 million yards synchronized with an actual reduction in imports from 764 to 591 million yards." What else could have been expected?

For many years past India has been an important buyer of Lancashire textile mill machinery, and exports of Lancashire piecegoods were bound to diminish as this mill equipment—all of the most modern type—fulfilled its purpose by increasing Indian production at the expense of imports. This sequence is not restricted to cotton goods; it extends to nearly all Indian imports alike. To quote Sir Thomas Ainscough again (dealing with last year's import trade): "It will be seen that the outstanding advances have been made in the raw cotton and machinery groups. The increase of over Rs. 6 crores (£4½ millions) in the imports of raw cotton represents a phenomenally increased offtake by Indian mills of the longer-stapled cottons from Egypt, the Sudan, Uganda, and the U.S.A. for the production of the finer counts of yarn and qualities of cloth, which has been such a feature of recent years. These imports must be set off against the reduced imports of cotton piecegoods, which are being displaced by the domestic production." It is Lancashire's turn today; it will be the turn of other British exporting industries tomorrow, and the day after. The Trade Commissioner's warning

on this point is clear and insistent: "This remarkable expansion in the demand for industrial machinery must inevitably cause a material diminution, in future years, of imports of those articles which will then be produced in Indian works. The industrial demand is also largely responsible for the enhanced imports of iron and steel, chemicals, dyes and colours, paints, and a variety of industrial, engineering and mill stores, such as belting, bobbins, mechanical leather and rubber goods, lubricating oils, engine packings, wire rope, and baling hoops. . . . The rapid extension of India's manufacturing capacity continues with the prospect of further serious displacement of imports by domestic production in the near future."

Although Sir Thomas Ainscough has been criticized in certain quarters for taking an unduly pessimistic view of the outlook for British manufactures in India, the case for adopting a more complacent view is not self-evident. As we have already seen, shipments of cotton goods, for so many decades this country's largest export to India, have shrunk to small proportions, and are still declining. It is not assumed, even in Lancashire, that more than a small percentage of the trade lost to the Indian mills can be regained. Other British exporting industries, including steel, are losing ground in India, in varying degrees, for the same reason—namely, the expansion in domestic production: a development, it must not be overlooked, to which the industries concerned are making their own substantial contribution, by opening branch factories, in order to retain a share of the Indian demand. This transfer of production from British to Indian works still continues, and accounts for a substantial percentage of the decline in British exports, which has already reduced India from its former primacy as the largest oversea market for British goods to third place, ranking after South Africa and Australia. If protective tariffs have accelerated this movement, high revenue duties have also played their part, and, owing to financial exigencies, show no sign of diminution, either in height or range. In addition to the damaging effects of the protective and revenue duties, as the Trade Commissioner emphasizes, imports of stores purchased by the Indian Stores Department, which now include the requirements of the Railway Administrations and the Provincial Governments, are subject to a further serious handicap on account of the unspecified preference which may be

granted, under the provisions of the Stores Rules (liberally interpreted by Stores Officers), to Indian manufacturers. Moreover, the oversea supplier "is constantly being urged by the officials of the Departments concerned to erect works in India if he wishes to retain his position as a contractor to Government—a form of pressure which is difficult to withstand even in cases where it is patently uneconomical to erect a small branch works in the country." In 1937-38 the Indian Stores Department and the Army Contracts Department alone placed orders aggregating £8½ millions. In certain instances, the desirability of self-sufficiency in respect of important items of defence equipment supplements purely economic considerations in moulding official policy, this argument applying notably to steel and steel products. Consequently, within a very few years, the total steel production of India will probably reach a million tons a year, and will meet virtually the whole of the Indian demand, with the exception of specialities such as steel tubes, hoops and strip, wire rope, etc.

Other changes have occurred of equal importance. India's sterling debt was accumulated largely to finance railways constructed mainly with British equipment. Very little capital expenditure is being incurred on extending Indian railways today, and the limited sums required are being obtained from Indian investors for utilization, mainly in buying materials manufactured locally. British industrial groups have established local factories to supply the Indian population with cigarettes, soap, rubber tyres, asbestos products, metal boxes, electric lamps, aluminium ware, biscuits, chemicals, and other requisites formerly supplied from the United Kingdom. The "Bata" factory in Calcutta will soon be supplying the entire demand for boots and shoes formerly imported. "Indian paper, cement, sugar, matches, agricultural implements, electric fans, glassware, copper sheets, certain types of electric cables, pharmaceuticals and medical supplies, disinfectants and a host of subsidiary commodities are rapidly displacing the imported article, to the embarrassment of the countries which formerly supplied these goods and, incidentally, to the detriment of the Indian revenue."

The complacent assumption that, as imported consumer-goods were displaced by Indian manufacturers, oversea countries would find adequate compensation in alternative demands for capital equipment and high-grade specialities finds little warrant either

in recent experience or future probabilities. The assumption, indeed, is based on Western analogies wholly irrelevant to Indian conditions: as, for example, the fact that so important a manufacturing country as Germany, as lately as 1938, was Great Britain's largest customer outside the Empire. In terms of factory products, the needs of the Indian cultivators, who form the overwhelming majority of the total population, are few and simple, and are well within the range of Indian manufacture, actual or prospective. Indeed, so exiguous are these needs, and so inelastic, that in many important Indian industries productive capacity has already reached, or is very near to, the profitable limit, and further expansion will have to await a larger purchasing power than is at present in sight. A typical example is afforded by the Indian cotton mill industry, which last year manufactured over 4,000 million yards against under 600 million yards imported: the latter figure, on the basis of present consumption, therefore indicating the immediate limit of expansion available to the Indian industry, even on the wholly theoretical assumption that imported piecegoods could be entirely excluded. As only 380 mills are required to produce the 4,000 million yards of piecegoods manufactured in India last year, two conclusions emerge: (1) that the scope for new mills is now very small, and (2) when these have been constructed India, now our largest market for textile machinery, will curtail its demand for this form of capital equipment as sharply as it has curtailed its demand for the consumer-goods such equipment has been bought to manufacture. In the sugar industry the demand for new mill machinery has already practically ceased. Between 1931-32 and 1937-38, during which period mills increased in number from 32 to 146, sugar machinery was imported to the value of £6½ millions. As, however, the new mills are now producing all the sugar India can consume, little further machinery is required, and, it may be added, "local engineering works now supply most of the simpler forms of spare parts." Such examples, which might easily be multiplied, testify that the Indian demand for capital equipment is not only limited but short-lived. Furthermore, to the extent that such equipment is required, local manufacture is under active consideration, and in important instances—motor vehicles, many types of machinery, heavy chemicals and fertilizers, the manufacture of aluminium from Indian bauxite—will probably

materialize. The new autonomous Governments in the provinces are exerting their full influence in favour of such projects, and it should not be overlooked that the area of manufacture in India is being appreciably extended by the spread of the industrial movement to the Indian States, headed by Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Baroda, etc. A factor of growing importance is that mills and factories established in centres remote from the ports enjoy a natural protection from foreign competition hardly less effective than that afforded by the protective tariffs themselves.

Consequently many influences are contributing to the expansion and diversification of industrial production in India: political sentiment, the world-wide spread and reactions of economic nationalism, the existence of mineral and other natural resources creating basic conditions favourable for local manufacture, the accumulation of capital for which industrial enterprise forms the most profitable and congenial outlet, and, last, not least, an increase in population averaging 3 million a year, which not only justifies but necessitates recourse to every possible means of increasing both production and employment. If an additional spur was needed to induce India to rely less exclusively on primary production, it was forthcoming in the catastrophic decline in commodity prices and the general derangement of international trade which heralded the Great Depression and led to changes and maladjustments from which the world is still suffering. Continental Europe, formerly a larger outlet for Indian produce, is now more self-sufficient and is deriving surplus requirements to a greater degree from alternative sources of supply. Dealing with the German market in his latest report, Sir David Meek, Indian Trade Commissioner in London, includes the significant remark: "The search for substitutes continues unabated," the new materials evolved comprising synthetic textile materials, artificial rubber, etc. Suffice it to note that Indian exports to Continental Europe, which at one time were utilized largely to pay for Indian purchases of British manufactures, have been halved in recent years, and that the circumstances afford little hope that this trade will ever revert to its former proportions. Other hindrances to Indian exports are typified by the steep decline in cotton shipments traceable to the world surplus. The net result was a decline in India's favourable merchandise balance of trade from Rs. 45.97 crores in 1937 to Rs. 15.12 crores in 1938. As India's financial

commitments in London approach £40 millions per annum, the alternative to larger exports, unless the rupee-sterling ratio is to be endangered, is a further reduction in imports, and for many reasons a revival in the value and volume of exports would yield the maximum benefits. In the last seven years India has met her sterling obligations, and financed imports, to the extent of over £220 millions by exporting, not merchandise, but dehoarded gold. Today, however, these abnormal shipments are tapering towards extinction, and a compensating increase in merchandise exports has become necessary: the United Kingdom remaining India's largest market, actual or potential. In the post-Ottawa period India has achieved a favourable balance of trade with Great Britain, in terms of merchandise, but, in view of her sterling obligations, not as yet in terms of payments, including interest charges, banking, shipping, and insurance services, etc. This phase of Indo-British relations will be found to be particularly relevant when studying the terms of the new Trade Agreement. Tariffs are not the only factor affecting Indo-British trade, perhaps not even the most important factor. In the long run, the only effective method of reviving British exports to India is the application of measures designed to raise the Indian standard of living. In other words, a larger volume of trade will materialize only as a by-product of the social and economic resuscitation in India which the new Constitution, soon to be completed by the establishment of a Federal Government, was framed and adopted to promote.

The increasingly important contributions which some of the leading Indian States are making to India's growing industrial and commercial activity perhaps deserve wider recognition and appreciation than they have yet received. Under a Federal Government the economic co-operation of the States will be as valuable as their Constitutional collaboration in welding the future Dominion into one powerful and prosperous unit. Today the distinctive products of at least one enterprising State, Mysore, are known throughout the world, thanks to their intrinsic merits, which have never been open to challenge. British India has recently appointed a number of new Trade Commissioners in countries interested in Indian produce; and, among Indian States, Baroda, by appointing a Trade Commissioner in London, has profited by the experience of Mysore, which acted as a pioneer in this field as in so many others. Presumably other Indian States,

of comparable economic importance, will not lag far behind in obtaining similar representation, especially in view of the accelerated development of their industrial resources now maturing.

Many of the new projects, it is true, are directed primarily to meeting domestic rather than world requirements; nevertheless the rate of expansion is rapid, and, at no very distant date, will lead to the creation of surpluses available for export. In Hyderabad, as recorded in the latest trade report issued by the Director of Statistics, it is disclosed that in 1936-37 the import value of machinery was 37·3 per cent. higher than it was only five years earlier—a striking proof of industrial progress. Today Hyderabad has six textile mills, many ginning and pressing factories and rice mills, a large number of oil mills, a sugar factory, two cigarette factories, five match factories, a biscuit factory, four button factories, and a paint and varnish factory, while other enterprises are projected. Few Governments in any part of the world have achieved a more complete and profitable co-ordination of transport facilities—including rail, road, and air services—than the Hyderabad Administration, and in this, as in other States, the ready utilization of such modern facilities and amenities as telephones and wireless broadcasting reflects the progressive trend of State policy.

As is noted in another article in this number of the Asiatic Review, Mysore retains its lead in the development of hydro-electric power, but other States, including Travancore, are turning to the same source of power, and the benefits will be shared by industry, transport, and agriculture alike, albeit in varying degrees according to local circumstances and requirements. The Kathiawar States, as exemplified by Baroda's creation of Port Okha, have made their own special contribution to the multiplication of India's port facilities, and the co-operation of Travancore and Cochin States in the development of Cochin Harbour marks a further valuable advance in the same direction. In all the progressive States the economic programme pursued may be summarized as "private enterprise whenever possible; State enterprise when necessary." Agriculture is not being neglected, but the development and diversification of production in the form of industries capable of utilizing local raw materials and meeting local requirements for manufactured products is deemed equally important, and well-balanced progress is thus being achieved.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE ECONOMIC POTENTIALITIES OF KASHMIR

By Professor Radha Krishna Bhan
(Professor of Economics, S.P. College, Srinagar, Kashmir)

The strategic importance of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is due to the fact that three great Empires meet on its boundary line. The physical structure of the State has been compared to a house with many storeys. The door is at Jammu and the house faces south looking out on the Punjab. There is just a fringe of level land along the Punjab frontier, bordered by a plinth of low hilly country, sparsely wooded, broken and irregular. This is known as the Kandi area. The first storey of the building is reached by climbing a range, the passes of which are 8,000 feet high. This is a temperate region with forests and beautiful uplands. The steps of the Himalayan range, commonly known as the Pir Panchal, lead to the exquisitely charming valley of Kashmir, which forms the second storey. The steeper heights of the Himalayas take one to the frontier provinces, Astor and Baltistan on the north, Ladakh on the east and Gilgit to the north-west. The latter region forms the back premises and is shadowed by gigantic mountains, leading to the Pamirs and the Chinese dominions. Nanga Parbat (26,669 feet) is said to be the culminating point of the Kashmir ranges and "is in some respects the grandest mountain in the world." It has not so far been conquered in spite of several attempts. From Ladakh a track leads beyond the State territories to the famous Kailash and the Mansarover Lake, which is still worshipped by the Buddhists from far and near.

The area of the State is 84,471 square miles, out of which the Tibetan and semi-Tibetan tract, comprising the valley of the Indus

and extending from the south-east to the north-west, occupies 63,554 square miles. Thus it is larger than Hyderabad or Bengal and two-thirds the size of the Bombay Presidency, including the Bombay States. Geographically it contains "within a small geographical compass one of the finest developments of the stratified record seen in the Indian region and perhaps in the world."*

The climate of the country varies from extreme cold in some parts to intense heat in others. As the elevation rises from 1,200 feet at Jammu to above 5,000 in the Valley and still higher up in the mountains, extraordinary variety of climatic conditions develops. Rainfall is scanty in Ladakh and Gilgit, but it varies from 30 to 65 inches in the rest of the State.

The natural scenery of the Valley has fed the imagination of poets and writers who have poured forth their eloquence in praise of its beauty and charm. It attracted the attention of the Moghul rulers, who paid their rich tribute to it and immortalized themselves by the laying out of gardens and the building up of monumental works of art.

The two routes, the Jhelum Valley Road and the Banihal cart road, connecting Kashmir with the outside world, offer picturesque scenery, with the background of snow-capped mountains, to the visitor as he is slowly lifted up from the parched plains into regions of cool and bracing air. He finds Nature's sublime manifestations everywhere, offering him the widest scope for pleasure and sport. He may go up one of the river valleys and negotiate heights above 12,000 or 13,000 feet to meet a huge glacier (*e.g.*, Kolahai), and to sit by the side of a mountain lake (*e.g.*, Kaunsarnag or Shishnag).

Progressive Policy

Social, political and economic reforms of a far-reaching character have been introduced by the present Ruler, Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, and in some matters His Highness has gone much ahead of other States in India. A summary of the more important advances may be given:

* *Geology of India*, D. N. Wadia (Macmillan).

Proprietary rights conferred on agriculturists in the Kashmir and Frontier Provinces.

Special laws for the protection of cultivators—*e.g.*, the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation.

Extension of the term of land settlement to 40 years.

Grant of State land (*shamilat*) in villages to cultivators up to 100 per cent. of the cultivated land.

Establishment of local self-governing institutions.

Establishment of Panchayats and Rural Development Department.

Extension of the activities of the Industries Department.

Establishment of a High Court of Judicature.

Establishment in 1934 of a Legislative Assembly, which is now being remodelled so as to convert the elected minority into a majority, and to increase the powers of the Chamber.

A compulsory primary education regulation.

The enactment of the Infant Marriage Regulation, even before the Sarda Act was passed in British India.

Hindu widows Remarriage Regulation.

All public schools, wells and temples thrown open to the so-called "untouchables."

Protection of the rights of State subjects.

Great advances in works of public utility and medical aid.

Agriculture

Agriculture looms large in the national economy of the State and supports about 73 per cent. of the population of 3,646,000. Ninety per cent. of the people live in rural areas. Agricultural resources are plentiful, though the Frontier Province is comparatively deficient, due to want of cultivable land and sufficient rainfall.

The evil of fragmentation of holdings is being remedied by the Co-operative Department, and according to the last administrative report the number of co-operative societies working in this line was 184.

Rice, maize, wheat, barley, pulse, oilseeds, cotton are grown in the State. The cultivator is still carrying on with his old methods and there is much scope for improvements in the matter of seed, selection and rotation of crops, manure, implements, feeding and breeding of cattle, etc.

A rare product in Kashmir is saffron, which is grown in the Karewas at Pampor, some ten miles from Srinagar. The cultiva-

tion is possible only in this restricted locality. Kishtwar, another part of the State, also grows saffron, but it is not of the same quality. It is said that saffron cultivation was a large source of revenue to the Government in former times. Saffron is used mostly as a condiment.

Fruit growing is an important industry in Kashmir. The Valley abounds in pears, apples, grapes, cherries, walnuts, almonds, peaches, apricots, strawberries, etc. Fruit canning and the manufacture of fruit products appear promising ventures, provided local talent and enterprise are properly directed to it. Honey is at present obtained in a crude manner, but can be developed. The Government has very recently taken steps in this direction. An elaborate machinery for combating fruit disease exists now that it has been observed that fruit trees are being ravaged by pests.

The floating gardens of Kashmir are very interesting. In the Dal Lake cultivators prepare stretches of cultivable land with the help of reeds, and all manuring stuff which they can get hold of from the lake, and these are moored at one place with wooden poles. They are towed from one place to another by their legitimate owners or others. In the latter case it means land stealing and removal, an uncommon phenomenon.

Natural irrigation is abundant. Canals have been constructed to convert dry into wet lands or to extend the already existing facilities. In the Jammu Province it is a greater necessity. There are in all 187·5 miles of main lines and 258·47 of distributaries, irrigating a total area of 137,300 acres.

Mineral Resources

According to a monograph issued by the Mineral Survey Department, the State, "by its large area, and by its wonderfully diverse geological formations, which are fully exposed in this mountainous region, presents a very complete scheme of mineral products." The Department has been in existence for the last twenty-two years, and the following minerals are reported to lie hidden in the bowels of the earth:

Fuels: Coal, lignite, possible natural petroleum.
Metalliferous minerals: Bauxite, iron ores, copper ores, lead-silver ores,

zinc-cadmium ores, nickel ores, manganese, gold, tantalum and columbium ore, arsenic ore, chromite.

Non-metalliferous minerals: Ochre, gypsum, graphite (amorphous and flaky), kaolin, bentonite, fuller's earth, marble, turpentine, slate, steatite, barytes.

Precious and semi-precious stones: Corundum (sapphire and ruby), aquamarine, rubellite (pink tourmaline), green tourmaline, fluorite, amazon stone, smoky quartz, rose quartz and other quartz, grossularite.

Other minor minerals used in industry: Felspar, muscovite, biotite, asbestos, ilmenite, abrasines.

Minerals suitable for chemical industries: Iron pyrites and marcasite, sodium salts, borax, phosphatic rock.

Recent reports refer to the detection of oilstone slips in Kashmir and oil and gas in Jammu. These reports are very encouraging and seem to indicate the possibility of a very ambitious future programme. In each case a much closer examination regarding the purity of the material, the quantity available and other technical factors will be necessary to ensure the success of its working on commercial lines.

Again, the transport factor has to be linked with capital and enterprise. At present only sapphire mines are being worked in the Padar district. Prospecting leases are, however, being granted to competent applicants.

Forests

The State possesses in its forests a most important asset. The total area covered is 10,141 square miles. The major products are timber and firewood. Deodar is the most valuable type of timber and grows between 5,000 and 9,000 feet above sea level. The blue pine grows between 6,000 and 10,000 feet, and the silver-fir occupies a zone between 8,000 and 11,000 feet. The forests enable export of timber for building and railways and walnut half-wroughts for the rifle factory at Ishapur. The important minor products are kuth, resin and artemesia. Kuth root is a valuable product and is exported. It yielded a revenue of Rs. 4·8 lakhs in the year 1936-37. Resin is collected departmentally and sold to the Jallo factory in the Punjab. The total yield is valued at about Rs. 1·20 lakhs. The product can be utilized within the State when a factory is set up for the manufacture of resin and turpen-

tine. It is gratifying that artemesia is utilized within the State in the santonine factory at Baramulla.

The financial result of the working of the Kashmir forests shows an income of Rs. 49·10 lakhs and an expenditure of 12·85 lakhs—*i.e.*, a surplus of nearly 74 per cent. Of the two sources of forest revenue—major and minor products—the latter appears to possess a greater degree of elasticity. The policy of conservation of forests has to be pursued. But the development and industrial utilization of minor forest products opens a bright prospect for the Department and the State as a whole. The first requisite in this behalf is research, and initial steps to that end have already been taken by the Government. The latest report of the Forest Department makes reference to the utilization of waste fuel for charcoal briquettes, to be utilized in gas generators in lorries. The success of the experiment has yet to be shown.

Trade and Tariffs

The State has its own Customs frontier and tariff. The yield of Customs revenue this year has been estimated at Rs. 60½ lakhs, which is the largest single item on the receipt side. The total revenue of the State in 1937-38 was Rs. 247 lakhs. The import trade of the State is put under three categories: (i.) trade with British India; (ii.) trade with foreign countries, from which goods are imported direct under bond and are liable to pay duty only on their entry into the State; (iii.) trade with Central Asia. In 1936-37 imports of merchandise were valued at Rs. 221 lakhs and exports at Rs. 126 lakhs. Imports of treasure were Rs. 62 lakhs and exports Rs. 7 lakhs.

The Shawl Industry

Mention will now be made briefly of the industries in the State. I first refer to the shawl industry, not because it enjoys a premier position in the industrial life of the State, but because it is so widely known. The raw material is obtained from the under-fleece of a special kind of goat, found in Ladakh and Tibet. The wool is subjected to a number of processes by the Kashmir artisans, and finally converted into plain *pushmina* (simple texture) or embroideries. According to M. Duvergne, the pioneer of carpet trade organiza-

tion in Kashmir, the Kashmir shawl dates back to the time of Emperor Babar. Napoleon obtained these shawls first in Europe as a present for the Empress Josephine. In England an imitation was made of Kashmir shawl in the Norwich and the Paisley shawls. Shawls became the rage of fashionable society in the nineteenth century in France and England. Larousse remarked: "Woe to the husbands whose limited incomes would not admit of making their wives a present of a shawl."* Each piece was a masterpiece of art and would sell for any price up to Rs. 5,000—or even more. From 1862 to 1870 the exports of shawls averaged Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 28 lakhs per annum, and when the trade was at its zenith 25,000 to 28,000 persons were engaged in the manufacture. The Franco-German War of 1870 and the Indian famine of 1877-79, necessitating emigration to the Punjab, dealt the death blow to the fashion.

The shawl industry was for a long time under the direct protection and control of the State. Some of the rulers paid personal attention to its development. The industry is now only a shadow of the past; the ring shawl and the *Jam*—embroidered piece—are rare antiques, and it depends on the manufacture of plain *pushmina* mostly.

Carpets

The pile carpet industry owes its introduction to the efforts of Zain-ul-abdin, who ruled over Kashmir between 1423 and 1474. It was carried on exclusively as a cottage industry. Recently there has been fresh impetus under European control when the individual weavers were brought together in big establishments. At present there are five big concerns and sixty individual workers only in Srinagar. The industry was prospering up to 1930; there was an acute depression during 1931-32, but it has been slowly recovering during the last six years with the help of a Government subsidy on exports. The industry being mostly dependent on exports, it was hit hard by the world-wide depression after 1929.

In the bigger establishments and the cottages the processes of production and the equipment used are the same, but there is a difference in the quality of raw materials and designs. The former

* *Kashmir and its Shawls* (Wyman and Sons).

use imported wool and better dyes, while the latter are content mostly with the local wool, which is inferior, and cheaper dyes. The working of a carpet loom is interesting. The designs are prepared on paper and are translated into hieroglyphics called *talim*, which is read out by the master workmen as the artisans manipulate the knots with different coloured balls of yarns.

Gubbas

A kind of woollen rug used mostly for floor covering and a very good substitute for pile carpets is *gubba*—a unique production of Kashmir. The scheme of colours and designs is similar to that of carpets, but, unlike it, it is carried out by appliqué or embroidery work.

The industry is not more than one hundred years old, though the exact origin is not traceable. Woollen blankets, generally after a fairly long wear, are milled, fulled and dyed in different colours. Separate pieces are allotted to the border, the centre and the middle portion. The master craftsman cuts portions of different colours into a variety of ribbons, so that when they are interlocked together the whole piece produces a multiple-coloured set design. The pieces are stitched together and thinly embroidered upon. These are called appliqué *gubbas*.

Another type of *gubba* is wholly embroidered and still another kind combines both. With the use of better types of raw material and an improvement in designs, the industry is likely to thrive.

Embroidery

Kashmir artistic skill has found expression in the elaborate embroidery designs of diverse types. Beginning with the coarse embroidery, worked with larger hooked needles on gunny bags, *namdas* and other coarser stuff, one can pass on to high-class *sowzni* work on *pushmina* shawls, where the worker spends day after day in finishing a few inches of work. The materials used for embroidery may be silk, wool, *pushmina*, gold, and seldom cotton thread. The articles to be embroidered upon may be used for dresses, upholstery, household decoration, etc. This industry gives occupation to a large number of artisans.

Silverware

Both plain and engraved goods are produced, but it is the latter class of goods which have established the reputation of Kashmir ware. The designs here are numerous and so are the types of goods on which these are embodied. Engraving may be done on both sides of the metal, and any particular model of an article or a specific design can be executed with perfect workmanship. Since the manufacture of such goods involves a large capital investment, a few big dealers control the trade. Machinery has been introduced for polishing ordinary ware.

Willow Basket-Making

Willow basket-making is an old industry. It underwent a formidable change with the importation of English willows and the improvements effected in the craft by the Technical Institute. Willow articles of furniture and household use are made with different designs and are in demand both in and outside the State.

Woollen Trade

I look upon the woollen textile industry as the most important one in the State. It is carried on almost everywhere in the Valley and in the Jammu Province also. It forms a subsidiary industry and an independent occupation to the poor agriculturist. It depends upon raw material locally obtained. The local demand for Kashmir woollens is great, and the development of an export market is possible.

The defects from which it suffers are the use of inferior raw material—*i.e.*, short stable ungraded wool—the use of most primitive methods, implements and tools, the lack of marketing organization, and the poverty and indebtedness of the worker.

Professor A. Barker, of Leeds University, was invited in 1931 to report on this very important industry. He suggested an improvement in the quality of wool by improving the breed of sheep. He gave, in addition, a number of suggestions regarding the technique of production. In September, 1937, His Highness's Government decided to give practical shape to Professor Barker's scheme by the opening of the sheep breeding and research farm. A private

limited company, with a majority of Government shares, has been formed to experiment in merino fine wool and medium wool types, Corriedale and South Down breeds. Nine merino rams and six merino ewes were brought from New Zealand. The breeding operations were started in October, 1938. The research farm has taken great care in the selection of ewes for different rams. It is obvious that it will be a long time before the ultimate results aimed at are achieved. A woollen factory has been recently started with Government aid and is designed to improve the quality of the textiles.

Papier Mâché and Wood-Carving

The scope of this paper does not allow a reference to all the crafts of Kashmir, but mention may be made of these two at least, which attract the attention of all visitors to Kashmir. Real papier mâché work consists of the painting of designs on goods made of paper pulp. But nowadays this kind of work may be executed on goods made of wood also. The former type commands a higher value. Skill consists in the choice and combination of colours and the display of designs. The craft is confined to a small class of people in Srinagar, who are conservative in opening their doors to outsiders.

Wood-carving is done in other parts of India also, but Kashmir work and designs are a class apart. Walnut wood is used for carvings. All sorts of household furniture, decorations, articles of everyday use, etc., are carved with multifarious designs. This trade is under the control of big dealers. The use of unseasoned wood is doing a great harm to the trade. Since the establishment of an agency for this purpose is needed, the walnut steaming factory at Baramulla may be opened again.

Raw Silk Industry

Kashmir possesses geographical suitability for the rearing of silkworms and the growth of mulberry leaf—their food. Silkworms were known to the Kashmiri even in the old times, but it was in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, in 1869, that the industry was organized. A landmark in the history of sericulture in Kashmir

is the visit of Sir Thomas Wardle, the founder of the Silk Association of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1903. He suggested improvements for the development of the industry and fixed the seal of his approval to the continuance of rearing as a cottage industry and reeling as a State monopoly. The latter may be justified on grounds of superior organization and equipment furnished by the Government and its co-ordinated control of Mulberry and Sericulture Departments. Rearing operations are conducted by the agriculturists, to whom it affords a seasonal subsidiary occupation. There are two reeling factories, one in Srinagar and the other at Jammu, owned and operated by the Government; the former is considered the largest single unit in the world.

The industry reached its zenith during the post-war period, but passed through bad times owing to a fall in demand in the European market and the Japanese competition within India. Thanks to the protective policy of the Government of India, the silk industry has again revived.

Now that the reeling industry has passed through difficult times and the Government has pioneered its way, the question arises: Is it not time to free the industry from the trammels of Government monopolistic control? The question can be answered only after a careful and impartial examination.

Hydro-Electric Installation

A part of the River Jhelum has been harnessed by a flume which starts about a mile above Buniyor (50 miles from Srinagar). The total length of the flume is 6·5 miles, of which about 2 miles are made of stone masonry and the rest of timber. The power-house was built for generating about 15,000 kilowatts, and its present capacity is only 4,000 KVA.* Four generators each generating 1,000 KVA have been installed, justifying the present demand. About 12 million units are being generated every year. The capital outlay is Rs. 53¼ lakhs. There is a small hydro-electric plant at Jammu also.

Hydro-electric power forms the white coal of Kashmir, and the success of its industrial schemes will depend upon its capacity.

* About 2,300 KVA. only are consumed at present.

Match Factory

There is a match factory at Baramulla, which produces veneers and splints only and feeds the bigger concern in the Punjab. The Kashmir poplar affords the best raw material for match manufacture.

Small- and Large-Scale Industries

The foregoing bird's-eye view of the economic resources and present industrial position of the State raises the question of plans and policy for the future. I need not enter into the controversy regarding the merits and demerits of small- and large-scale industries, as both of these types have their proper place in the economic organization of the State. The drive towards specialization, disintegration and large-scale production is a very marked one throughout the progressive countries of the world. Yet the economies of small integrated units, with a small capital equipment with lower or no overhead charges, utilizing local raw material and sometimes cheap motive power and producing goods involving artistic skill, especially with varied patterns in small quantities and generally for a local market, cannot be ignored. In a country where these supplement the earnings obtained from a principal occupation there is a definite gain. Besides, in the words of Professor R. K. Mukerjee, "the collaboration of the family members" in any industry "not only economizes expenses but sweetens labour" that would otherwise be wasted.

Small-scale industries exist in European countries, but it will be much more useful for us to take a leaf out of the experience of Japan, which has dazzled the world with its industrial and commercial progress. In that country small-scale industries are given much more serious attention than we may think they deserve. Dr. Okochi, a well-known scientist and the Director of the Institute of Scientific Researches, is at the head of the movement for the promotion of small-scale industries. Experiments conducted in the manufacture of piston rings were encouraging and led to the extension of these in other spheres, such as the bicycle industry. It is affirmed that any part of a complicated machinery can be prepared at the smallest cost in small establishments, scattered

among villages. The standardization and the interchangeability of parts makes it unnecessary to manufacture them at one place. Division of labour can take place among a number of small workshops, provided the assembly is done by some central organ. The organization can be run by a capitalist or a co-operative organization. Cheap electric supply can be made possible to the small workshops. It is gratifying to learn that the Punjab Government has recently taken up this idea in the establishment of bicycle manufacture as a small-scale industry.

In Kashmir we have to keep in mind certain general considerations. The artisan, especially the weaver, has passed through vicissitudes of fortune, but has shown his tenacity. With the fall of the shawl industry he found refuge in the carpet industry, and it did not take him long to bring about the adjustment. The fortunes of the carpets were not destined to run smooth and he took up silk weaving, which also did not thrive. Some of the workers have now taken to the weaving of *raffle* textiles (a foreign woollen yarn) and some have lost themselves as nondescripts.

The organization of all the industrial handicrafts is almost identical. It is much akin to the domestic system which prevailed in England before the Industrial Revolution. The artisans work together in groups under a master craftsman, who generally gets supplies of raw material from a dealer. The latter may have his own selling agencies. He is the financier and determines the quality of workmanship and the designs in consultation with the master craftsman.

The use of a better raw material is particularly needed for the independent cottage worker, and a special agency will have to be devised to meet this necessity. In many of the designs the Kashmir artisan derives his inspiration from nature. The ripples of the lake, flowers and leaves, birds and animals, mountains and forests and other natural scenes have been reproduced by him with great artistic finish. He has borrowed his ideas from mythology, and Tibetan designs (popularly known as Lhassa designs) are not uncommon.

In the development of new designs the artisan has yet to establish his originality. He must keep abreast of the times and meet the

demands of fashion, which is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes, especially in articles of everyday use and wear. Improvement in designs to suit modern needs is thus a great necessity.

Capital and Labour

As already noted, the dealer is at present the financier. His position is not dissimilar to that of the moneylender in the rural economy of India. The dealer makes due provision for a high rate of interest on his capital while he makes advances to the workers, though he does not make a clean confession of the same. The moneylender is a necessary evil in absence of a better system of finance, so is the dealer till industrial co-operation makes him unnecessary. The introduction of co-operative institutions for finance, as well as marketing, is the immediate need. State help will be necessary in effecting the gradation (if not proper standardization) of the goods before a new marketing organization is established.

In the case of woollen textiles, improvement in looms and other implements is necessary and may be brought about without changing fundamentally the structure of the industry. "A scheme of industrial development is certainly thinkable, in which, for example, instead of the weaver being brought to the loom and made an adjunct of the loom, the loom may be presented, under reasonable conditions of purchase, to the weaver, who will then have sole charge, just as the microscopist has charge of his microscope or the motorist of his own car."*

One of the dangers in unorganized small-scale industries, which should be avoided but which is not likely to be detected easily, is that of sweating of labour. This is often noticeable where competition is keen. Mr. Maurette, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, who was sent in 1934-35 to Japan in order to investigate the real conditions of industry, said in this connection: "They can scarcely reduce cost of production except at the expense of working conditions, whereas large undertakings can achieve a reduction by means of technical improvements."

* *The Cottage Textile Industries of Kashmir and their Prospective Development*, by A. Barker.

While British Indian politicians are busy in devising and launching ambitious industrial schemes, it is high time for the State to take stock of all its resources and plan out a programme for the revival and expansion of the already existing industries and the establishment of new ones. In undertaking new projects a comprehensive industrial survey is necessary. The necessity for elaborating industrial research with Government assistance can hardly be over-emphasized when we know that in industrially advanced Britain Government contributes nearly £100,000 annually for this purpose.

Transport

The greatest obstacle to the development of heavy industries is the absence of easy transport with the outside world. Unless the problem is solved, sooner or later, the State will suffer permanently from the evils of isolation. Besides, the interior of the country needs opening up and a planned programme of public works will have to be spread over a number of years. Transport development will also be hailed with delight by tourists, a traffic which is of vital importance in the economic life of Kashmir. The trader and the artisan, after passing through the long and dreary winter months, look up with hope and earnestness for the opening of the season, and the influx of visitors breathes promise of a better business and a brighter future. For want of statistics it is not easy to assess its annual money value. With our mineral wealth untapped, large industries undeveloped and small ones struggling, we see the world as a whole augmenting its productive capacity and purchasing power, and the cry of "Export or die" is being heard with a great show of determination. Our State can, however, feel proud of this elastic item of invisible exports. For the improvement of its prospects no effort or sacrifice can seem too great.

Scientific management and development of visitors traffic after the model of other countries will unfold fresh lines of prosperity to the trades and people of Kashmir.* It may be interesting to mention that the number of visitors to Kashmir has increased from little over a thousand in 1925 to 24,718 in 1936-37.

* League of Nations, *Survey of Tourist Traffic*, 1936.

That the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur is taking large strides towards progress in this as in other directions no one can fail to notice. This is due in no small measure to the untiring energy, experience and indisputable ability of the Prime Minister, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, formerly Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, Madras. Schemes for economic and social development are being hammered out and some of them have been put into effect.

Expenditure on nation-building services is advancing. Capital expenditure on irrigation, sericulture, electric department, telegraphs and telephones and forests has been substantially increased. The establishment of a State Bank and the manufacture of sports goods are the latest developments. We may hope that the prevalence of poverty among the masses will be abated now that the dawn of an industrial era is observable under the ægis of the present Government of His Highness.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, March 30, 1939, when a Paper entitled "The Economic Potentialities of Kashmir" was read by Professor Radha Krishna Bhan (Professor of Economics, S.P. College, Srinagar, Kashmir). Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN introduced the lecturer, of whom he said: I cannot say very much about Professor Bhan, because I only had the pleasure of making his acquaintance about half an hour ago. However, as he is a Professor of Economics, and a resident, born and bred, of Kashmir, I can tell you, at all events, that he knows something about the subject on which he is going to speak to us.

Professor RADHA KRISHNA BHAN then read his paper.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON: For those who like myself have been privileged to spend many happy holidays in Kashmir the idea of industrialization of that loveliest of earth's lands seems almost a sacrilege. One feels almost that the gods who haunt those majestic mountains would rise in their wrath and sweep away the tentacles of mass-production sprawling over the vale of Kashmir and factory chimneys belching forth smoke in beautiful Lolab. One wonders whether the nomad Gujar, who takes his sheep and buffaloes to the mountains in the summer and the lower valleys in the winter, would be happier if he spent his life watching a machine even at treble or quadruple wages. But India is on the march economically and politically, and Kashmir will not be left behind.

The problem of poverty in India is the question of utilizing the vast masses of surplus labour that goes to waste in the off-season of the year in the villages. The solution would seem to be industrialization or expansion of cottage industries. Kashmir does not face that problem because of her undeveloped resources. Take, for example, the forests. Some day, perhaps when there is cheap power available, a wood pulp industry may be set up.

The climate of Kashmir and its soil is suitable for the production of the finest fruit in the world. There is an insatiable market for fruit in India. If only Kashmir had a proper system of cheap transport to enable the fruit to be got out quickly the industry might be enormously expanded.

Like Switzerland, Kashmir has great attractions for the tourist. In Gulmarg the winter sport industry has been initiated. Here is a very valuable invisible export, but again cheap transport facilities are essential.

To obtain cheap power and transport the best means is to develop a cheap supply of electricity. Kashmir possesses a very valuable asset in the great rivers that pour through her gorges and make the development of enormous supplies of electricity a possibility. As the lecturer has told us, at present those resources are almost untouched. There is a small installa-

tion about fifty miles away from Srinagar. There is a still smaller one near Jammu.

I would venture to suggest that what is wanted is a very much larger installation, perhaps developing 50,000 h.p. at Srinagar and a similar one for the Jammu. There is, I am told, a magnificent site on the Chenab at a place called Riasi, close to Jammu, where at least 50,000 h.p. could be developed.

With those two installations it should be possible to put a grid over the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir which would facilitate the very important cottage industry of weaving of wool, of which the lecturer has given us a very full description. It would enable the industries of Srinagar to develop, and what is more it would help very greatly in the development of mineral wealth.

As a result of the race in armaments there is a great and growing demand for aluminium all over the world, especially in the British Empire; British industrialists are, I believe, considering the possibility of finding new fields for the development of this industry in India. To develop aluminium requires masses of electric power as cheap as possible and near the mineral deposits. I think here there is a very great opportunity for the Kashmir Government. Aluminium is produced from bauxite, and there are masses of this mineral at Riasi, to which I have already referred.

The lecturer has also told us of how the lack of means of transport impedes the development of Kashmir. Cheap electric power would help them to overcome this difficulty. You might have a small-gauge electric railway. You might have electric tramways. Trolley buses driven by electricity would solve the passenger problem and would carry the lighter stuff.

The main problem seems to be to develop cheap power. For that you want capital and also technique. The Government of Kashmir has its own electrical engineers—able men. It is no disparagement of their qualification to say, that if electrical enterprise is to be developed on a vast scale they will need assistance both of outside technique and of outside capital. I believe that British financial and technical co-operation would be forthcoming in ample measure if the Maharaja's Government desired it, and I feel sure they would invite such co-operation. The Princes of India realize that British co-operation is as essential in the economic as in the political sphere, and I am sure the many British friends of Kashmir would delight to see her flourish exceedingly, and would be all the happier if they felt that that prosperity had been promoted by British co-operation.

Mr. C. Ranganatha Rao Sahib: The Governments of Indian States have been very much before the public in this country and in India during the last few months. It is refreshing, however, that Professor Bhan has drawn our attention to that particular aspect of the administration of Indian States in which all are agreed. He has not concerned himself very much with the political administration of Kashmir, but has given us an interesting account of its economic possibilities.

I have been working in London for the past year as the business agent of the State, and would like to place before you some aspects of my work

which throw light on the economic development that is now going on in Kashmir. It is obvious that under the enlightened guidance of His Highness the Maharaja, the present Prime Minister, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has definitely embarked on a policy of developing the resources of the State. Orders have recently been placed in Europe for a plant for the manufacture of rosin and turpentine from the oleo resin produced in the State forests. The Department of Industries is making enquiries for gas-generating plants using charcoal in motor lorries. In a State like Kashmir where the problem of transportation is the one great obstacle to industrial development the use of producer gas from charcoal in the means of communication should greatly help in the development of material resources.

Sericulture is a Government industry in Kashmir. The silk filature at Jammu is proposed to be extended, and orders have been placed for the extension of the silk reeling basins in the filature there. In view of the importance of the silk industry, not only to Kashmir but also to India and even to the Empire, I trust the audience will bear with me if I wish to add a few words in regard to the present plight of the industry in India.

Silk is the cinderella of Indian industries. It prevails to a substantial extent only in Mysore and Kashmir. As it is only in the Indian States that the industry is largely carried on it commands no public support in the Legislative Houses at the headquarters of the Central Government in India. Owing to the severe competition of Chinese and Japanese silks the silk industry is suffering from chronic depression. The Indian Tariff Board conducted an enquiry in 1933, and after a very careful investigation recommended the imposition of a specific duty of Rs. 2 to 6 per lb. on foreign silk coming into India. The Government of India sanctioned a rate which is equivalent to about two-thirds of that recommended. As a consequence the competition of Japan has in no way diminished. In fact, it has increased. The imports of Japanese silk last year into India amounted to nearly 1,400,000 lbs. in weight. Kashmir produces about 200,000 lbs. of silk a year, yielding a revenue of about £150,000 sterling. This production can easily be doubled if the Indian industry is afforded a reasonable protection. A new Tariff Board is again considering the question and is taking evidence. It has been pointed out to the Board that unless a duty of Rs. 3 to Rs. 12 per lb. is imposed there is no hope for the revival of the industry.

It may interest you to know that India is the only part of the Empire where silk is produced. This textile is used largely in aeroplane parachutes, and the industry is therefore deserving of consideration as one of national importance. I have placed all these facts before you in the hope that the discussion of this subject here, in the commercial headquarters of the Empire, may induce the Government of India to prevent the Japanese product ruining an indigenous industry of such great importance.

Sir Louis Dane: My first connection with the economic potentialities of Kashmir was in 1882, when I went to Kulu as assistant commissioner for a honeymoon of two and a half years. In 1881 a shepherd was working high up on the range between the districts of Padam and Zanskar and he had

lost the flint for his *chakmali* or flint and steel. He found some blue stones which had been brought down by a rock fall at about 4,000 feet, and these gave a good spark, so he took some home. Other peasants collected them as curiosities, and in the autumn a man brought a donkey load down to Kulu through Lahul, which adjoins Zanskar. He offered this to a forest officer for a load of flour, but the officer did not realize what they were. He went on to Hoshiarpur and there a Delhi jeweller saw them. The Kulu sapphire rush began; the Chandni Chauk migrated to Kulu, and speculations raged. It so happened that there was no British officer in Kulu that winter and an ingenious scheme was hatched. An old woman over 80 died. A poacher, one Kulu Lahula, had some 40 lbs. of sapphires in his possession. He also had arsenic for curing the skins of Munal pheasants which he poached. He was arrested on suspicion of having poisoned the woman and kept in gaol. No viscera were sent to the chemical examiner as the passes were said to be closed and there was no evidence of the offence, but the Tahsildar granted remands for some months. Eventually the poacher parted with his sapphires, the viscera went to the chemical examiner, another poison was found, and the man was released. The Police Inspector in charge got a sentence of seven years, the Tahsildar was suspended and died by falling off a balcony on his way from Kulu, and the medical officer was reprimanded for not sending off the viscera.

That was the position when I reached Kulu. A report had been circulated that the stones were not true sapphires and were the wrong colour. I knew that they were genuine, and might have made a small fortune, but I had dealt with this criminal case and as an Indian civilian was precluded by orders from speculative trading. So I had to be content with acquiring a few stones for my wife, and nearly ruined myself with the cutting and setting with diamonds of them. For some years the trade in sapphires was brisk, and they fetched a very high price in the market, but the original rock slide petered out, though it is interesting to hear from the lecturer that a mine is being still worked.

In 1901 I was brought back from Ireland by Lord Curzon to be Resident in Kashmir. At that time the Maharaja was not exercising his powers, which were vested in a Council under the Resident, so I would for a time enjoy the position of a benevolent autocrat. I suppose I was brought back because I had some reputation as an old settlement officer of twelve years' experience and a somewhat venturesome but not unsuccessful experimenter in industrial and agricultural matters. Sir Walter Lawrence's cash revenue assessment had to be carefully introduced. The change over from collections in kind and the old Kashmiri currency with no exchange value to the Indian rupee also seriously affected prices. At any rate the bait was good enough to induce me not to retire and to bring me back to Kashmir, and many of these points the lecturer has talked about date from that time. I was in Kashmir only for ten months, but as Foreign Secretary for the next six years I was able to watch and help on progress there.

First of all the electricity installation. I at once realized that white coal was to be the making of Kashmir and insisted on getting General Sir Alan de Lotbinière, who had put up a big installation on the Cauvery for the

Mysore Gold Mines. My intention was to have a small installation to work the silk factories, lighting, etc., either on the Martand Canal on the Liddar river, or preferably on the Sind river tailing into the Manas Bal Lake, which might render possible the drainage of the Anchar swamps and reclaim some 50,000 acres of valuable land. When we saw how that worked it could be extended. Lotbinière had made a great success of the Cauvery installation, because they had a ready market there for the power at the gold mines, and he proposed to launch out in a bigger installation on the Jhelum. I did not quite agree with that, because there was no immediate market for it, and it meant a 170-mile transmission line down a rather treacherous valley to the Punjab before there was likely to be a market.

However, the State were so enthusiastic about the figures he showed them that they decided rather against my advice to go in for his scheme. As you have heard, a very small portion of it has been developed—only a quarter. It is capable of almost indefinite expansion, but the difficulty which I foresaw still exists—that long transmission line is the obstacle. He told me himself some years later that he was very sorry he had not made the smaller installation I suggested. However, there is no doubt that some day the enormous hydro-electric power possibilities of Kashmir will be developed, and that the State will rise to that pitch of eminence and affluence which we all wish.

As to the silk industry, I had some experience of this in Gurdaspur, where, however, as in Kashmir, the worms had died out from disease. The industry was revived in Kashmir by bringing disease-free seed or eggs from Europe. When my appointment as Resident of Kashmir came out, some of the magnates in the silk world began to find me out, even in the recesses of Kensington. I realized this was not for my *beaux yeux*, and that there must be something of importance doing in this trade. It was proposed at that time to transfer the silk factories to a European firm, and the matter had almost gone through, but the old Maharaja and the Durbar strongly objected. From what I learnt from those distinguished magnates of the industry who came to see me, I realized there was something in the objections, so I telegraphed to India to hold the matter over till I arrived in Kashmir.

When I got there I found the Durbar still violently opposed to it. In view of this attitude it seemed that such a transfer could not succeed. The mulberry trees were a State monopoly, and if the wretched licensee had tried to cut the mulberry leaf he would have been up against the State authorities. There was a difficulty, too, in getting the cultivators to educate the silkworm eggs, as the French call it. A considerable amount of persuasion had to be exercised to make them do it. We did, however, eventually succeed in getting the cultivators to take it up. The Director of Sericulture always declared that the industry would pay. But the accounts showed a loss on three years' working of 60,000 rupees, and they proposed to transfer it to this private firm on payment of 60,000 rupees.

I went into the accounts and found that, after the manner of the Indian Treasury, the Accountant-General refused to take into consideration anything except actual cash in the treasury, yet at the moment when they pro-

posed to transfer this industry there was no less than two lakhs' worth of silk lying in Lyons for sale. Also they had charged the whole capital expenditure against the income of the three years.

I realized that in the circumstances the transfer was impossible, and that the industry must at any rate for a considerable time remain with the Durbar, as they were the only people who could arrange for the rearing of the eggs and the education of the worms. The result was that the zemindars in two years were getting more for educating the worms than they paid for the whole of the land revenue on their holdings, and some thousands of young women and children were able to get a good living in the filatures. The latter was one of the main arguments for the silk industry. The shawl industry had failed owing to a change in fashions, and there was a large mass of people who had no means of livelihood at all. Then came the great famine in Kashmir that season due to continuous rain which ruined the maize and rice crops. Disease was rampant; the population was reduced by 53 per cent. The starving people fled to the Punjab and found employment in some of the cities there. Women and children are best for silk winding, because their fingers are smaller and they are quicker. It is one of the things in which men fail very badly.

The result was the State made a huge profit. I believe that during and after the War Kashmir was almost the only place where you could get what they call fine Milan grade silk in the world. Bulgaria and Italy were out of it. The consequence was, I believe, twenty-five or twenty-six lakhs a year profit were derived by the State during those years.

Since that time rayon has come in. Messrs. Courtauld have made enormous fortunes, but it hit the Kashmir Government very hard. I understood there was some idea of turning the industry down, but I am glad to hear from the lecturer that apparently it is still going on. I hope he will remember why it was not handed over to private enterprise in the first instance; but circumstances may have altered now.

You heard a good deal about the number of tourists in Kashmir. There are 24,000 a year. A few years ago there were under 2,000. In the old days you could not go to Kashmir without a permit. When I was Resident a young subaltern in an Indian regiment was brought up before me for having severely beaten a headman of a village. I had to assume a stern attitude and ask what it meant. The headman said he arrived and wanted four fowls and four dozen eggs. The headman produced two fowls and two dozen eggs. Then the officer called him up, swore at him, and said, "Where are the fowls and the eggs?" The headman addressed him as "*Huzur*," which means "Exalted Person." The young officer, who had not much knowledge of the language, thought he said "You *sur*" (*i.e.*, "You pig"), and beat him sore. It was perhaps a natural mistake, but the dignity of the headman of the State had to be maintained, so I made the punishment fit the crime. The subaltern had to apologize to the headman, and I passed an order that he was not to receive a permit to visit Kashmir again until he had passed the higher standard in Urdu, which in any case he had to do.

In Kerry I had been interested in raising trout, and had seen the hatchery

at Curragh and Waterville. When I went to Kashmir I found that with the help of the Duke of Bedford they had been trying to grow trout there for three years and had not succeeded. The reason was this. Mr. Frank Mitchell, who is really the founder of the trout industry in Kashmir, tried to bring them up on a half-inch pipe in his back yard. You want a large volume of constantly changing water. The Durbar was very unwilling to spend more money on this, but I persuaded them and got the Duke of Bedford to send one last consignment over. I arranged a suitable place and had a hatchery built there. I am glad to say that the hatchery was an immense success. When I was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab I was sent as firstfruit an eighteen-pound cock trout from Kashmir. From Kashmir I introduced trout into Kulu. The Assistant Commissioner there said, "I don't know anything about trout." I said, "You will have to learn." I am glad to say that Kulu is rivalling Kashmir now as a fishing ground.

You may have been surprised to hear such a learned and excellent lecture. I was not in the least surprised, because I have had to do with very efficient Kashmir pundits in the Punjab, and some of my best officers, who afterwards became settlement officers themselves, were of that class. Kashmir does produce very able men, and I am sure they will be able to bring their country to a high pitch of prosperity.

Mr. Bhan mentioned the Punjab turpentine factory at Jallu, and there again he has come across one of my activities. The chil or chir pine (*Pinus longifolia*) grows freely on the lowest slopes of the Himalaya, but the timber has not much value. It produces, however, much resin, and, when discussing how we could make something out of this rather useless tree, the Conservator of Forests, Mr. Fisher, suggested that we might do something with the resin. We put down a small experimental plant in the plantations near Lahore and found we could make quite good turpentine. A factory was erected in a Government rakh at Jallu on the railway between Lahore and Amritsar. There was some little difficulty about collecting and carrying the resin and marketing the product, but camels and Messrs. Turner Morrison in Calcutta helped us through this, and the industry so started has flourished. We hoped that the turpentine, etc., would be used for varnishes and for printing, but it proved to be almost invaluable in other ways. During the war, when supplies of turpentine from abroad were cut off, I understand that the Punjab product alone rendered it possible to continue the manufacture of high-explosive T.N.T. I am now very glad to hear that the factory is helping Kashmir and Jammu also.

Finally, I suppose the Maharaja may be regarded as one of the economic possibilities of Kashmir. I can claim a not unimportant part in securing that economic possibility. The old Maharaja had no direct heir and adopted his nephew, the present Maharaja. But he suddenly was overwhelmed with religious doubt. He was told that it was very wrong to adopt the only son of a relative, because that relative would then be deprived of the spiritual advantages of the sacrifices of the son, who was the only person who could redeem the father's soul from the hell called Putt. The old Maharaja was

much exercised over this, and he was a very religious man. It looked very bad for Hari Singh's chances of succeeding. However, his father, Raja Sir Amir Singh, was a wonderfully clever man. He was one of the ablest Indian noblemen I have ever come across. I remembered that the Maharaja had shown me a family code in which it was laid down that a Chief without heirs must adopt the son of the nearest relative to him. That went some way towards satisfying the Maharaja, but still the religious difficulty remained.

How I found it out I do not remember, but I discovered that, under the Hindu school of theology to which the Jammu family belonged, if there were two brothers, and one brother had a son and the other had none, the childless brother could adopt the son of his brother without involving spiritual penalties, because the sacrifices offered by the adopted son went upwards to the benefit of both the natural father and the adopted father. This solved the question. I was alone in holding that point at first against many eminent persons, but I succeeded, and I am glad to think that Sir Hari Singh, who learnt his first English in the Residency by playing with my little daughter, is now the Maharaja, and I wish him all success.

I am afraid I have been too autobiographical, but as the lecturer has treated his subject from the scientific point of view, as was of course right, you may have been interested to hear a more personal account of how administration is conducted in Indian States in connection with economic possibilities.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Louis Dane has been reminding us of one of the most important products of Kashmir, the Kashmir pundit. It is also a product which is very frequently exported. The United Provinces is full of them—Saprus and Kunzrus and Gurtus and Nehrus—some of them holding very high positions and some of them positions not so high.

When I first read this lecture, the point that struck me most is best expressed in a quotation from Sir Malcolm Darling, "The country is rich, but the people are poor." That was spoken of India as a whole; it seems to me equally true of Kashmir, but you have slightly to modify it. You have to say, "The country is potentially rich, but the people are actually poor."

With all these resources of every kind, why is it that more has not been done to exploit them? I looked up the Imperial Gazetteer, and I found that thirty or forty years ago there had already been discovered "vast" coal fields, "excellent" iron, large quantities of "good" limestone, and "abundant" gypsum. The adjectives are those of the Gazetteer. But none of these has yet been exploited; at any rate, nothing has been said about them in the lecture. As for all the other minerals, has any attempt been even made to survey them, and if not, why not?

It seems to me, judging from the lecture, that Kashmir has two troubles. The first is lack of transport. That matter has been dealt with already. The second seems to me to be finance. For your large-scale industries, where are you going to get your capital? Is it in the State, or would you have to get it from outside, and if so what is the general feeling about that?

Then, again, I expect that if your small-scale industries are to develop more capital will be wanted. I entirely agree with the lecturer that the method in which they are actually financed is about the worst you can conceive. We know all about it. We have the same system in the United Provinces. You get a dealer who practically runs the whole business. He employs the master workman and his artisans. He provides them with material and he sells their finished product. Several cases of what happened in these circumstances were placed before a committee of which I was a member. I remember one very well indeed. It came from Benares. The wages paid to the master workman and his artisans were, say, 12 annas. The cost of the material was 12 annas. The price at which the product was sold was Rs. 2·4; in other words, the dealer made a 50 per cent. profit on his expenditure. I have no doubt whatever that it is much the same in Kashmir.

Another point I should like to know more about is co-operation. That is obviously one of the best solutions of the difficulty of financing small-scale industries, of securing materials, and marketing their products. Co-operative societies exist in the State: have they taken up this kind of work?

Another point in which I am extremely interested is the hydro-electric installation, because in the United Provinces we have a very large one of our own. We use it there for domestic purposes, industrial purposes, and agricultural purposes. It is a very large and a very cheap one. We had no need to build a flume. We simply put our power-houses across the falls of our canals, and so make them serve two purposes. The result is that we have got away with a very large installation at a cost of about three crores. There are six or seven power-houses and about two thousand miles of wire, and it covers ten districts. I think it is true that the larger the scale the cheaper the installation will be. I am sure Sir William Barton was right in saying that an extension of this would be a tremendous benefit to Kashmir. The lecturer calls it white coal, and a very good name for it, too, except that as a rule it is infinitely cheaper than coal. Your capital cost, if you have to tunnel through a large mountain, will no doubt amount to quite a lot, but even so you will get a certain amount of profit. As far as we are concerned, I would not like to say what we are making. It is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 9 per cent. after paying all expenses.

There are some minor points. First, the question of fruit. We all know that there is fruit in Kashmir, but it is not easy to get it in the plains. The transport difficulty in the case of fruit, of course, is very great. Unless you have fast transport down your hill roads, I can quite imagine that one of the reasons why Kashmir fruit is not better known is because it perishes before it gets to the railhead in the Punjab.

The lecturer spoke of the resin industry. This is a matter he should watch very carefully. I was closely connected, as Government director, with a resin factory in the United Provinces. It is the only rival of Jallo. About ten years ago we found that they had invented a lot of cheap substitutes for resin in Sweden and elsewhere, and the market for the real pure stuff was restricted in consequence. You still want it for rubbing on the bow of a fiddle, for instance; but there are lots of other purposes for which it was formerly used for which these cheap substitutes are now used.

The lecturer says that the Indian famine of 1877-79 dealt the death blow to the fashion of shawls. I think he is exaggerating the date, for I can remember that in 1901 my wife was given a very fine Kashmir shawl as a wedding present. I admit it was given by a gentleman who belonged to a former generation, but still you cannot say the shawl industry was killed quite so early as 1879. That is another industry—we have had plenty of them in the United Provinces—which has been hit very hard by changes of fashion. It works both ways. Indian Princes, instead of buying magnificently embroidered housings for their elephants, now buy silver-plated motor-cars. Again, I once knew a brass worker in Benares, a great friend of mine, who frankly admitted that he made two sorts of goods. One was for European tourists, which was covered with Oriental designs—lotus flowers, elephants, snakes, and so on—whilst for the Indian purchaser he made goods that were entirely of European design. In fact, he used to import from America cheap china ware, which he then imitated in brass. That is again a change of taste which did an industry no good.

There is only one point more I want to mention, the question of carpets. As I understand what the lecturer said, this industry is partly large scale and partly small scale. Small-scale carpets can be most excellent products, and in the circumstances of Kashmir I should say that the small-scale carpet was probably the better. Another example is that of the Mirzapur carpets of the United Provinces, such as you can buy at Liberty's and elsewhere; they are entirely made in cottages by village artisans. They are put together by a few of the more skilled workmen; there is no factory process connected with them whatever. It seems to me that that is possibly a way in which Kashmir might imitate the United Provinces.

For the rest, all I have to say is that this lecture to me has been of the most intense interest, especially as we have been able to use our eyes as well as our ears. I am most grateful, personally, to the lecturer. (Applause.)

The Lecturer, in replying to the discussion, thanked the East India Association for affording him an opportunity for speaking on the topics so dear to his heart. He said that he felt enlightened by the suggestions made by the previous speakers. He agreed with the chairman that the two main difficulties confronting the economic development of Kashmir were want of capital finance and quick means of transport. He however did not see eye to eye with the chairman in his unequivocal condemnation of the middleman, whose existence was justified by the peculiar circumstances of each industry, though his ways of business were unworthy. Extension of industrial co-operation, as already pointed out, would be the proper remedy. In connection with the development of hydro-electric power, he pointed out that its future increase would depend on the industrial uses as only 2,300 K.W.A. are consumed, though the capacity of the plant is equal to 4,000 K.W.A.

He thanked Sir Louis Dane for the compliments paid to him and his community.

Sir Malcolm Seton: I am sure you will wish to accord a very hearty vote of thanks to Professor Bhan for the most interesting lecture he has given

us, and also to Sir Edward Blunt for taking the Chair. I think it has been a most instructive evening.

I have a lively memory of a very pleasant afternoon spent at Jammu, but I feel it has not given me sufficient insight into the possibilities of the Kashmir State to justify me in enlarging on the subject to you. I will therefore content myself with proposing this vote of thanks.

Mr. F. H. Andrews writes: I fully endorse the lecturer's remarks on the natural beauties of Kashmir. He mentions two routes by which the Valley is approached. There is a third, and the most attractive: the old Mughal royal route by the Pir Pantsal Pass so vividly described by Bernier. This is a route for hikers, and is in many parts a mere goat track. It is therefore more adventuresome than the others, and is a more fitting prelude to the valley's charms than is the way of the motor-car.

The only other aspect of the paper on which I feel qualified to speak is that of the crafts and craftsmen. During my close association with them for some years I found the craftsmen unrivalled in skill and artistic taste in their traditional crafts. The art of the weaver, shown in the exquisite quality of the Kashmir shawl, has enjoyed world-wide admiration. The fine woollen cloth—*pashmina*—is unsurpassed, as are also the very beautiful embroidery and the papier maché painting. Lesser known but equally fine in their way are *gabba*—a kind of refined patchwork—and embroidered *numdah*. The craftsmen are highly skilled in silver and copper repoussé and chasing, in enamelling on metal, and in wood-carving.

The attractive qualities of these arts have evoked the dealer. The lecturer has hinted at the effect of this misfortune on the worker. I am sure he could give some startling information on this subject. But he is discreet. The dealer has an ambition above art—money. Quality has been sacrificed for quantity. His opposite number in Europe and America has the same purpose in view—money-getting. The inevitable result is growing indifference of customers who are pressed to buy the inferior stuff produced in bulk. The reputation of Kashmir for exquisite craftsmanship is lost.

The lecturer says that the artisan must keep abreast of the times and meet the demands of fashion. But this means taking a tortuous road, chasing a fickle and often unattractive jade. It should be remembered that the Kashmir shawl *created* a fashion by its irresistible beauty. The return of the crafts to their former exquisite quality is imperative and is the surest way of securing and retaining a market for them.

A further urgent need in all the crafts of Kashmir is good construction. Beautifully carved furniture and finely chased silver are unsaleable if the construction is clumsy. Lids and doors that will not shut properly and drawers that jib are unendurable.

There are directions open to commercial progress in new crafts in which demands of fashion can be met without loss of prestige. Basket work is one and pottery is another. Some years ago, with the approval of the Durbar, the services of a skilled Yorkshire basket maker and willow grower were engaged. On his arrival, finding that none of the indigenous willows were suitable for his craft, we imported cuttings of all the best English and

French varieties. These were properly planted on an island in the Jhelum and throve amazingly. A class of youths was formed to learn the craft and now we hear it is doing well.

With regard to pottery. We have heard that kaolin has been found in the State. This discovery was made during my service in Kashmir, and experiments made by my potters with specimens of kaolin submitted by the State geologist proved highly satisfactory. The possibilities in this industry are very great. Besides domestic china, for which an extensive market could be created in Kashmir and Northern India, there is a wide field in the production of electric insulators and fittings. This market is at the very door of Kashmir and should be catered for.

In this age of progress and unhealthy competition, when rapid and frequent communication is obliterating national individuality, reducing the arts and customs of all countries to a common dull level, those who, resisting the call of fashion, have retained their native arts unspoilt will be in a favourable position to respond to the reaction which will certainly come.

FAREWELL RECEPTION TO SIR RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

Sir Hubert Carr and Mr. Hugh Molson were At Home to members of the Association on Tuesday afternoon, April 18, 1939, at the Rubens Hotel, Buckingham Palace Road, to meet Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar on the eve of his departure to take up the appointment of Commerce Member of the Government of India. Some 200 guests were present. After refreshments had been served, Lord Lamington said: We meet here by the kind generosity of Sir Hubert Carr and Mr. Molson, who have given us a wonderful entertainment. (Applause.)

We are here to express our regret that we are losing Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who has done such eminent service at the India Office, and is now going to take up his place in the Viceroy's Council in India. I read in a paper only recently that there is great activity going on in India, particularly in Calcutta, where a German Club engages in vigorous propaganda. I am sorry for our friend here that he should go from the tangled state of affairs in Europe to his own country, which is also being upset by those who for material ends are ready to destroy the peace of the world.

We are very pleased to have with us Captain Arthur Hope, the Governor-designate of Madras, and his wife. We wish them Gop-speed when they go out to take up their responsible duties in Madras. We have also Colonel Muirhead from the India Office, who has come in place of Lord Zetland. No doubt he will say a few words on the matter of our meeting here this afternoon.

I must express my regret at having to leave you, and also say once again as President of the East India Association that I do thank Sir Hubert Carr and Mr. Molson most sincerely for giving us such hospitality this afternoon. I will now ask Sir Firozkhan Noon to take my place as Chairman. (Applause.)

The Chair was taken by Sir Firozkhan Noon, K.C.I.E.

Colonel Muirhead: I must begin by expressing my regret at the unavoidable absence of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, who I know is extremely sorry that his official duties prevent him, as he had hoped, from attending this pleasant ceremony this afternoon. I am all the more sorry because one knows so well the immense knowledge and experience of Indian affairs, of the Indian country and of Indian people which Lord Zetland possesses as the result of a long life of devotion to and practical experience of the affairs and people of that great land. (Applause.)

I must say that I feel myself on this as on other occasions a most unworthy and inefficient substitute for a man of Lord Zetland's immense experience, because as a comparative newcomer to the affairs of India—and after all ten months' dealing with Indian affairs is only a very short period compared with the careers of many of you—I am constantly at gatherings

like this being reminded of my own inexperience. I come here, and I meet many people with long careers of public service in India behind them, and in many cases with considerable careers of public service in India in front of them.

Such a one is our guest today, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, moving as he is from one stage to another in a career of rare distinction in Indian affairs. (Applause.) Most of you here know quite as well as I do the record of service which Sir Ramaswami has enjoyed. In fact, no doubt many of you here have had practical experience of working side by side with him in one or more of the many stages of that career of distinction.

It is almost unnecessary for me in an assembly like this to narrate the particular offices, the particular spheres of employment which he has filled in the course of his career hitherto. A member of the Legislative Council of Madras, a member of the Council of State, a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, a member of the Round-Table Conference, a member of the Indian Franchise Committee, a member of the Special Textile Tariff Board, and, finally, which after all affects the India Office very closely, a member first of all of the Council of India and now one of the Secretary of State's advisers.

You have there a very wide sphere of work in Indian affairs: experience in a Province; legislative experience at the Centre; an important part in framing and helping to build up that new Constitution for India; service on the Textile Tariff Board in one of those, to my mind, interesting bodies which are increasingly growing up, not only in India but also here, statutory bodies which are coming to the assistance of the machinery of government, which under the old system was perhaps somewhat overloaded. Then you have—and here I would like to put in a special word of thanks and gratitude as representing the India Office—you have finally those three years of devoted, valuable and highly appreciated service on the Council of India and as one of the Secretary of State's advisers. (Applause.)

It has only been necessary for me to enumerate quite briefly those stages in Sir Ramaswami's career hitherto, because his record in all those varied appointments seems to me the surest finger-post of the success which we are all quite certain will attend him in his new job of Commerce Minister in India itself. (Applause.) And I am sure we are all extremely grateful to Sir Hubert Carr and to Mr. Molson for, as it were, forging one link in what I think is probably a long train of engagements of farewell and expressions of goodwill to Sir Ramaswami before he leaves these shores. (Applause.) They are figures well known in connection with the commercial life of India. Mr. Molson was for several years a very valued colleague of mine and others in the House of Commons, where his knowledge of Indian affairs ensured his remarks thereon being attended with the greatest interest. We in the House of Commons were particularly sorry when we lost his services. I would therefore on behalf of myself, and I am sure all of you here, thank very sincerely our hosts this afternoon at this most pleasant function. (Applause.)

Regretting as we all do the unavoidable absence of the Secretary of State, I am more than grateful to my hosts and to the East India Association for

giving me, a comparative newcomer to Indian affairs, the opportunity of expressing this afternoon my very best wishes for the future success and happiness of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. (Applause.)

Sir A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR: I cannot adequately express my deep debt of gratitude for the opportunity that our hosts have given me this afternoon of meeting so many of my friends in this country. I have had three years here continuously, and I can assure you that while I certainly am glad to go back to India it is not an unmixed pleasure. One does feel a little sad that associations which have been so happy, friendships which have been so cordial, have to be, for the time being at any rate, intermitted. I must confess that, despite all that is said of the weather here, and despite the fairly hectic times we have had during the last few months, it has been a real pleasure to me to abide in this country and to do the work I have been called upon to do.

Colonel Muirhead has been good enough to refer to my work at the India Office. I want to assure my friend that I did not feel it a task at all. It was a continuous pleasure, because the nature of the work was so interesting, and the colleagues one had were such fine colleagues, understanding, sympathetic, always trying to extend a helping hand towards one like myself who had come, shall I say, from the wilderness, not having had experience of administrative work in the past, having been rather a free lance, a critic, than an active worker and helper.

The help that was extended to me by my colleagues—I could name some of them who have been in a real sense friends, philosophers and guides to me—made all the difference between work and pleasure. Apart from the fact that the work was so interesting, the amount of understanding that was extended to me made it really a pleasant thing and gave a zest to the work I had to do at the India Office. I looked forward to those committee meetings which we had with the greatest of interest. Tuesdays and Wednesday were gala days for me. I used to go to the Office and sit in those committees, and find that keen intellectual pleasure which one derives when men of first-rate intellect and with the widest administrative experience pool their experience together in the evolution of some solutions for the larger problems of India. That is the India Council at its best, and that phase of its work is hardly known outside by those who have come to look upon it as a kind of effete body which does not do any work at all, but merely continues to exist for reasons that they cannot understand.

Colonel Muirhead has been good enough to refer to my work in India. It is true that I have passed through various stages—the Madras Legislature, the Council of State, the Legislative Assembly—in fact, all the legislative bodies in existence under the old Act. I hope that in going through these various bodies I have seen completely the other side of the picture. I indulged in a great many attempts at throwing small pebbles at big men on the Treasury Bench. I hope I shall not have the boomerang now that I go back! Here at the India Office all was tranquillity and peace where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." I do not want to draw comparisons. They are odious, and moreover very dangerous to one

in my position, but I am conscious that life will not be quite the same thing at Delhi and Simla as it has been at Whitehall.

Let me say a word about the East India Association itself. Nearly twenty years ago, when I came over to this country for the first time to give evidence before the then Joint Parliamentary Committee, which was considering the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms, I had the opportunity of enjoying the hospitality of the East India Association. The Association was the only platform from which I could make a few remarks twenty years ago about Indian affairs. It was then a very different body from what it is today, and I want to draw attention to that change which has come over the East India Association and its work. Its platform has broadened and widened. Its appeal is now almost universal. It embraces among its members men of all shades of political thought, men with varying political creeds, and at the meetings which I have attended the discussions that have taken place have been on a very high plane. My friend over there, Mr. Lalkaka, is one among many who have given free expression to their thoughts about India's political future. The East India Association has been prepared to extend a welcome to all expressions of opinion, to provide an open forum.

It is a development in the right direction, a development of which I am proud and gratified. The Association is a very much bigger body today, not only numerically but in every sense of the word, than it was two or three decades ago. And may I add, what is perhaps no news to any one of you present here, that the moving and guiding spirit of the Association, its Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, has effected this extraordinary transformation. (Applause.)

Both Lord Lamington and Colonel Muirhead have referred to our hosts, who have made it possible for us to meet today and to have these few minutes of exchange of thought. Sir Hubert Carr, we know, comes from India with a very high reputation as a commercial magnate. He was in the Legislative Assembly. He knows all about Indian politics. He was a very valued colleague of ours on the Round-Table Conference, and for sobriety, for clear thinking, for calmness and imperturbability of temper, believe me, we could not have had a better colleague than Sir Hubert. (Applause.) There were occasions when tempers ran high, when that thing which most of us desire to avoid but sometimes cannot help referring to, the racial question, was very much in prominence. There were occasions when some of us let slip an angry word or phrase which did more harm than good. Day by day Sir Hubert Carr was there, the embodiment of all that was unruffled, the embodiment of all that was dignified and calm. More gentlemen of that type on any committee or assembly would be a very welcome feature indeed of any politics, and most certainly of Indian politics.

I knew our friend Mr. Molson also through the Round-Table Conference discussions. Mr. Molson was not in it, but he was of it, if I might say so. I remember how once at a very early stage of the discussions in the Federal Structure Committee he came up to me, button-holed me and took me to lunch. Believe me, during those two hours he drew out from my brain what little I knew about India and Indian affairs. I never knew an

examination quite so complete. It was almost a cross-examination. His interest in Indian affairs has been marvellous. We have read his speeches through the debates on the Government of India Bill, speeches which showed rare appreciation of the problems and difficulties. I share your regret that a gentleman of Mr. Molson's ability is not in the House. More men of his kind will be required in the years to come to deal with Indian affairs, and I for one shall be very glad if he is back in his old place to give us the light of his learning and of his experience of such matters.

I am very grateful to all of you who have come here and given me an opportunity of bidding you good-bye. For the task to which I am going to address myself—a very difficult task, as has been pointed out by Lord Lamington, and as is obvious to anyone who knows commercial affairs in these days—I am very much heartened by the fact that I shall go with the goodwill of such a large number of both English and Indian friends here. I shall take back with me my knowledge, my conviction, from years of residence here, that in this country today, whatever may have been the case in the past, there is any amount of goodwill for India, for India's progress and for India's welfare. (Applause.)

The Chairman (Sir Firozkhan Noon): Before we disperse I feel I should be failing in my duty if I were not to raise my own personal voice, and the voice of my countrymen living in this country, in wishing Sir Ramaswami God-speed and all success in his new sphere of responsibilities. I have been in close touch with him for the last two and a half years that I have been in this country, and I can say with all sincerity that I know of no Indian who is more worthy of the confidence of all communities in India than our guest of the evening.

The one great stumbling-block to India's realization of her political aspirations is the difference between them based on religion. If in India we had more men like Sir Ramaswami, who are worthy of the confidence of all her peoples, I am sure India would be much happier than she is today. I am saying this for the benefit of my fellow-countrymen on the other side of the ocean, who may not know Sir Ramaswami as I have the pleasure of knowing him through my close association with him during the last two and a half years.

The Government of India are very lucky in securing the services of a man who has a quick and clear brain. Before you start talking to him he immediately realizes the end to which you are driving and he is always ready with his answer. I am certain that the deliberations of the Executive Council will receive a rich contribution from our friend, who will be much missed in this country. I wish you all success, Sir Ramaswami. (Applause.)

THE EUROPEAN IN THE NEW INDIA

By Mr. Oliver Stebbings
(Lately Secretary to the European Group, Indian Legislature)

The Simon Commission expressed the opinion that the true significance of the position of the European in India could only be realized by bearing in mind the course of history and the economic development of the country. The contribution made by the European to the progress and development of India in all branches of activity—political, social, and economic—has been profound and far-reaching, and is today a matter of historical fact which cannot be gainsaid. It is therefore important when we attempt to discuss the European community to try to get their status in India in a true perspective. That means background. Let me then, with due brevity, fill in a little of the background before I come to discuss the present position.

It is unnecessary for me to remind an audience of the East India Association that the origin of the British connection in India was entirely commercial. It is now more than three hundred years since the first British merchants settled in Surat. When the East India Company was formed in 1600 under the Royal Charter of Queen Elizabeth there was no thought of conquest in the minds of Sir Thomas Smythe and his fellow-merchants. They were concerned solely to secure a share in the maritime trade of India then being developed by the Portuguese and the Dutch. So little indeed was conquest thought of that Sir Thomas Roe, who secured trading concessions for the Company from the Emperor Jehangir and the Emperor Shah Jehan, declared that it would be "an error" to create garrisons and be involved in land wars in India.

Merchants and business men have always been reluctant to undertake unnecessary political expenditure, and we may conclude that the early pioneers of the East India Company, who accepted the advice of Sir Thomas Roe and acted on it for half a century or so, were no different in that respect from business men of today. Sir Thomas Roe's advice, however, was given at a time when

organized Government existed generally throughout the Moghul Empire and the Sultanates of the Deccan. Perhaps even at that time a shrewd observer would have detected signs that the Moghul Empire had begun to exhaust its usefulness and that the process of dissolution had set in.

But it was not until the third quarter of the seventeenth century that the position began seriously to deteriorate. The death of Aurangzeb was followed by a general and growing paralysis of imperial power. A wave of lawlessness spread gradually throughout the peninsula, and British merchants found themselves under the increasing necessity of having to resort to defensive measures in order to vindicate the trading rights lawfully conceded to them.

The Character of the British Connection

In 1678, Job Charnock, the Company's agent in Bengal and the founder of Calcutta, described the position in an illuminating sentence when he reported to London that "the whole kingdom is lying in a very miserable, feeble condition, the great ones plundering and robbing the inferior." Force had become the arbitrament of destiny, but I think it would be true to say that even a century and a half after the East India Company was formed, conquest was a fortuitous, rather than a primary, aim of British policy. We desired no more than that there should be tranquil and orderly conditions combined with that respect and security for mutual agreements under which trade could flourish. The Battle of Plassey is regarded by historians as the event which laid the foundations of the British Empire in India, but when Clive wrote to Pitt and informed him of his victory and offered the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa with their annual revenues of £2,000,000 to the Crown, Pitt was much exercised as to whom this vast territorial acquisition belonged. In his reply Pitt wrote, "The Company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such revenue would endanger our liberties," by making the Crown independent of Parliament. Pitt suggested that the territories should be administered for the good of the people.

The adoption of Pitt's advice marked the turning-point in British policy in India. Thenceforward the East India Company

undertook the combined functions of trade and political administration. From that moment we may mark the gradual change in the character of the British connection from one that was wholly commercial to one in which the emphasis became increasingly political. With the expansion of political responsibilities the functions of trade and administration inevitably drifted apart and became separated, and the administrator assumed pride of place over the merchant. A hundred years later when the Crown formally assumed dominion over India the orientation was complete. The primary object of British policy thenceforward was to develop and administer the Indian territories for the good of the peoples of India, and so to conduct that administration that Indians might come to enjoy an even larger share in the government of their own country.

Today, after the lapse of a further eighty years, the wheel is turning full circle again, and with the increasingly rapid transference of political power to Indian hands the British administrator, apart of course from the personal representatives of the Crown, is called upon to undertake a subsidiary rôle, and, *mutatis mutandis*, the character of the British connection is reverting to a form not perhaps entirely dissimilar from that which existed in the days of Warren Hastings.

The Awakening in the East

It is to this new situation that the European in India has now to adapt himself, adjust his outlook, and determine the course of his policy. He is called upon to do this at a time when, to quote the present Viceroy of India, the world is passing through one of those formative periods, the outcome of which must affect the shape of human affairs upon this planet for many generations to come. Men's minds are inevitably moulded by the civilization into which they are born, and to understand the political matrix in India today we must remember that India's close and practical experience for many generations of the method and principles of the scientific government of the West has left an indelible mark on her political mind. Nor can we afford to isolate the Indian peninsula from the rest of Asia. For the past three hundred years

the progressive thrust of Western civilization has been battering on the doors of Asia, and the peoples of Asia have been confronted with the choice either of adopting an alien polity or of relying upon the survival power of their own institutions to enable them to preserve their individuality and meet the impact of an alien world. Russia was faced with this problem in the seventeenth century. Japan solved it in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In both cases the alternative of Westernization was chosen.

Japan, as the vicarious emissary of the West, has now brought the thrust of Western civilization right into the hinterland of China, and none can doubt that China, too, faced with the same choice as Russia and Japan, has chosen the alternative of Westernization. She is rapidly assimilating Western ideas, and we cannot yet foresee what will be the probable outcome of the new spirit of national unity which has been called into existence in China as a direct consequence of Japanese aggression. How the shape of things in Asia may be altered by the reassertion of Chinese influence, and how soon that reassertion may begin to make itself felt, are questions which I do not propose to do more than enumerate this afternoon, but they are questions which loom in the background, and the fact that powerful impulses are at work throughout Asia today must be borne in mind when we consider the problems of India.

European Contribution to India

On the threshold of her new nationhood how is India equipped to meet the challenge of the new world that is taking shape in and around her? In the case of India the problem of finding an answer to the question of how to preserve a vigorous and separate identity in an alien world has been anticipated by 300 years of European enterprise and influence. With her network of modern communications, systems of irrigation, factory equipment, commercial codes, and modern methods of production, India today is well equipped to hold her own against the outside world. Famine, pestilence, and violent death, formerly looked upon as the unavoidable calamities of Oriental peoples, have, largely through

the agency of European enterprise and resource, been banished from the land. All these things have been achieved not as the consequence of great upheaval. They have been built up steadily and persistently throughout a century and more of peaceful and patient endeavour.

The European in India can look back today with justifiable pride on the contribution he has made to the building up of modern India. He has led where others have followed, and his industry and resource have brought to India the enjoyment of many advantages which might otherwise have still today been distant dreams. Let those who doubt the validity of these claims compare the economic and political position of India today with the position in the countries by which she is surrounded. The part of the European in India has been an honourable one, and his great achievements of the past are being crowned today by what is surely one of the greatest paradoxes of history. At a time when large areas of the Western world have reverted to mediæval systems of absolute rule, India is embracing the exotic plant of democracy and has taken upon herself the leadership in Asia of that code of political administration which exalts the dignity of human freedom as its supreme ideal.

Relations with Indians

"There can be few cases in history," said the Simon Commission in a reference to the European community, "where so small a body of men has brought about changes so widespread and so fundamental." That conclusion is beyond challenge, for even today the total European population of British India numbers less than 160,000, of which British troops and European womenfolk account for more than 100,000. This small European community in India falls mainly into three classes: First, there is the official class, which includes the British members of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, the irrigation and engineering services, and the railways, and which, from the highest to the lowest grades, accounts all told for about 12,000. Secondly, there is the non-official class—that is, the business men who are found in the principal shipping and trading centres, notably in Calcutta,

Bombay, Madras, and Cawnpore, and in places of production, such as the tea estates of Assam and Darjeeling and the tea and coffee plantations in the Nilgiris, or who are engaged in the various professions, such as law or journalism. The adult males in the non-official class number about 20,000. Thirdly, there are 60,000 British troops. There is also a number of Europeans engaged in activities of a religious, social, or educational order who fall mainly into the non-official class.

Between this small handful of Europeans and upwards of 350 million Indians relations have hitherto been uniformly cordial. There exists a mutual confidence, esteem, and respect born of a long and close association, which temporary difficulties have never yet succeeded in seriously disturbing. I believe it is a common experience of those who have lived in India that they have found it extremely hard to discover evidence of the existence of a so-called racial or colour feeling between Europeans and Indians, though it would be foolish to deny that racial feeling has sometimes existed. But in a country where you have Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Animists, Aryans, Dravidians, Scythians, and Mongols living together as neighbours it would be surprising if racial feeling did not sometimes manifest itself. On the whole, however, India's strange and unique mixture of races, communities, faiths, and creeds provides abundant evidence that racial and religious differences need be no bar to good relations. Two of the well-known difficulties which have hitherto obstructed social relations between Indians and Europeans—the purdah system and the exclusiveness of some European clubs—are being gradually overcome, and there is today an increasing degree of social life in the cities in which Indians and Europeans mix with a freedom and equality which augurs well for their relations in the future.

So far as political relations are concerned it is true that proceedings in the Indian Legislative Assembly have sometimes been the occasion of hostile demonstrations against British interests. Such demonstrations are invariably organized by doctrinaire Congress politicians. Of the feeling shown towards them by the general rank and file of the Congress Party, Europeans generally have little

cause for complaint, and although they frequently find it difficult to see how certain aspects of Congress policy do other than harm Indian interests they are generally prepared to acknowledge that the Congress Party is animated by pro-Indian sympathies rather than by anti-British sentiments. In their political relations Europeans, speaking generally, have shown great tact and patience, notwithstanding that, with their practical minds and traditions of scientific government, their intelligence is sometimes affronted by the confusion of political sentiment, theory, and ambition presented by the Congress Party, not to mention the fact that the actions of what is called the Congress High Command are so frequently a caricature of the democratic principles it claims to profess.

The Future

Has the European in India a future, or has he only a past? If he has a future, what is it to be? So far as the British official is concerned his position has been examined on many recent occasions by others far more qualified to undertake that task than I am. I have already drawn attention to the change that is taking place in the character of the British connection, and I want now to make some observations affecting the position of the business community.

The value of British investments in India has been computed at £1,000,000,000, and if it were possible to capitalize the value of the service and advice which Europeans have contributed towards building up the financial, credit, and industrial structure of modern India, that figure, rough estimate as it is, would unquestionably be far more impressive. The magnitude of the stake which the European has in India is therefore such that he must naturally be vitally concerned with the course of the economic and political development of the peninsula.

On the debit side he has seen that India has ceased to be our largest overseas market, although Britain remains far and away India's best customer abroad. He has watched during the last two decades the rapid extinction of Lancashire's Indian trade. He has seen Indian production of cotton and steel and other manufactures —production which British capital, machinery, and expert knowledge were largely instrumental in calling into existence—develop

into a formidable competition to British output. In banking, insurance, shipping, and other commercial fields, where formerly he was supreme, he has now to acknowledge that young and, in many cases, virile Indian enterprise has established itself and has come to stay.

All these things were inevitable. India's tariff policy being what it is, they could be neither prevented nor delayed, and their appearance has called for a readjustment in the outlook of the European business man.

It would take too long for me to attempt this afternoon even a limited survey of the economic prospects of India with which the future of the European is so closely bound up. Speaking generally, the dilemma which faces India is how to reconcile the mutually antagonistic demands for the replacement of manufactured imports by home production with the necessity of maintaining the export of agricultural surpluses on which the well-being of 70 per cent. of the population so largely depends, to say nothing of raising internally fresh sources of revenue to compensate for the loss of Customs receipts. No one who is familiar with the present political temper of India, no one who knows how inarticulate is the voice of the Indian peasant, can feel any confidence that India's present policy of industrialization is likely to be halted. If the forebodings, recently uttered by Sir Thomas Ainscough in his report to the Board of Trade, are ever realized, some drastic readjustment of policy will be inevitable, for there are limits to the ability even of Congress politicians to do violence to economic laws.

The Internal Market

The most obvious solution of the problem is to develop India's internal market so that she can both manufacture to capacity and yet still provide an import cover for her essential agricultural exports. Any substantial increase of India's internal consumption of manufactured goods, can, of course, only follow from a substantial increase in the purchasing power of the peasant. Although under the drive and leadership of the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, agricultural marketing schemes are being pressed forward, and rural indebtedness programmes have been put in hand, there is

much leeway to be made up before an expansion of the internal market can bring its solution to India's economic problem.

The potentialities of India's internal market are, nevertheless, enormous, and even a very small all-round improvement in the lot of her 250,000,000 cultivators cannot fail to have the most far-reaching effects. We must also remember that the population of India increases by 10,000,000 a year, and nature accordingly provides India with a constantly expanding margin for increased internal consumption. To quote only one example: on the basis of India's present consumption of cotton piece goods, estimated at some 16 yards per head, the normal demand for cotton piece goods in India should, by reason of the increase in population, rise by 160,000,000 yards a year, which is well over 50 per cent. of Lancashire's total exports to India last year. The consumption of tea in India—one of India's most important productions—is also rising, in some districts I believe by as much as 75 per cent., partly as a result of intensive advertising and partly in consequence of the policy of Prohibition.

On the long view, therefore, I do not think we are justified in taking too melancholy a view of the future. Whether Britain will ever recover the markets she has lost in India is a question which only time can answer. But let us not forget that we have been trading with India for nearly three and a half centuries and during that long history the character of our trade has undergone many changes. In our continuous trade with India Lancashire textiles have represented an important phase. That phase may now be ending, but is there any reason to suppose that just as the character of our trade has varied in the past it will not continue to do so in the future? India cannot afford to lag behind the rest of the world in its continuous march forward. New processes and new demands are constantly opening up fresh opportunities, and British enterprise which has led in the past has never yet surrendered the initiative or retired in the face of difficulty.

Be that as it may we should not let our angle of vision become distorted by confusing the problem of Lancashire with the problem of the European in India. So far as the European in India is concerned he is in the same boat as the Indian. He is a producer

as well as a merchant. The textile and sugar mills in Cawnpore —a rapidly expanding centre of industry—are largely European owned and controlled. European management controls a vast number of the jute and flour mills and some of the steel works, coal mines, cement and paper factories in Bengal, in all of which a great deal of British capital has been sunk. The tea gardens in Assam and the plantations in Madras are substantially the development of European enterprise. It is perhaps only in the Bombay Presidency, where the Europeanized Parsee community is concentrated, that industrial production is predominantly in Indian hands. Moreover, many British firms faced with high import duties and other restrictions have established their plants in India. Imperial Chemical Industries, the Imperial Tobacco Company, and the Dunlop Rubber Company are cases in point. The transference of business operations to India itself is obviously the right policy, and for a long time now there has been a consistent relaxation in the amount of control that is exercised from London over British business in India. There is nothing surprising or unique in this development. British business has pursued the same policy in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

So closely indeed has the European identified himself with the development of business enterprise in India, so interwoven are his fortunes with the fluctuations in the general prosperity of India, that the simple truth demands an acknowledgment of the fact that his interests are indistinguishable from the wider interests of India. As a business man he is as much concerned to promote the general prosperity of India, to strengthen the foundations of her financial and economic structure, to guide her commercial and industrial policy along wise and sound lines, as any of those to whom India is their motherland.

The European in Politics

But in India, as elsewhere, trade and commerce are frequently subordinate to the wider claims of politics. It is largely in the political sphere, with all its complicated psychologies, where reason and logic are not always conspicuous and often have to bow to national sentiment, that decisions are taken which, for good or ill,

may affect the course of trade and commerce for generations. While the European business man is well able to hold his own in the commercial field, and while as between European and Indian business men relations are of the most cordial, it would be idle to deny the existence of a school of political thought which loses no opportunity of exploiting Indian Nationalist feeling to the disadvantage of European business. The agitation in regard to coastal shipping is a case in point, and there have in recent years been several other instances of a similar nature.

It is not perhaps sufficiently realized by Indian politicians that the volume of trade which European business houses have built up for themselves, and which today confers its benefits on India, is the result of ceaseless industry, hard work, and much expenditure of time and money over many generations. The discovery of markets, the cultivation of goodwill by which they have been maintained, has been a long, continuous, and personal process, and it does not follow that by replacing the European there is an automatic transfer to his successor of the trade which the European has created. Indeed, much of the history of that imponderable quantity known as commercial goodwill tends to confirm the prevalence of the contrary case.

Bearing in mind the part he has played in building up modern India, his long and intimate connection with her affairs, and the supremely important stake he has in the country, justice and good sense alike require that the European should not be without facilities for representing his point of view in the political sphere. His claims in this connection have been fully recognized by Parliament in all the various stages of reform through which the constitution of British India has passed. He has been given representation in the Legislatures of all the Provinces in which Europeans reside in sufficient numbers and importance. He is represented in both Houses of the Central Legislature. He has representatives on the municipalities of the large cities. Parliament has laid down in broad general terms the principles which must be observed in legislation affecting his interests. Those principles, embodied in Chapter III. of the Government of India Act, constitute his Charter of Rights, and broadly speaking they require

that he shall not be the victim of disadvantageous discrimination. He is to enjoy with Indian subjects of the Crown equal rights and privileges within his particular fields of activity, and he is to be subject to no exclusive restriction or liability inside India that is not imposed on Indian subjects residing in the United Kingdom.

These principles, however, mean no more than that the European is to be regarded as a citizen of India, and, therefore, within their framework he must do the best he can for himself. He achieves this status of citizenship in an India which, politically, will be very different from the conditions under which he has lived in the past. Under the rule of his fellow-countrymen in the past he could always be sure that his claims and representations would receive impartial and sympathetic consideration, and that his point of view, however badly he expressed it, would be understood and appreciated by minds well attuned to his own. In politics angle of approach is all-important. That does not mean that Indian ministries will not strive to show sympathy and impartiality towards Europeans, but circumstances will require a different approach by Indian ministers to European problems, and the Indian minister, unlike the British administrator, will be subject to political pressures which he may not be able always to disregard.

Men and Organization

Politics, therefore, have suddenly become a matter of great moment to the European community in India. How are they equipped to discharge the new responsibilities which the emergence of self-government in India has thrust upon them, and upon which their future may well depend? This raises questions of men and organizations.

First as to men. Able political representation demands that a man should, if possible, possess certain qualities. He must have a quick grasp, a sound judgment, honesty of purpose, breadth of outlook, and a certain fluency and lucidity of speech. If he is to do any good at all he must command the respect and confidence, not only of his own community, but, what is more important, of the Legislature.

The European community has no leisured class. The young

man of business who has his way to make can only neglect his office at the risk, and perhaps the sacrifice, of his commercial career. The senior man of business who has reached the top faces the exacting task of directing a business, frequently of not inconsiderable ramifications, in a world of acute competition. Moreover, the man who goes into public life in India, as in this country, is in for a very strenuous time if he does his work at all conscientiously. The danger which faces the individual who combines a public career with a commercial career is that sooner or later the pressure of the loyalty to one will exert itself to the disadvantage of the other.

These difficulties, great as they are, can be more easily overcome in the Provinces than is possible at the Centre. In the Provinces it is possible for the man of business to keep in touch with and supervise his business while devoting a part of his day to the Assembly or the Council. If he goes to the Centre these daily contacts must cease. Madras is three to four days' train journey from Delhi and Simla. It takes two days to come up from Calcutta or Bombay. The two sessions of the Central Legislature, together with the special sessions which have been tacked on in recent years, account now for a total period of some six months each year, and it is expected that after the Federation this period may well be extended. I have sketched these difficulties very briefly because I think it is insufficiently appreciated how great a sacrifice public-spirited members of the British community in India are called upon to make in order to perform work which, while it may not be entirely disinterested, must none the less rank today as service to a very vital part of the Empire.

The difficulties which I have mentioned have been recognized by the European community, and they have faced the problem in a practical manner by creating a small, so to speak, "leisured class" consisting of one or two men drawn from each of the three Presidencies who are prepared to devote their whole time to public life. A fund has been raised which enables these men to be provided with an income which thus releases them from other obligations. Only a few of the seats allotted to Europeans can, of course, be filled by these men, and the majority of the seats must

still be filled by the men of business who are prepared voluntarily to undertake the additional responsibilities of public life.

To assist the European groups in the Legislatures there must be some kind of political organization. In the Provinces there are, first, the European Associations, bodies which exist, not so much as centres of information and advice, but as platforms and rallying grounds for the rank and file of the community; and, secondly, the European Chambers of Commerce, technical organizations, fifteen in number, who undertake functions of the utmost importance to the community and discharge them with a competence and efficiency which, I think it is no exaggeration to say, is not surpassed by any similar bodies elsewhere. The European Associations and the Chambers of Commerce between them, and in their own particular ways, do a very great deal to assist the European groups in the Legislatures; but while they can sound public opinion and give technical advice on commercial and industrial questions, their organizations are not adapted to the continuous study of political problems and reactions or for providing guidance in the science of parliamentary technique. To fill this gap the larger groups have created political secretariats.

The Central Legislature

The membership of the European groups is small numerically, and however much the work is distributed it is impossible for it to be other than disproportionately heavy on each member. For example, when the Insurance Bill was going through the Central Legislature in 1938 we had to examine and decide our policy on some 2,000 amendments put down by the Government and other parties, while I myself drafted for the group over 300 amendments, of which some 200 were tabled. I have good reason to remember that Bill, because for a period of some six weeks my working day commenced at 8.30 in the morning and ended as a rule in the early hours of the following morning, not excluding Sundays. At the same session, and sometimes simultaneously, either in Committee or in the Assembly, we had to cope with a Workmen's Compensation Bill, a Trade Disputes Bill, an Import of Drugs Bill, and some minor measures affecting the Companies Act, Mines

Act, Patents and Designs Act, all of them measures of moment to Europeans.

If there were time there is much I would like to say on the question of organization, and by organization I mean that staff work which goes on continuously behind the scenes, and of which the public hears very little, but without which parliamentary institutions would fall into confusion. The success or failure of a political party equally depends upon the competence or inefficiency of its staff work. I cannot now go into that question as it affects the European community, but I should like to say this: When Provincial Autonomy was inaugurated in 1937 my impression was that many Europeans felt that the seat of authority and political interest had been transferred from the Centre to the Provinces. The European Association was decentralized on a provincial basis. I do not criticize that, but I think it is of the utmost importance that there should be no misconception as to the purpose of the new Constitution. That purpose is the integration of India, and not its disintegration. Notwithstanding all the changes made by the Constitution Act the Federal Centre remains paramount and supreme in respect of those matters which most closely affect the vitality of the European community. I do not think it is yet sufficiently realized to what extent the Federal Centre, when it is inaugurated, will cast its tremendous shadow over the whole of the Indian peninsula, and while the Federal Centre may be far distant from the Provinces in which the European community is concentrated it is there that they will most need to establish themselves as an effective influence in India's political firmament.

And mark this. At a time when Indianization is rapidly proceeding in the Services, the new Constitution postulates the disappearance of British officials from the Legislatures, and with their disappearance British influence and prestige in those supremely important, and henceforward responsible, units of the Constitution enter upon a new phase. In the future, only the non-official European will contribute the British voice to the public discussion of policy, and unless he is able to free himself from the restricted outlook of the commercial office, and acquire in politics the broad, comprehensive vision of the statesman, British prestige and tradi-

tion may be impaired. Upon his shoulders there must inevitably fall a main responsibility for maintaining the British connection in India. Into his keeping is placed the task of preserving the spirit of British statesmanship in India. Much is asked of him, and much will be expected. He will require to exercise both tact and patience, to know when to speak and when to be silent. While showing a willing desire to co-operate with all sections of Indian opinion he must avoid becoming embarrassed in its perilous cross-currents. He must lack neither public spirit nor the courage of his convictions. Caught irresistibly in the web of enchantment which India weaves round those who spend their best years on her soil, he is imbued with a sincere desire to serve India and her peoples.

Above all he must keep before him the purpose of British statesmanship. That purpose is the same today as that which inspired the craftsmen who conceived and built that venerable Hall in this City of Westminster, to the shelter of whose ancient timbers Englishmen have been summoned through the centuries to bear witness to their belief in the dignity of human freedom and ordered progress. May he be worthy of the task.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 25, 1939, when a paper entitled "The European in the New India" was read by Mr. Oliver Stebbings. Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing Mr. Oliver Stebbings, this evening's lecturer. I think I may best describe him as a man who for the past ten years has been behind the scenes in the heart of politics in London and in India. To those of us who know him, I need not mention his clear judgment, his skilful pen and his capacity for organization. To those of you who do not know him, I will simply say that these qualities, combined with his experience for three years as Secretary of the European Group in the Central Legislatures in India, qualify him peculiarly well for dealing with the subject-matter of his lecture tonight.

Mr. OLIVER STEBBINGS then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting paper, and I am sure that I speak for all present when I express thanks to Mr. Stebbings for the very able and lucid way in which he has set out the changed conditions confronting the European in India today.

Mr. Stebbings has made a reference to the altered status of the European official in India under the new Constitution. It will, I am sure, be readily appreciated that, if I make only a passing reference to the wholly admirable way in which the European official has adapted himself to the changed circumstances resulting from provincial autonomy, it is not through any lack of appreciation of the part he is playing in the new India—to which ample testimony has been forthcoming from the highest quarters—but because it is the more official aspect of the problem with which the paper in the main has dealt and with which I personally am specially concerned. I say "am," but should more properly observe "have been," as I have recently ceased any active participation in Indian politics; but my experience is perhaps sufficiently recent to justify my initiating the discussion.

Mr. Stebbings in one place has remarked that simple truth demands an acknowledgment of the fact that the interests of the British business man in India are indistinguishable from the wider interests of India, and in another that the principles laid down in the Government of India Act, which legislation affecting his interests must observe, confer on him the rights of Indian citizenship. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the British business man in India does recognize that it is the good of India which must be paramount in the consideration of every problem; and, secondly, that he does not claim to be treated on any other basis than an Indian resident in the United Kingdom would be.

Nothing is more repugnant to me personally than to be referred to in India as a foreigner. We ask nothing better than to work side by side with our Indian friends and to play such a part as we are able in the attainment of equal partnership for India in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

While I entirely agree with Mr. Stebbings that, speaking generally, the relationship of Europeans and Indians in everyday life is uniformly cordial, I doubt if he is right when he says that hostile demonstrations in the political sphere against British commercial interests are invariably organized by doctrinaire Congress politicians. It would not, I think, be safe to ignore the covetous eye cast by certain Indian commercial interests on British interests, nor the specious garb of Nationalism with which this covetousness is cloaked.

To be quite frank, it was just this which led to the eventual inclusion in the Government of India Act of the safeguards against commercial discrimination about which so much is still heard, especially from high Congress circles in connection with their attitude towards the inacceptability of the Federal scheme. These safeguards were best described by Lord Catto (then Sir Thomas Catto) in giving evidence on behalf of the Associated Chambers of Commerce before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. He likened them to the clauses in a contract. A good contract, he said, was locked away in the safe and probably never looked at again after signing. The last thing that the British commercial community in India desires is to rely for its existence on safeguards—but that is not to say that they are not necessary and desirable.

As commentary on various points in Mr. Stebbings' paper, I should like, if I may, to read a few sentences from a recent issue of *Capital*, which records extracts from the speech of the President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce at the annual meeting of that body last month. The President

> paid a tribute to the Bombay Government for its "realistic and reasonable régime," but criticized the policy of Prohibition for levying an unfair burden on trade. . . . In a reference to the increasing production of indigenous goods, the President remarked that as long as this was done, not with the sole purpose of displacing imported goods, but with a view to raising the volume of wealth produced in the country, there could be no objection. The President also made a plea for a unified economic policy for India, and remarked that with the advent of Federation the scope for this sort of legislation will increase.

Here in one very short paragraph light is thrown on the relationship existing between the non-official Europeans and the Congress Ministries, the economic problems facing India and the importance attached by business interests in India to Federation, all of them points on which Mr. Stebbings' paper deals fairly exhaustively.

On the relation between the Ministries and the European groups in the provincial assemblies there is ample evidence to show that these have been good during the two years which have elapsed since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy. Reasoned opposition there has, of course, been, and this is as it should be in a democratic system where it is essential that every

point of view should be voiced. But it may be stated without fear of contradiction that the groups have been actuated by a desire to help and not to hinder, and have in the main found it possible to support the Governments in a very great deal of very sound and beneficent legislation.

On the general question of the economic problems confronting India I find myself in complete agreement with the stress which Mr. Stebbings laid on the necessity for the expansion of the internal market. This is only another way of saying that the standard of living of the agriculturist must be improved, and it is in this direction that I personally believe that the ministries of self-governing Provinces are in a better position than their predecessors to make real progress.

On the vexed question of Prohibition can anyone seriously doubt the beneficial effect of diverting the present enormous expenditure on drink to other channels? I am not myself a supporter of total prohibition in India, but I firmly believe that a lower expenditure on drink is one of the surest ways to improve the standard of living, and incidentally therefore to increase the purchasing power of the masses. It is very unfortunate that Excise revenue should represent such a very large part of the total revenue of some Provinces, because, in the case of those ministries which are not content to make haste slowly, this leads to a resort to most undesirable new taxation.

Finance is really the crux of the whole matter. The problem of finding new sources of taxation is one which has puzzled a long line of finance members, and the very real danger is that the finance ministers in the autonomous provinces in their zeal for new policies will cripple trade and industry by burdens of taxation which they are not able to bear.

On the subject of the Federal Centre, I am confident that Mr. Stebbings need feel no anxieties lest British commercial interests should underrate the importance of effective representation there. The decentralization of the European Association, to which he has referred, did no more than adjust the organization of that body to meet the needs of the changed times.

It is probably true to say that the filling of the seats at the Centre has been the first object of the various provincial political organizations, while I think that the need for uniform all-India legislation on all subjects appertaining to trade and commerce is one which is much more likely to be overlooked by the provincial ministries than by Chambers of Commerce, who are never weary of impressing on ministers this to them all too obvious essential. European interests in India are convinced supporters of the scheme of Federation outlined in the Government of India Act as affording the only solution to India's problems, and it goes without saying that the first care of the provincial organizations will be the provision of effective representation at the Federal Centre. In fact, it is the provincial organizations which have to find the men and the money to make their representation effective.

Mr. Stebbings, I thought, rather stressed the suddenness with which we in India had been confronted by the changed conditions, but the organizations in the major Provinces were set up seven or eight years ago in anticipation of the change, and though it has taken time to build them up they

were established on firm foundations and are, I am sure, capable of such expansion as the future may demand of them.

There was a sentence in that portion of Mr. Stebbings' paper which he had to cut out, which ran: "Merchants and business men have always been reluctant to undertake unnecessary political expenditure." That has certainly been in evidence during recent years, but we may hope that all, or nearly all, are now convinced that you cannot have a political organization without funds, and that both the funds and the organization are a *sine qua non* of effective representation of British interests in the Indian legislatures.

The problem of finding the right men from a small and hard-worked community is one which will always be with us. We have been conscious of the very high standard and example set us by our predecessors in the legislatures from the very outset of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and it is my confident hope that this example will be worthily followed in the future.

May I, in conclusion, quote a sentence from a reply by H.E. the Viceroy to an address from the Bombay branch of the European Association at the end of January this year:

> "The record of the work of your Association over the twenty-one months since the introduction of provincial autonomy shows beyond any question in how full a degree the members of your Association have manifested their political sense, and to what pains they have been to equip themselves to make the best contribution they can to the furtherance of the constitutional scheme."

Lord LAMINGTON: We have listened to a most well thought out paper by someone who is well qualified to use the information he has delivered. We now know better than we did the position of the European under present-day conditions.

One point I was glad to see he made at the beginning of the lecture was as to the origin of our Indian Empire. It was not a matter of conquest, or desire of any Government to get hold of the country. It was merely a natural expansion of the part of traders wishing to trade in their particular province. Even after the East India Company had been established for a century and a half it tried to avoid having any distinctive responsibilities. This ought to be realized, for many people even in this country still believe we went to India for conquest. They do not realize that it was a very natural process of development on the part of commerce. Now we are being taunted with having so much of the world's face and not being able to occupy it thoroughly.

The lecturer went on to talk of how the Westernization of India has proceeded; that Russia on the one hand and Japan on the other had adopted Westernization. Possibly it is true, but I think there is a feeling on the part of Eastern populations against this process of Westernization, not of material fact but of the Westernization of ideas and thought in their own country. I have seen it stated by competent writers how Turkey, Iran, even

Palestine and Egypt have all a feeling against the introduction of European ideas and thoughts—not actual Westernization of material facts but of the ideas and general conceptions of what life should be. India has been a striking instance of this.

Trouble has been largely due to a desire to resist this Westernization of European thought. I think it is perfectly true that this has been accentuated a great deal, as mentioned by the lecturer, by the exclusiveness in the past of the Europeans in India. More than one Indian has said to me that more than half the trouble in India has been due to social considerations rather than to any political administrative acts, that there has been a great feeling of animosity created by that desire to treat the Indian as someone on a lower scale in life than ourselves. Happily that period has passed, I think. Now we have people meeting together in India with the one desire to carry out what may be for the true and lasting benefit of India.

The lecturer in the last half of his paper deals largely with the new conditions of the European in India, and he ably summarizes in the ultimate paragraphs of his paper what are the qualities required by the European in the future in India. The official representative of British life will hardly be able to take any part in the legislative life of India, and it will fall upon the non-official Briton to take his place. That will mean great trouble, great sacrifice of time and many qualities which he will be called upon to exercise for the benefit of our people in India as a whole.

In making these few remarks I wish once again to congratulate and thank the lecturer for his very well-informed paper. (Applause.)

Sir Frank Noyce: I should like to join most heartily in the tribute of appreciation which you, sir, have paid to Mr. Stebbings for a most interesting paper. I am specially glad to be here this afternoon as it enables me to repeat in this country a tribute which I paid to the work of the European group in the Assembly and the Council of State before I left India. The European group in the Central Legislature was often taunted by the Opposition with being the henchmen of Government. That charge was a most unfair one, for I certainly never noticed that they were specially free from the usual impatience that the non-official has with the slow-moving bureaucracy. I personally always found their criticism most constructive and helpful, and I am able to speak with some confidence on that point, for, during the five years I was a member of the Government, I taxed their patience with a long series of Labour Bills. They always examined them with sympathy and care and with a real desire to advance the lot of the Indian worker. I had every reason to be most grateful to them for that.

It is true—and I think Mr. Stebbings has brought that out in his paper—that India's real problems are more economic than political. It has often been stressed here and elsewhere that the real hopes for India's future prosperity lie in the improvement of the standard of living in the countryside. I could wish that that fact had been recognized by the opponents of the new Indo-British Trade Agreement, and that they had realized how essential it is to the cultivator that, conditions being as they are in the Far East, he should have a substantial market for his cotton in this country.

But I must not enlarge on that, as it would be embarking on a distinctly controversial subject.

Though it is true that India's problems are more economic than political, it is equally true that the approach to them nowadays lies almost entirely through politics. It is for that reason that the non-official European in India can, and I am sure will, play a far greater part in political life than he has done in the past.

Mr. Stebbings has reminded us very pertinently that, with the disappearance of the official bloc and its European members in all the legislatures, there will be nobody there but the non-official European to stress a point of view which it is very desirable should be stressed in the difficult days which lie ahead of India. That they are rising to the occasion I think there is every reason to believe.

During my recent visit to India I heard on all sides that the European group in the various legislatures, small as it is in number, carries weight and influence out of all proportion to that number. The reason for this is that, although they are primarily there to represent the interests of their constituents, they have no personal axe to grind; the result is that their views are invariably listened to with respect and attention.

Mr. Stebbings has reminded us that this involves an immense sacrifice of time and trouble which will probably go on increasing. We can only hope with him that the younger generation will come forward and follow the excellent example their predecessors have set them and reach the same high standard.

I should like to thank Mr. Stebbings once again for a most interesting paper.

Mr. Hugh Molson: As one who occupied in the past very much the same position as Mr. Stebbings has been occupying recently, I feel I ought to say something on his paper. I should like to begin by supporting what has been said of the very great interest and value of the paper that he has read to us. I think that I find myself so entirely in agreement with his general approach to the problem that I shall confine myself largely to asking questions, on which I hope to have some further enlightenment as to what has been taking place in the last few years.

I would only say in general that, while I took a prominent part in securing the insertion into the Government of India Act of statutory safeguards for the Europeans and European business especially in India, I have always believed that the only sure and certain protection which European interests in India could enjoy was by doing everything possible to win the co-operation and goodwill of Indian business men, and that it was by a policy of putting India's interests first that the British interests would ensure their own protection. Rightly understood there can be no difference in the interests of Indian and British commerce, and I hope and believe that the clear distinction which used to be drawn, and which is perhaps most illustrated by the fact that different Chambers of Commerce represent British and Indian interests in India, will gradually come to an end and there will be a complete fusion of the two.

I should very much like to hear from Mr. Stebbings, when he replies, how much has been done in the ten years since I came back from India in bringing about a fusion of Indian and British interests. I will give one example. There were at that time a number of companies in India whose shares were only quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and I used to urge on British business men that it was of the utmost importance that the shares in all companies that were established in India should be quoted in rupees on Indian Stock Exchanges in order that as large a number of Indians as possible should be encouraged to invest in those companies and therefore to have the welfare of those companies at heart.

I should like to know also what is the general attitude of Indian business men towards the commercial safeguards which are included in the Government of India Act. You, Mr. Chairman, rather suggest that the opposition which I well remember when the Bill was before the House of Commons has not very greatly abated since then. I hoped that, as greater opportunities were given to Indians to participate in the government of the provinces, they would come to regard those safeguards as being nothing more than an essential protection which was put in as a safeguard and would not be used in normal circumstances.

The third question which I should like to ask Mr. Stebbings is to what extent the Chambers of Commerce in India during the last few years have really come to recognize that in the future politics will be a matter of the very greatest importance to them. During the time that I was there it was difficult to persuade the Chambers of Commerce or prominent business men in India to realize that the time was likely to come when they would have to take an active part in politics if they were to protect their interests. I hope that during the last few years there has come a great change in that respect.

I should like, in conclusion, once more to say how extremely interesting and valuable I think that the paper has been, and to thank Mr. Stebbings very much for addressing us. (Applause.)

Mr. K. K. Lalkaka: Sir, after I had carefully read Mr. Stebbings' most interesting paper I came to the conclusion that the man who once observed that whoever wrote the second volume of the Simon Report omitted to read the all-important first volume was abundantly right.

In considering this question of the European in the new India we must face and recognize the fact that of recent years the British have to a large extent lost their prestige and position. To my mind it is largely something that they themselves have brought about. They preferred to take the line of least resistance. A large number of the leading British business men in India only outwardly sympathized with the political ideas which were in the air, and from personal knowledge I am in a position to say that many of them in private held views quite contrary to their public confessions. They felt that thereby they could safeguard their own interests. Events, however, have falsified their hopes.

For instance, the surrender seven or eight years ago of the European cotton merchants in Bombay to the unjustified claims of the Congress

clique, and the manner in which the European business community, including their newspapers, and the Government of India have pampered the Congress and kowtowed to it—and the real reasons for their so doing—were contrary to the great traditions of which the defence of the Residency at Lucknow was an example of imperishable glory.

These were the foundations on which British prestige and power in India rested securely. The flag was never struck, and may it keep flying for all time. Moreover, when those traditions of valour, courage and integrity of thought were bartered, in the interests of trade and commerce, for political expediency and makeshift, British prestige in India was at an ebb. In the best interests of Great Britain and India alike, let us all hope that the tide may soon flow again.

All that the British community in India has had in return for pampering the Congress is their contempt. The Congress make no secret of their aim of destroying British interests, and they are in no mood to return goodwill for goodwill. Mr. MacDonald's "basic assumption" of mutual goodwill and that accommodating spirit of partnership has thus gone by the board.

But today no discussion of this question can be complete without considering what is going to be the position of Indians—who are after all British subjects—in the British Empire, *vis-à-vis* the position of the Briton in the new India. At a time when aliens are freely welcomed in all parts of the Empire this question of their own status must necessarily cause a certain amount of heart-burning to all self-respecting Indians.

While every fair-minded person, be he a European or an Indian, will recognize that much could be said on both sides of the vexed and delicate question of racial discrimination to which Indians are subjected in various parts of our Empire, no honest person will fail to take note with regret of the fact that often British citizens of Asiatic origin are made victims of unnecessary racial affront and denied the full status of British citizenship which in principle admits of no distinction of colour or creed. Even in this country, with all its traditions of hospitality and goodwill towards visitors, one has to admit with a deep sense of regret that His Majesty's Indian subjects are at times denied fair treatment.

For example, at present when every loyal and patriotic British citizen is expected to give of his best in the service of the country, in manuals of official regulations governing voluntary service we find such expressions as this: "Applicants must be British subjects and of *pure European descent*." Words such as these are likely to discourage Indians resident in this country and make them curb—much against their will—their natural desire to offer themselves for national service. What is going to be the reaction of His Majesty's Asiatic subjects to such anomalies? Are they not likely to ask whether England is still sane or is she verging on insanity? May not some of us be forgiven, under these circumstances, for asking, "Or how else is it that England wishes to seem so ungracious towards the loyal and the patriotic while being so weak and yielding to those who have openly proclaimed that her hour of European embarrassment will be their golden opportunity to encompass her downfall, and on whom in her infinite wisdom she seems so anxious to transfer more of her own responsibilities in

our Indian Empire?" Do you for one moment think that these men will fail to retaliate?

Leaving aside all moral considerations, is it then so very impossible to evolve a policy that would be more enlightened and less idiotic? These are questions which will have to be faced unflinchingly, and answered, by those who pause to consider the position of the European in the new India. After all, small minds and great Empires go ill together. And the British Empire is a great entity. It is not only a great entity but a very great ideal which could only have taken shape in giant minds. Let us hope that those who are called upon to bear its burden in days to come may prove, as their fathers proved, sound in mind and limb and stout of heart. And it is for this that I plead.

Sir Hubert Carr: After the last speaker I find it a little difficult to follow on. We seem to have strayed a bit from the matter of the European in India. I must say, listening to Mr. Stebbings' address, my optimism was damped down a little considering the busy life we all lead in India and the difficulty of spending time on political work. But my optimism has risen again when I think that it will not fall to the non-official European to answer all those questions which the last speaker put forward.

Moreover, I have two or three reasons for optimism. When I remember what Mr. Stebbings said about how the British commercial man went to India for a little trade and came back with India, it makes one fairly confident of the future! Another point is that, in spite of the great difficulty which every European has in playing his part in the legislatures, our Chairman, I notice, did for nine years sit in the legislature in spite of at the same time being heavily employed in business. For these reasons I am optimistic that we shall produce the right men to carry on the traditions of the past. When my mind goes back to the time we spent in the Round-Table Conferences and the difficulties which arose at that time over the commercial position of Europeans, again I have reason for optimism.

Mr. Stebbings has defined very clearly the, shall we say, antagonism which is aroused by the European commercial position in certain circles in India. But that is not general. He does not imply it is. When I recall that those Indian gentlemen who came home on the Round-Table Conference went into the whole question of commerce most carefully, and we got to a point of agreement—English and Indian commercial interests—where both sides contemplated a mutually reciprocal arrangement giving the same rights to each other, that was very near general agreement. We had to fall back on safeguards, however, because it was decided that these gentlemen, although qualified to speak for their communities, were in no way in a position to bind the India of the future.

The safeguards which are objected to in many quarters are necessitated by the few offenders; just in the same way as the criminal law is not necessitated by the general run of us but by the few who want to break it. In the same way the question of getting a straight deal in commerce has to be safeguarded because of the few interests who are definitely out to get what they can from the British regardless of rights or anything else.

My optimism will survive even that position, and I do feel that since we came near agreement with a certain class, a very representative class of Indians, at the Round-Table Conference, although that may have been a false dawn, yet the dawn does lie ahead and we shall gradually get a greater degree of concurrence in treating English and Indian business connections alike.

I am extremely interested to hear all that Mr. Stebbings has said about the European position. I must just close my remarks by one other point which occurred to me. He spoke of taking our positions as citizens, and whilst I think that is recognized, we are rather more than citizens, because with the disappearance of the European official we are not only citizens representing our own right, but we represent the other partner in the Indian Empire—Great Britain.

Mr. Stebbings: I feel that some of you suffered a disadvantage in the fact that you did not hear the earlier part of my paper, to which Lord Lamington and several other speakers have subsequently referred. But I think my short summary gave you at any rate the general gist of what it contained.

Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham on the whole gave a full measure of approval to the general sentiments that I expressed, and my task of dealing with such points as he did raise is thereby considerably easier than it might have been.

He mentioned that the Congress hostility to Europeans in the legislatures, which I had said was organized by doctrinaire politicians, originated in his opinion a little nearer the cotton mills of Bombay and other Indian business interests. That, I think, is perfectly true. It is a fact which is well known in the legislature at the Centre. You cannot go to any meeting there without hearing Muslim and other members, who do not belong to the Congress Party, reminding the Congress Party that they get their sinews of war from big business.

Then Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham referred to the suddenness with which politics have become a matter of moment to Europeans to which I alluded. I did not quite mean it in the way he put it to you. I am aware that Europeans have for a long time now been organizing and preparing for the new Constitution. What I meant was that the various changes in India today—the disappearance of officials from the legislatures and the transference of complete responsibility over a wide field of affairs to Indian ministers—took place suddenly, and there is thus a sudden change from a situation in which you could leave things, so to speak, in the hands of the British administrator to one in which you can no longer afford to disregard any aspect of administration.

Lord Lamington's remarks to which, I think, we all listened with the very greatest interest, coming as they did from so distinguished a servant of India, were to a very large extent concerned with emphasizing a point which I tried to make in my paper—namely, that the British connection in India was founded on trade and not on ideas of conquest.

Sir Frank Noyce added a tribute to the part which non-official Europeans

have played in the Indian legislature, and coming from him it is a tribute which I think all non-official Europeans will appreciate.

Mr. Molson addressed a series of questions to me. I will try as far as I can, in view of the shortness of time, to answer them. He wanted to know what action had been taken since he left India to fuse British and Indian commercial interests by, I gathered, placing the shares of British companies on the Indian stock markets. Well, I think I have no occasion to remind Mr. Molson that, speaking by and large, most British firms in India are private partnerships and there is no question under the Constitution of such firms putting shares on the open market. But in so far as there are large companies which have publicly subscribed capital—many of which are controlled by British firms—there is a very large measure of Indian control both in the management of the business and, I think I am right in saying, on the directorate. I think that general statement is perhaps sufficient to indicate the trend of affairs, and Mr. Molson can, I think, go to any business man in the City of London today who has connections with India and he will confirm what I say when I mention that the amount of control that is exercised by the principals in London over the affairs of their companies in India is very much less than it has been in the past, and is becoming increasingly less. Many British concerns are being converted into rupee companies, and in the case of public companies their shares will normally, I suppose, appear on the Bombay and Calcutta Exchanges.

Mr. Molson enquired what was the attitude of the Indian business man towards the safeguards. I do not think the Indian business man cares very much for the safeguards, and his attitude is one which is influenced rather by that sentiment. But the safeguards are there, and so far as the European is concerned he does not want to see them put into the courts in defence of his particular interests; he prefers them to remain as a guide, rather than as a warning, as to the line which should be adopted by the legislatures in matters affecting commercial legislation and taxation.

It is true that there have been attempts to force an issue on the safeguards in order to test their validity. In 1937 the Congress Party in the Central Legislature moved an amendment to the Insurance Bill which demanded that British insurance companies should be compelled by law to reinsure 10 per cent. of their Indian business with Indian insurance companies. If that amendment had been carried it would undoubtedly have involved litigation as to whether it did not conflict with the spirit and the letter of the safeguards.

The Congress will perhaps try whenever the opportunity occurs to force an issue on the safeguards, but Europeans will not go out of their way to assist them. Europeans prefer to maintain their position in India on a basis of goodwill and co-operation, and they do not want to raise any difficulty over the safeguards if it can be avoided.

Mr. Molson asked me whether the Chambers of Commerce had come to realize the importance of politics. I can assure him that the position is very different today from what it was as he described it. Today there is a full and ready acknowledgment on the part of the Chambers of the importance of conducting a thorough and complete examination of all political ques-

tions as they affect the business community. The Chambers put forward the business man's point of view, and they have played in the past and will continue to play in the future a very important part in the political organization of the European. I would like to go into that matter in far more detail than I can, but I see our time is up and I must bring my remarks very briefly to a close.

Mr. Lalkaka, who preceded Sir Hubert Carr, dealt with various matters to which he cannot possibly expect me to reply tonight. I would only say that I think he ought to look at the position again. He said that the British have lost their prestige in India in the last few years. I think he is confusing things. I do not think British prestige is any less high than it has always been, but what we have to take into account is that on the Indian side new political influence has come into existence in the shape of the Congress Party, and while our prestige remains as high as it has always been, there is a balancing factor today which was not in existence in the past.

We have, I think, shown by our whole history in India that smallness of numbers does not necessarily imply impotence, and I feel that although we are still small in numbers, our future can be just as great and just as glorious as our past if only we can adjust our outlook to changing conditions as circumstances require. (Applause.)

Sir James MacKenna: Although I expect many of you want to get outside and find what surprises Sir John Simon has sprung on us on Budget Day, you will not grudge the time for me to propose a hearty vote of thanks both to the lecturer for his very well-informed and thoughtful address and to the Chairman, who, apart from the ordinary duties of the Chair, opened the discussion with such ability and clearness.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

Sir Edward Benthall writes: Generally speaking, I am in entire agreement with the views of Mr. Stebbings. His very able paper correctly reflects, in my opinion, the views of the majority of Europeans in India who have studied the basis of the political position of the British in India.

I believe that on the whole British merchants are generally content that the reins of power should be taken over by Indian Ministers and Indian legislatures. If from the Indian point of view they seem to desire irksome safeguards and restrictions, it is not from any ill-will towards Indian self-government but from a desire to see the progress of government made on a sure basis of stability which is so essential for the prosperity of all trade and industry, Indian and European alike.

The character of trade between the United Kingdom and India is bound to continue to change, and only the most alert activity and the most sympathetic understanding of Indian problems will enable United Kingdom exporters to retain their trade, but that it can be retained in bulk there is, in my opinion, no doubt.

Equally the naturally keen desire of Indian industrialists sometimes leads them to substitute politics for business and successfully to mislead the legis-

latures as to what is in the best interest of India. This is likely to be a problem which British interests will have to watch continuously; but Mr. Stebbings rightly distinguishes between a pro-Indian and an anti-British policy, and on the whole, as the result of two years' experience of provincial reforms, British enterprise in India has not, in my opinion, a great deal to complain about, although for a variety of reasons industry has been tried sorely during this period. In many ways the feeling between Indians and British commercial interests has been better during recent times than at any time since I can remember. Wise leadership can retain that asset.

I also particularly agree with Mr. Stebbings over his diagnosis of the importance of the Centre; in recent years constitutional and political points have generally held the stage. In the years to come financial and commercial problems seem likely to assume proportionately even greater importance than in the past and the principal problems will largely have to be thrashed out at the Centre.

EMPIRE DAY BANQUET

Lord Zetland's Speech

The Empire Day Banquet, 1939, held at Grosvenor House by the combined Empire societies was attended by some 1,200 members of the societies and their guests. It was memorable for two reasons—the relaying of the King's broadcast message from Winnipeg, Canada, and the presence as guests of honour of the Duke of Kent, Governor-General-designate of Australia, and the Duchess of Kent.

The Earl of Athlone, who was accompanied by Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, presided, and the guests were received by Lord Lamington (president, East India Association), Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes (chairman of council, Royal Empire Society), Lord Stradbroke (chairman, British Empire League), Lady Harlech (chairman, Victoria League), Lord Harlech (hon. vice-president, Royal African Society), Lord Goschen (chairman, Central Council, Over-Seas League), Dr. M. J. Rendall (chairman, School Empire-Tour Committee), and Lady Muriel Gore-Browne (chairman, British Women's Hospitality Committee).

The start of the dinner was delayed for the reception of the King's broadcast, which came over clearly. All the guests rose to their feet at the announcement "His Majesty the King," and remained standing during the speech, which lasted for twelve minutes. Afterwards they broke into spontaneous applause.

The Chairman announced that he had sent a telegram to the King and Queen expressing to them the united loyalty and devotion of all the peoples of the Empire.

Later the Chairman announced that the following telegram had been received from the King: "Please convey to all assembled at the Empire Societies' banquet today the sincere thanks of the Queen and myself for their loyal message and good wishes. We are both enjoying our visit to the Dominion of Canada.—George R.I."

Mr. S. M. Bruce, High Commissioner for Australia, proposed the health of the Duke and Duchess of Kent.

In the course of his reply His Royal Highness said he knew it was the King's ambition to make the Empire an even happier and more prosperous family than it now was. During the anxious times we had gone through we had all been forced by circumstances to think over carefully many principles which normally we took for granted. We had been obliged to reconsider in all its details the greatest problem of mankind—how to live in harmony with our fellows. Upon this problem rested the future welfare of civilization.

Yet out of the difficulties and problems of the past twelve months there had emerged one feature of which we could be extremely proud, and that was the solidarity and genuine unity of the British Commonwealth. If we in England had lived anxious moments, these moments had been no less anxious in the self-governing Dominions and in the Colonies. This had made even clearer than ever the unalterable will of the peoples of the British Commonwealth to live in harmony with their fellowmen and women.

Mr. R. B. Bennett, late Prime Minister of Canada, proposed "The British Commonwealth," and the toast was responded to by the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, for India and for Burma, and for Dominion Affairs.

Lord Zetland, in the course of his reply, said:

On such an occasion as this and to such an audience one may speak without apology of British imperialism and its achievements, and I am all the more ready to do so by reason of the fact that the leaders of political thought in the particular part of the Empire for which I am responsible have displayed a tendency to speak of British imperialism as an evil thing, as something to be fought and, if possible, to be destroyed. Ladies and gentlemen, the primary meaning of the word "imperialism" is the rule of an Emperor, and the rule of Emperor, or indeed of any other man who is the head of a vast political organization by whatever title he be known, whether it be Emperor or Shah, or even the modern dictator, may be good, or it may be bad; it may be tolerant or intolerant; it may be enlightened or tyrannical, liberal or autocratic; and I sometimes think that it would be an interesting and a profitable speculation for those in India who ceaselessly inveigh against British imperialism to consider what their lot would be under the rule of any one of those who in these days have raised aloft the banner of power politics as compared with their lot under British imperialism. ("Hear, hear.")

As a fruitful reflection upon that subject let me remind you in two or three sentences both of the aims of British imperialism and what is being done to achieve them. So far as the peoples of India are concerned the aims of British imperialism have been laid down authoritatively and finally in the Preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, and in the pro-

nouncement of a former Viceroy, made with the full authority of the Government of the day, ten years later to the effect that the natural issue of India's progress as contemplated in the Preamble of the Act was the attainment of Dominion status in the British Commonwealth.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the goal. Can any one deny that since that day the Imperial Government have continued this wholeheartedly, giving effect to the policy then laid down, and by redeeming the promises which were then made? Is it nothing that in the eleven great Provinces of British India, in spite of the difficulties arising out of the diversity of race, religion, language, civilization, and of social outlook and tradition, parliaments of the peoples with government of the peoples responsible to them for policy and administration have been brought into existence? Is it conceivable under any other form of imperialism than British imperialism that in eight of these Provinces the political party in India which has been most vocal and sometimes vehement in its condemnation of British imperialism is in power with the support and the collaboration of those agents of British imperialism—the Governor-General and the Governors of the Provinces? (Applause.) And is it nothing that all this has been done in a term of years which, measured by the life of a nation, is as a mere flash in the passing of time?

On the manner in which these new Governments are consolidating these new powers and responsibilities entrusted to them it is for the historian rather than for us, who are ourselves participators in the great drama of statecraft which is unfolding itself against the background of Indian history, to pronounce a judgment. This at least must be clear to all of us, that these early years in this great experiment must be a time of testing. There are difficulties of government in India which are peculiar to that country. Let me give you only one outstanding example.

In the past it has fallen to the lot of the British people to hold even the scales of justice between the numerous communities of which the vast population of that great sub-continent is composed. Today, Indians themselves are facing the responsibility of reconciling differences between, let us say, those two great communities, Muslims and the Hindus, and I have no hesitation in saying that the present generation of Indians have it in their power on that issue to make or to mar the future of their country. For it is only if the minorities can feel assured that they can take part as equal partners in a great and a common enterprise and without a haunting fear that their rights may be subordinated or disregarded, that we can make sure and steady progress towards the goal which we have set before us.

A period of transition always carries with it its peculiar difficulties, but in all the difficulties with which from time to time the Viceroy and I have found ourselves faced we are buoyed up by this great thought, that of the fine and abiding loyalty of the peoples of India to the Person and Crown of the King-Emperor. (Applause.)

THE INDIAN FRONTIER PROBLEM

By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Bruce, c.s.i., c.i.e., c.b.e.

That the defence of our Indian frontiers is an imperial problem of the first magnitude has now been universally recognized. To deal with the problem of the tribes inhabiting the North-West Frontier of India two very different systems were adopted:

(1) The "Sandeman" system, called after its great progenitor, which was adopted with such marked success in Baluchistan, and,
(2) The "close border" system, adopted for the remainder of the Frontier.

The fundamental difference between these systems was that the aim and goal of Sandeman's policy was the "welfare of the tribes" committed to his charge, while the "close border" hardly took this aspect of the case into consideration at all. And the final result was that while under the Sandeman system the "administrative" border was carried up to the Afghan frontier—in many cases at the request of the tribes themselves—that was not the case as regards those tribes who came under the political sphere of influence, first of the Punjab, and then, later, of the North-West Frontier Province, when it was constituted, in 1901, under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Government of India.

Here, between the "settled" districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan (an area of about 13,400 square miles, with a population of about two and a half millions)—still administered, more or less, on the Punjab model—and Afghanistan there remained a belt of semi-independent tribal territory (with an area of some 26,000 square miles and a population of roughly three and a half millions), the home not only of the warrior tribes, but also of the "outlaw" and fugitive from justice. And it is this strip of territory separating the "administered" districts of India from Afghanistan which has always constituted the main frontier problem.

The Lessons of History

As to the merits or demerits of the two systems: Whether the Sandeman system is applicable to other tribes than those occupying Baluchistan—a question I will go into more fully later—there can, at any rate, be no gainsaying the fact that the history of Baluchistan has amply proved the success of the one, while the history of the remainder of the frontier has been but a long succession of failures on the part of the "close border" system. And to this long list we have now been compelled to add yet another, with all its attendant loss of lives and money—the Waziristan expedition of 1936-1937.

Immediately after the Great War came the Third Afghan War, which culminated, in so far as Waziristan was concerned, in some of the heaviest fighting the frontier has ever seen. This forced the Government to review the whole question of Waziristan. And, as a result, about the years 1922-1923 a policy more or less built on the foundations of Sandeman's policy—and one which had been advocated by my father some forty years before—was adopted. It was a policy of "control from within" and of supporting the tribal headmen in carrying out their primary duty of maintaining law and order within their own tribes.

Past experience had again and again taught me that even under the handicaps of the "close border" the application of these principles of Sandeman's was not only feasible, but always led to a remarkable decrease in crime within the districts and an almost complete cessation of "raiding" from across the border. It had also proved the converse—namely, that without the assistance of headmen (in Marshal Lyautey's words) "nothing could be done."

And once again was the truth of this to be proved. In my little book *Waziristan, 1936-1937*, lately published, anyone who is sufficiently interested and cares to do so will, I think, find sufficient proof of the unqualified success of that policy (during a period of nearly ten years) not only in Waziristan, but also in the neighbouring districts.

Amongst the numerous tributes I should, however, like to

mention three specially significant ones. *The Times* remarked: "The hope that inspired the policy has been fulfilled. It seems the Pathan can, after all, be Sandemanized." The Foreign Secretary in India bore witness: "The policy has made good . . . indeed, our success blinds us to its magnitude." And, last but not least, the *Times of India* pointed out that "although they had strongly protested . . . against the new policy when it was instituted in 1922, this should not make them undervalue the great results which it had achieved."

In face of such tributes, where even the most sceptical were converted, surely I am justified in saying that the results achieved speak for themselves. They not only increased the prestige of Government, but did a very great deal towards reviving the tribesmen's belief in our power and will to govern—a belief which had been badly shaken in past years.

While, however, our "prestige" had been steadily rising in Waziristan, such, unfortunately, had not been the case in other parts of the frontier.

The Peshawar Trouble

So disastrous, for instance, had been the results of a policy of "extreme conciliation"* in and around Peshawar that, in the words of an eye-witness, "the failure of the authorities to enforce law and order led to such a contempt of authority" that, as was also reported in *The Times*, "murders alone rose to one a day, and the collection of revenue almost entirely ceased." This culminated in the debacle in Peshawar in 1931 and the Afridi invasion of the district.

As General Sir Charles Gwynn, in his admirable book *Imperial Policing*, has already given the causes and effects of this terrible blow to our prestige, I will confine myself to saying that he gave as the basic cause of all our troubles "the tribesmen's belief in the impending downfall of British rule."

As far back as 1932 I, too, had written: "If these troubles spread to Waziristan, it will in no way be the fault of the policy, but to our ignoring Lord Roberts' warning that 'the loyalty of

* General Sir Chas. Gwynn in *Imperial Policing*.

these tribes is the outcome of their belief in our invincibility and in our power to defend them.'"

It was the ignoring of this most elementary of all Sandeman's principles which was the main cause of the Peshawar trouble, just as it was eventually to be the main cause of the Waziristan disturbances of 1936, for, as Sandeman himself said:

> "If we knit the frontier tribes into our Imperial system in time of peace, and make their interests our own, they will certainly not oppose us in time of war, and, as long as we are ready to hold our own, we can certainly depend on their being on our side."

The reason why the Waziristan tribes did oppose us once again, not in time of war, but in time of peace, was that we had still not learnt this lesson. We had forgotten the "provisos"!

"When have we ever failed when we acted vigorously? When have we succeeded when guided by timorous councils?" said John Lawrence. That was the lesson of the Mutiny, when, as described by Herbert Edwards, the disarming of the mutinous regiments at Peshawar caused "Afridis, Mohmands, and Yusafzais, who had spent their lives in killing our subjects, to come flocking in" to our aid.

And so it will ever be with the Pathan. He loves the winning side! That is the lesson of the frontier. It is also the answer to Sir Robert Warburton's question, "How many tribesmen would come to our aid under the present policy?" That was written in 1898. And the answer to that question, then and now, would probably be Sandeman's, "We can count on the Pathan being on our side *provided* we are ready to hold our own," and not otherwise. For the Pathan has a fondness for those whom he respects, respects those whom he fears, and fears only those who are ready and willing to govern.

When, therefore, people tell me that there has been no real alteration in the policy which proved so successful in Waziristan, and I see this most elementary of all Sandeman's principles has been broken, I am frankly sceptical.

Conciliation and Vacillation

Surely Government's own admission that one of the main underlying causes of the Waziristan disturbances was the tribesmen's belief that the constitutional changes in India indicated weakness on the part of the Government goes some way to bear out this contention? Sir William Barton, in his excellent book *The North-West Frontier of India*, certainly seems to have come to the same conclusion.

From the expedition of 1919 the Waziristan tribes had learnt, to their cost, that the Government could still strike. In addition, they had seen a new policy inaugurated in their country, from which they hoped great things. And so they settled down. But gradually they began to see a reversion from the policy of rebuilding on "existing frameworks" to one of conciliation and vacillation, both inside and out. They saw lawlessness and crime, the inevitable concomitants of such a policy, once more spreading to the districts, and the poison drawing ever nearer and nearer to their own country. They had watched the Khilafat movement and the steady rise to power of the "Red Shirts." They knew all there was to be known about the Afridi and Mohmand troubles; that a road had been started into the Afridi country, and that at the first sign of trouble work on the road had been discontinued. What wonder if some of the wilder characters said to themselves: "If we don't want roads, all we have to do is to make trouble"?

That they *had* stood firm in 1931, despite the example of Peshawar, was in itself, I think, a remarkable tribute to the soundness of the policy.

But how much longer, in face of such happenings as I have depicted, could the peace of Waziristan be expected to last? The wonder, to my mind, is not that they rose in revolt, but that they did not do so much earlier.

What the Red Shirt leader had preached was well known to them—"to drive the British out of India." Try, then, and put yourself into the minds of the tribesmen—the tribesmen with their mentality and outlook—and think with what amazement they heard of the Red Shirt leader's brother being called on to form a

Ministry! I am not arguing whether such a policy was right or wrong. All I am saying is: "How *can* the tribesmen be expected to understand?"

And so from "outside" came the poison which again shook their belief in us, and this, in conjunction with "inside" causes, caused them to rise.

"Sandemanizing" Successes

Before, however, I deal with the "inside" causes I should like to ask those who, in spite of the proven success of this policy, are again resuscitating the old time-worn argument that Sandeman's policy is only applicable to the tribes of Baluchistan whether they consider it merely a coincidence that when Jacob quietened the Sind border tribes his success was also put down to certain differences in the characteristics of the tribes. Of course there are differences.

The beauty of Sandeman's policy is that it is completely adaptable to all such differences. Under the name of "Indirect Rule," a policy based, I believe, on much the same principles is succeeding from the Sudan to South Africa. A policy built on these lines has succeeded in Indo-China. Its success in Lyautey's Morocco was even more pronounced. Take, again, the example of the Sherani tribe, who inhabit the Taklet-i-Suleiman range on the borders of Waziristan. This tribe is divided into two—the "Bargha" (Upper) Sheranis, under Baluchistan, and the "Largha" (Lower) Sheranis, under the North-West Frontier Province. Is it argued that Sandeman's policy is effective with one-half of the tribe, but could never succeed with the other half? No, *The Times* was not wrong: "The Pathan can be Sandemanized," but only if Sandeman's principles *and his methods* are carried out.

Again, to those who say that there has been no change in the policy in Waziristan I would answer: "How can a policy of 'Protected Areas' be the same policy when as far back as 1902 my father wrote: 'There is only one true remedy, and that is to do away with all feeble makeshifts, *such as 'Protected Areas'*?" So whatever else a policy of "protected areas" may be, it certainly has nothing in common with the Sandeman system. Indeed, I can

truthfully say that, if there was one thing we stood out against in the period from 1923-1928, it was any pandering to, or recognition of, "protected" as against "unprotected" areas.

After this digression let me turn to the other principles which gradually fell into abeyance or were no longer carried out.

The Headman

The corner-stone of the administration is the district officer—the man to whom the poor man has always looked for justice. Weaken his power, and you are laying an axe at the foundations of law and order. In like manner, the corner-stone of the tribal organization is the "headman." Weaken his power, and you are laying an axe at the foundations of the tribal organization and completely undermining "existing frameworks." "And to do this," said Lyautey, "inevitably leads to anarchy." So when we accuse the headmen, as we have been doing, of inability to control their tribesmen, we should ask ourselves whether we ourselves have not contributed to their loss of power. Remember, too, that this is the "old threadbare excuse which has served to cover most of our political failures in the past."* Is this another coincidence?

I think it would be idle to say that the happenings in India and the granting of a form of self-government to the Frontier Province have not had the effect of weakening the power of both the headmen and district officers. And, if I am right, that is also Sir William Barton's opinion.

But it may be said that when the military entered the Khaisora Valley—the match which lit the fire—they went there in support of the headmen. That may be so, but was that the support the headmen wanted? Or, rather, was it not too late? What the headmen want is moral and material support in carrying out their everyday duties of keeping order. And that only the civil and political authorities can give. That is what the chief meant when he said to Sandeman: "Yes, I have power over my tribe, but *only* if the Sarkar's hand is on my back."

* *The Forward Policy and its Results*, by R. I. Bruce, C.I.E.

Tribal Responsibility

This brings me to another of Sandeman's principles, and also demonstrates his methods of "tribal responsibility." It is a truism to say that the frontier problem is far more an economic than a military one. But do we always act as if we remember this? "I am persuaded," said Lord Lansdowne, "that, under a decent system of frontier administration, recourse to military expeditions ought never to occur." What did he mean? He meant that "under a decent system" both the tribesmen and their leaders would find it profitable to behave themselves. But he meant more than this. He meant that the tribes were so dependent on the "settled" districts that we could force them to behave. Why, then, did we have to have "recourse to an expedition"? Because we did not use that economic pressure? The Torikhels, for instance, were brought to their knees in 1902 by economic pressure from inside the Bannu district without a shot being fired.

If that could be done in 1902, when our troops were *not* in control of Waziristan, when the Torikhels were *not* encircled, surely it is only common sense to say that it should have been far easier to do so now and "recourse to an expedition" should *not* have been necessary? But mark it is in the *districts* that the necessary knowledge can be acquired and adequate economic pressure be exercised. The politics of the hills cannot be separated from the plains. Yet who can deny that we have been encouraging such a separation and that thereby we have been weakening both the means and the machinery at our disposal for exerting such pressure? I venture to assert that, had our knowledge been sufficient to exert that pressure and to enforce "tribal responsibility," such things as did occur could not possibly have happened.

Economic Dependence

Again and again have I been told that such-and-such a tribe is not economically dependent on the "settled" district. And again and again have I proved it false. Swatis of Nindahar and Allai, Mohmands and tribes of Swat, Afridi and Orakzai, Wazir and Mahsud—all of them, despite the most solemn assurances of

"middlemen" to the contrary, I found were dependent, in varying degrees, on the "settled" districts for many of the necessities of life. Again, it is an axiom that no raid occurs in the "settled" districts without assistance from inside. It is because every tribal raiding gang is accompanied by local outlaws that raids so often prove successful. To stop raiding, therefore, you *must* deal with the outlaw menace. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that the man who understands the outlaw problem is well on the way to a solution of the frontier problem. Because if raiding gangs will not operate without outlaws, and if outlaws will not operate without assistance from inside the districts, then do away with such assistance, and raiding must and does cease. In short, if there were no outlaws, there would be few, if any, raids. And if there were no raids, there would be no frontier problem. But for this accurate knowledge is essential, and that knowledge, too, is mostly obtainable in the districts. And the separation which has been encouraged has largely dammed our Intelligence at its source.

How we gained that knowledge and how the outlaws in Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Waziristan were almost wiped out is given in chapter xi. and elsewhere in my little book. I wish I could have told you more about this, but my time is up. So I will conclude by repeating my father's remedy:

> "There is only one true remedy," he said, "and that is to do away with all feeble makeshifts, such as 'Protected Areas,' and by the exercise of a just and civilizing control secure safety of life and the development of the country and its resources. Thus only can we hope to secure the respect of the tribes on both sides of the border and bring them in on our side, a source of strength, instead of an ever-present danger."

Only a policy designed to make these tribesmen into our friends can do this. Such a policy was Sandeman's. And surely, with so great an object in view, we shall succeed *if* we stick to his policy. At any rate, it is worth trying. "An army is conquered by the sword, the people by justice," is a wise saying. We may have conquered the tribal armies of Waziristan, but the far more difficult conquest still lies before us—the conquest of its people.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 16, 1939, when a Paper entitled "The Problem of the Indian Frontier" was read by Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Bruce, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have been asked to preside today, I suppose, because I had once seven years' experience of the defence side of the North-West Frontier question. Colonel Bruce is the lecturer, and I do not suppose there is any family in the world which has had so much experience of the Frontier as he and his father. They were thirty-five years each on the North-West Frontier, his father in Baluchistan and he partly there and partly north of the Gomal. So whatever he says here tonight will be the words of a man who knows thoroughly what he is talking about. (Applause.)

Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. BRUCE then read his paper.

Major-General A. LE GRAND JACOB: I have not very much to say because I heartily agree with every word the lecturer has said. I served a good many years on the North-West Frontier, and especially in Waziristan itself.

When I first went over to Waziristan, a good many years ago now, it was under the Punjab Government. Of course, we had not occupied the country then, but the first thing that struck me was the difference between the system there and that carried out by Sir Robert Sandeman. I often used to talk to the fellows there, and almost invariably was told the same thing, "Of course, the Sandeman system is all right for Baluchis, but it does not work with Pathans at all." Anybody who has been in Baluchistan knows that is rubbish.

If you take a line roughly east and west through Quetta and take the country south of that, it is the larger part of Baluchistan, but that is administered by the Khan of Khalat and his officials, backed up by our political officers, and there are no troops there. The inhabitants are practically all Brahuis and Baluchis. North of this line you have British Baluchistan, and as a matter of fact there is not a Baluch in it; they are all Pathans.

I remember this district being taken over perfectly well. That is about fifty years ago. The Sandeman system has been working there for the last fifty years with complete success. Anyway, the argument about it being only applicable to the Baluchis is rubbish.

The last command I had in India was that of the Waziristan District, and I am glad to say that our lecturer was also the Resident there most of the time when I was there. All I know is that the country was perfectly quiet the whole time, and as well run politically as it could be. He, I know, always worked on the Sandeman system, and quite rightly too.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON: I think the pacification of the North-West Frontier is admitted by everyone here to be one of our outstanding political problems. The Durand Line is our one great Imperial frontier; what a difference it would make if we could feel that the million fighting men between the Indus and that line were going to be on our side if there should be another world war!

We all owe our very sincere acknowledgments to Colonel Bruce for the light he has thrown on the frontier problem this afternoon. The remedy he suggests for the anarchy and chaos that prevail on the frontier is that we should set up some form of indirect rule, some form of tribal government on the analogy of the system introduced so successfully by Sandeman some fifty years ago in Baluchistan.

I am not going to parade the stock arguments that frontier politicals of my time used to put forward against Sandemanizing the North-West Frontier tribes. Sandemanizing them is going to be a difficult problem, but I am on common ground with Colonel Bruce as regards the absolute necessity of setting up some form of tribal authority if there is ever to be peace on the border. You must support the Maliks, and if you had a system of that kind you might have with it some form of policing tribal territory, possibly some means of settling tribal disputes and maintaining law and order.

The lecturer has told us that the problem is very largely economic. I quite agree; and unless you are going to have peace in the borderland there can be no kind of economic development at all. The alternative is complete disarmament and the absorption of the border hinterland in the settled districts. That could only be achieved with the expense of millions of money and thousands of lives, and would leave a legacy of hatred which would take generations to work off. In the present international conditions anything of the kind is absolutely impossible.

The lecturer has told us how necessary it is that the political authorities should have the close co-operation of the district officers in administering the frontier. Curiously enough the introduction of parliamentary government on the frontier has resulted in the setting up of a Congress Government in Peshawar, a Congress Government that owes allegiances to Gandhi and to the Hindu Congress. You can hardly expect co-operation from a body of that kind, pledged to assist the Congress in ousting the British should an opportunity occur. In such conditions it is difficult enough to carry out what I understand to be the present policy of the Government on the frontier, a sort of halfway policy of peaceful penetration. I am quite sure that the frontier Pathan would never submit to being dominated by a Hindu Government at Delhi.

As the lecturer has told us, the first necessity before you can establish any form of tribal government is to throw a network of roads over tribal territory. Already a fine network of roads has been put up over Waziristan, and three or four years ago the Afridi Maliks agreed to allow a road to be built from the Khyber to Kohat. Had that road been built it would have been the thin end of the wedge in the pacification of one of the most stormy countries on the frontier.

What happened? It did not suit the Congress that such a policy should be carried out. It would have meant an increase of British prestige and the strengthening of our hold on the frontier. Congress agents were sent across the border. They intrigued with the Kashars, or younger tribesmen; the result was a rising against the Maliks, working parties were interfered with and the work had to be stopped. That is the kind of thing we are up against on the frontier today.

The lecturer has kindly referred to my book. I would like to suggest to you all that you should read his book, which is a most excellent discussion of the question. In my book I ventured to suggest that friendship with Afghanistan should be the keystone of our frontier policy. The Afghans are up against the same problem on their side of the Durand Line as we on ours. Their goodwill and sympathy would be a very great help to the British.

Those who hold the destinies of Afghanistan in their hands have the very laudable ambition of placing their country in the first rank of civilized nations. We can do a great deal to help them achieve their object; our moral and material support would be of very great importance to them. I believe that our relations with Afghanistan have never been more friendly than they are today.

That being so, it is rather surprising to hear that there are 150 German engineers carrying out hydro-electric schemes and other industrial enterprises in Afghanistan. I very much doubt whether you would find a single British engineer in the whole country. Surely we could do something more to promote the march of progress in Afghanistan. The frontier problem will never be fully settled until civilizing influences moving up slowly but surely from both sides of the Durand Line meet in that intractable hinterland of which we have been talking this afternoon.

So long as the frontier attracts some of the best men from England, so long as India sends some of her best men to work with them, and the frontier gives some of its best, we may hope at least to hold the frontier, even if pacification is long delayed.

Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I.: I wish the lecturer had given more time and space in his paper to the discussion of the economic problem. I read his book on Waziristan very carefully recently, and I found the Sandemanization policy described as relying on peaceful penetration and development of the country and its resources for the benefit of the masses.

He went on to say that roads were a means and not an end, and that the tribesmen very often regarded these roads as a means of "encirclement," as the Germans call it, for depriving them of their liberty and independence, and naturally therefore were very apt to regard the construction of these roads with great hostility.

For ten years we were told that Sandemanization was a great success in Waziristan. It would be interesting to know exactly what was done in those ten years for the development of the resources of the country and for enabling the tribesmen to live without relying upon illicit imports. We were told recently by Hitler that the German nation was in the position

that they must either "export or die." We know from the best authorities that the tribesmen are in the converse position; they must either import or die. They can only import if their country is sufficiently developed for them to give something in exchange for their imports.

What is the present position? If the Field-Marshal will permit me, I will quote some words of his in reviewing, in the *Journal* of the Royal Central Asian Society, Colonel Bruce's book: "In spite of all we could do and in spite of all the money the tribes have received from us they have still been unable to support themselves. It is now quite impossible and always has been for the tribesmen to scrape a living out of their barren mountains."

Is it surprising then that both the policies which are in apparent conflict today, the Sandemanization policy, which is the policy of securing peace by consent and willing co-operation, and the other policy, the close border policy, the forward policy, or whatever other name you may give to it, of securing peace by armed force, that both have failed? We are told that both have failed. It is admitted.

There should be economic co-operation on both sides. From the Afghan side cordial co-operation with the Afghan Government, and from the Indian side an effort so to develop the country and enable the tribesmen to earn an honest living that they could be weaned from their habits of marauding. In fact both those policies, it seems to me, aim at setting up a framework, the necessary framework of peace and security which is essential for the tribesmen to live a decent life and support themselves in what according to our standards is an honourable way.

But although this framework is set up by both those policies, no attempt is made to paint the picture inside the framework, the picture of a contented and developed country, with economic co-operation on our side to enable the tribesmen to earn their living, with a considerable constructive effort in social and educational services for helping out the miserable resources of that barren country.

When the outsider asks or tries to find out what has been done in these respects he finds in the Frontier Reports such things as: "There is much demand for new schools, but no money to provide them" (Report of 1931). We read of a hospital in Miran Shah, a great centre in the Tochi valley with tribal country all round it, that there are sixteen beds and forty or fifty patients lying about in stables, sheds and rooms with no doors and windows.

In the 1935-6 Report we read: "All Agency schools were overcrowded; so overcrowded that it has been necessary to stop admission of boys under the age of seven and to get rid of as many as possible of the older boys and absorb them, not in constructive work, but in Government employ."

We are told that there is no educational provision for vocational training, so that the only resource for these people is Government employ, and the time-honoured moral is drawn that education is a bad thing on the frontier because it produces a literary training which results in political discontent.

After many generations of British control of that region, it does seem rather discouraging that the conditions which I have tried to describe, and the conditions which are, I believe, generally admitted by those best able to

judge, should still continue. One is tempted to ask whether different results might have been attained if that country had been under the control of a Mussolini, whose active and constructive development policies have made such wonderful transformations even in countries like Libya.

Leaving that aside, the question may well be asked whether things might not be better if the Pathans who are Ministers in the North-West Frontier Province—I refer to Dr. Khan and his brother Abdul Ghaffar Khan—were allowed to try their hand at this problem which has been found to be insoluble. I am told that there are many soldiers on the frontier who, if they are questioned, say this problem is insoluble. So it is as a military problem. It is an economic and a sociological problem.

To conclude, perhaps many in this audience do not know that the North-West Frontier Province Government, though a Congress Government, is not a Hindu Government. It is a Pathan Government, a Muhammadan Government, and there are men closely connected with it who are saying that "if we were allowed to go and talk to these tribesmen—we of the same race, religion, culture—we would not find it difficult to establish relations of confidence which would perhaps produce a solution."

Major-General H. W. Newcome: I did not go to India until I was getting on in years. In 1922 or 1923 I went to visit Colonel Bruce. I went up there armed with revolvers and so on. The next time I went up was in 1927, and it was like going along Piccadilly. The whole of the road was swarming with motor-cars. It was an eye-opener to me that in four years so much had been done to pacify the country by a policy which I understand was Colonel Bruce's.

The Chairman: I think the lecturer has perhaps been a little bit hard on the people who have had to do with that great North-West Frontier, both civilians and soldiers; because it struck me in the seven years I was last in India that it was not so much the fault of the people who were dealing with the problem up there: the fault lay in one word, "uncertainty." We never knew what the next Government at home was going to do or the next Viceroy who came out. One Viceroy comes out from a Government who cry "Forward." The next comes out from a Government who cry "Back to the Indus," and other people came out perhaps who allowed a great deal too much freedom to go on among people who ought to have been kept in order, like those Red Shirts. There was no long-term policy at all, and nobody knew the whole time—I spent eighteen years altogether there—what the frontier policy really was. It altered with every different person who came out and with change of Government at home.

Most of you here know a great deal about India, and you will agree that the ignorance of the average Government in England about the North-West Frontier is colossal. I was sent home by General Birdwood to try and plead with the Government of the day, which was then a Labour Government, to allow us to take very firm action indeed with regard to these Afridi gentlemen who had twice come right down into Peshawar and pulled our beards inside our own barbed wire.

I had to attend an Imperial Defence Conference, a meeting at which there were a considerable number of Labour members of the Cabinet. One gentleman said, "You soldiers are always talking about firm action. We call firm action brutality." I ventured to say, "If the Picts and Scots came to life again and attacked Northumberland, would you call it brutality if we gave them a bloody nose for doing it?" You will not believe it, but they kept on talking about Imperial aggression, and I found that some of the Cabinet of the day did not know the difference between the administrative border and the Durand Line; they did not know of the existence of that No Man's Land which belongs to the King-Emperor but which we have never really administered. They thought we were planning to go over our own frontier, to conduct "Imperial aggression" against rather innocent gentlemen who happened to live in the hills there.

I think that is one reason why it has been very difficult, because we have never known what the policy was from day to day, and the ignorance at home, as I say, is simply extraordinary.

One speaker said that that frontier is of very great importance to us strategically. I cannot say how important it is. Until the other day India had the only land frontier of the whole British Empire on which we could be forced to fight unless we chose to. We are a sea power and we had no other land frontier except Canada, which naturally we do not count. The frontier of India is 2,500 miles long, but that 600 miles from Chitral to Chaman is of vital importance, absolutely vital. When I first went out to India there was only one railway from Russia, and that came across the Caspian to Kush Post and everything had to be transhipped. Now the Russians have ringed in Afghanistan with railways. There is a railway right round the frontier and all along the Oxus, and a railway from Termes goes to Tashkent and from there one branch goes to Moscow and another into Siberia. Another railway goes from Termes all along the frontier of Chinese Turkestan, where they can raise corn in a year's time sufficient to supply any sized army they liked that happened to be attacking India, instead of having to bring it all the way from Russia by the Caspian Railway. Now, of course, our land frontier since the conquest of Abyssinia has been lengthened by no less than 2,000 miles—500 in Kenya, 500 in British Somaliland and 1,000 in the Sudan.

I would like to say how much I agree with Mr. Pratt. I have asked the same question as he asked today a hundred times, and my friend here, Sir Frank Noyce, who sat on the Viceroy's Council with me for four years, knows how often we said that it is no use conquering these people and keeping them down, building roads and showing them—as we always did try to show them—that we were prepared to keep order if we were allowed to, unless after all they can make a living out of their hills. All I ever heard of the whole time I was there was that in the Afridi country they were finding marble, and when you went through Baluchistan you saw a few poor little fruit trees planted here and there.

I am sorry to say I was responsible for doing away with one of their sources of livelihood, which was supplying the troops with firewood. I found it was impossible to carry wood on service and still more impossible if we

had to go to Afghanistan, and I started the oil stove with which every unit now is supplied.

I should be very much obliged if the lecturer—and nobody knows more about it—would answer me as well as Mr. Pratt as to what he really thinks you can do in that country. It is nothing but barren, rocky hills with a few small streams in the valleys, and it would take enormous sums of money to construct dams and make sufficient irrigation to enable them to live on their own land.

I will not go on any longer. I only wanted to say that some of the difficulties were a little greater than the lecturer would have given you to understand.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Bruce: I am very glad the Field-Marshal raised that important point of the importance of sticking to a policy. There is nothing more important, as he says, than having a policy and sticking to it. In fact, there is nothing which the tribal chiefs and greybeards were more insistent about themselves. "If you have a good policy, then why don't you stick to it?" they would say. "We should then, at any rate, know where we were."

The main object of Sandeman's policy was "the welfare of the people." But to deal with so vast a subject as the development of a country and its resources in half an hour compels one to be very didactic. So perhaps the best and shortest answer to both the Field-Marshal and Mr. Pratt on the subject of what has been done and what can be done for the welfare of the tribes was that given by me to Mr. Sirinivasa Ayangar when he and other political leaders visited us in Waziristan. He was at that time, I think, President of the Congress, and we were driving towards the Gomal when he asked me this same question. I pointed out many schemes which were being worked out for their welfare and which it was hoped might be carried out in the future, but that as regards irrigation works, the country being largely one of barren rocks, no great increase in the cultivable area could be looked for. That, however, did not mean that nothing could be done. On the contrary, according to reports of various irrigation officers, who had inspected the country, a fairly large increase in cultivation could be made in the Wana plain. There were also possibilities in several places like the Spiu, Staidari Kach, Sheratalla and Girdao plains, as well as in certain "kachis" along the borders of some of the mountain streams. These "kachis" are lands, varying much in area, thrown up by the silt washed down by mountain streams. These "kach" lands are valuable, but in many cases require an enormous amount of labour both to irrigate them and to keep them from being washed away in the floods.

I explained other schemes which were being worked out for the betterment of the tribes. To which he eventually answered, "I am very glad to hear that this is being done. But why wasn't it done before?"

"There is nothing new about most of these schemes," I replied. "All that is required is the money to carry them out. You must also remember that unless you control the country you cannot develop it nor can you carry out any such schemes. For instance, had you been an irrigation officer

yourself, and been sent to report on such schemes while our control was inadequate, you would have been lucky had you come back alive. As it is, during the last year or so several experts have visited the country entirely under tribal escort."

No country can possibly be developed until proper control has been established. Control the country, establish law and order and then the necessary developments will follow, provided, of course, money is forthcoming.

Take the question of "recruiting." Once we can establish effective control of the country, no finer recruiting-ground (for the Indian Army) could be imagined. That indeed was the answer given to me by one of the most distinguished generals in India at that time. "Once you can prove that you have control of the country and the tribesmen, we *must* recruit them." The tribesmen are fine, virile men and would make magnificent soldiers.

After many delays sanction to the recruitment of about 40 to 50 Mahsuds in the M.T. was given. Very naturally, to start with, the two commanding officers were much against this. Yet only a few months later these same officers could not speak too highly about them, and stated they would only be too glad to take more. Indeed, one of their main difficulties with them was that they were so keen that it was difficult to stop them overworking (sic)!

As regards hospitals, we were doing our best to increase the medical facilities for the tribesmen. At first none of the tribal women would go near them, but gradually this prejudice was dying away, and I remember well Miss Sherbourne, a very well-known missionary lady doctor, asking whether it would be possible for her to visit Kanigurani, in the centre of the Mahsud country. I promised her I would do my best. Indeed, the headmen went so far as to say that not only were they ready that she should do so, but were quite willing to give her a hut in which she could work. Moreover, they naïvely remarked that she need not bring either instruments or drugs, as they could hand over to her those which they had stolen from us in 1919! Remember, however, that you cannot make bricks without straw. We did what we could with the money provided.

As regards education. I remember the mission schoolmaster remarking that certain wild Mahsud boys, who had been sent to his school, had far more brains and were quicker to learn than many of the Hindu boys.

I can assure Mr. Pratt that the aim and object of Sandeman's policy (as I think it was of ours from 1923-28) was the development of the country and its resources. But for this money is necessary. Indeed, that was one of the last things I said, jokingly, to Mr. Sirinivasa Ayangar, "Now that you have seen what we are trying to do, will you help us, in Delhi, in getting the necessary money?"

Lord LAMINGTON: Before we separate we must express our thanks to Colonel Bruce for his very concise lecture. He has a vast knowledge of India, and he has told us very much about that vexed problem of the Indian frontier.

Also we are grateful to have with us in the Chair such a distinguished soldier as Sir Philip Chetwode, with his knowledge of the administration of

India and how this problem presented itself to him when he was there. He has given us his views very concisely, and they are most valuable. It is particularly good of Sir Philip to come, because he has only just got back from being mixed up with the tangled affairs of the Spanish frontier.

I beg that you will show your appreciation of these two gentlemen by acclamation. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., writes: I had the honour of working with Sandeman for a short time. When in December, 1876, he brought the Khan of Khalat down to Lahore on his way to the Kaisari Durbar at Delhi, I was at the railway station, and from an incident which then occurred I found that Sandeman, even if he was *suaviter in modo*, was *fortiter in re*. That in my experience is the only way of managing a frontiersman—Pathan or Baluch or even Punjabi.

Sandeman's method after all was only the Punjab method of dealing with the Baluchis in and near Dera Ghazi Khan, where I was sent in 1878 to assist in the movement of troops, and found myself for a time the only European officer there, with the cantonment flooded out and two or three officers' wives marooned in Sandeman's house, which was on a high plinth. I remember signing one paper in six different capacities! I was the cook and the captain, too, and the crew of the *Nancy Brig*. I very nearly spent my service in the Derajat.

When I was recalled to Lahore, where I was wanted in connection with the Lahore Gymkhana, which I had started, Sandeman wrote saying that he wished to keep me as I seemed a promising frontier officer, but it was not to be and I went to Lahore.

In 1880 I accompanied the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton, as private secretary from Rajanpur in the south to Bannu. He had a good seat on a camel, and I was the only member of the staff who could manage one, so we covered the whole length of the Derajat frontier on camels, 40 miles a day. Once I was left in the desert alone to decipher an urgent telegram from Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, and it took me hours in a long stern chase to catch up my chief.

Later, as Lieutenant-Governor in 1909, when Dera Ghazi was carried away by the Indus, it fell to my lot to have to rebuild it. After one last attempt to divert the river by a cut above the town which nearly succeeded, with my experience of the 1878 flood I refused to allow the town to be rebuilt in the green tree-bearing belt near the river, and I was in rather bad odour. However, I stuck to my point and the town was rebuilt on the edge of the higher ground to the west of a big canal. It was just as well, for if it had been rebuilt in the jalpa or low ground, as the local officers wanted, it would have been carried away by a 15-ft. flood which swept over the site in the following year. Such was the malicious humour of the river that it then swept down the diversion cut and made a new main channel miles away from the old delta.

As settlement officer of Peshawar, 1902-06, and Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government when the Lieutenant-Governor was still in charge of the frontier from 1896 to 1899, and as Foreign Secretary from 1902 to 1908,

I had a great deal to do with the whole frontier. As settlement officer I let it be known that I would have no guard on my camp and would be the guest of the khans, but that if anything happened to me or mine my successor would see to it that they lost their frontier allowances and that their land revenue for the next thirty years would be full and even grievous. I travelled unarmed, with only a loaded hunting crop, and with my wife and two little girls, all along the border, and for the first time mapped and demarcated the Peshawar border right up to Ambela, incorporating lands hitherto omitted as too dangerous to map. Our proceedings were watched by hundreds of transborder men fully armed, but unable to write. Ordinarily the settlement maps have to be signed by the headmen of both adjoining villages. On these frontier maps I explained the absence of the signatures of the transfrontier khans, but certified personally that they had watched the proceedings carefully throughout. I only once had a mare stolen by the Utman Khel over the north-west border above Abazai. I followed her up into their territory and found that one of the villages was having quite a pretty fight with two others. We watched the skirmishing for some time and several men were carried away. The fighting line came nearer, and the khan who was with me said we had better go or some fool may make a mistake, so we went. Two days afterwards my mare was returned with apologies, so I camped with my family unguarded and met with nothing but goodwill and friendly hospitality—rather onerous at times as one had to eat half a dozen hard-boiled eggs cracked by your host straight off the reel, not to speak of limbs of chicken torn off or mutton cut off with a dagger, but, as I said after a gargantuan dinner in Kabul on the signing of the Treaty of March 21, 1905, they also serve who sit and eat. Of recent years I read with positive horror and disgust of Peshawar surrounded by a barbed wire fence and no one able to move about the district without an armed escort, often of large proportions.

Such faith had the people in our settlement work that I was more than once asked by transfrontier men to let my assistant R. B. Mir Mohan Nath Kaul, a Brahmin, go up and settle a dispute for them, and he generally succeeded.

Such were the old methods on the frontier, and whether it was Sandeman or my great friend Sir Harold Deane or my poor self, the secret of our success was that we put it through by personal influence to the border khans and Maliks that we meant well to them and that we were prepared to support them in every way we could and to treat them like gentlemen and men of honour. But woe betide them if they went back on us, as we had the great Sarkar behind us who would see that the evildoer was duly punished.

So far therefore you will have judged that I share in the main the opinions expressed by the lecturer, Colonel Bruce. There can be but little doubt that the policy of appeasement or conciliation, followed since 1917, up to date has failed signally wherever the British Government has tried to carry it out, and nowhere has its failure been worse than on the frontier. Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the leader of the Red Shirts, is, I think, a khan of Umarzai in Hashtnaggar. They are particularly difficult people and raised great trouble for Colonel Hastings, who made the first regular settlement

in 1876. When I started in 1892 the same people tried without success to get up a petition to the Secretary of State calling for my immediate dismissal as my assessments were unjust and excessive.

My settlement ran for 40 years, though it was so lenient that its period was fixed for 20 years, but I got a large increase in revenue owing to the Lower Swat canal and more equal adjustments. When at last it was decided to revise it in about 1930, I understand that the people begged that it should stand and said that, if I had assessed them highly, it was a fair assessment, and the canals and bridges which I had made on the borderline and elsewhere had been of great help and showed that I had a good disposition. When the revision was ordered, Umarzai at once got up an agitation against the settlement officer, and Abdul Ghaffar, who is a clever man, had heard of our truckling to the Congress and our fear of Russian interference in India and so put his men into red shirts with the hammer and sickle and affiliated himself to the Congress.

All this, of course, as Colonel Bruce explains, completely disorganized good government on the frontier and rendered the control of the frontier tribes impossible. As Mr. Theodore Roosevelt said about our proceedings in Egypt after 1917, you must govern or get out, and the same is true on the frontier. On one point, however, I must rather differ with Colonel Bruce. There is a great and vital difference between the Baluchis and the Pathans. The former are incoherent tribes each with an hereditary tribal chief or Sirdar, who has great authority, so it is much easier to work them. It also happened that between Baluchistan and Afghanistan there was a rather indeterminate trail up the Zhob to Quetta, where the Pathans and the Baluchis were rather mixed. Sandeman was able to work down this to the Gomal, and so get behind the rather turbulent Marris who might have given trouble, and he had the valuable support of the loyal Dera Ghazi Khan Bugtis to deal with their transborder brethren. On the Pathan border south of Swat there are no great tribal chiefs, and the tribes are little parliamentary democratic republics run by pagalis, in which one man is as good as another, if not better—and so with all the administrative defects of our British system exaggerated! The mishars, or greybeards, usually have most influence, but the kishars often refuse to follow their advice and then trouble occurs. The political officer, who in all cases is supposed to control the tribesmen through their leaders, has not such good agents for the exercise of his influence over the Baluch chiefs. The Mohmands have or used to have a head tribal chief at Lalpura, though he has not had much control over them, and in 1880 I assisted Sir Robert Egerton at the dastar boradi, or investiture, of the new chief at Lalpura in a durbar in a sandstorm at Dakka. At this time all the Mohmands were for a short time under the Punjab Government. Then the Liberal Government came in, and as usual upset all the previous arrangements, whether good or bad, and there has been confusion up to the present. The Mohmand border has never been demarcated, and the line on the maps of Sir M. Durand's arrangement cuts some of the sections in two. The Tarakzai and Halimzai sections on our border used to give trouble, but I made two small canals which irrigated their lands in Peshawar and they have behaved well since.

Three times since 1897, when as Chief Secretary to Government I had the honour of reading the Lieutenant-Governor's speech to the British or assured tribes at Shabkadar to secure their condition, the other Mohmand non-assured clans have come down and burnt and looted Shabkadar, the little town lying under the old Sikh fort of Shankargarh. In 1899 they appealed to the Afridis to help them and the Faith. The Afridis did not want to move and hung about for a week. I implored the Lieutenant-Governor to support Major Barton and the Khaiber Rifles at Lundi Kotal, and assured him that Afridis only wanted an excuse to keep out. He was constitutional and said he must await the opinion of the Commander of Peshawar. He was a charming man and a great Pushtu scholar, but he laboured under an incapacity to make up his mind, which I knew from Peshawar days. At last the Afridis rushed Lundi Kotal, and this led to the expensive and inconclusive Tirah operations of 1897-98, when the mistake was committed of employing so large a force that it could not manœuvre in the difficult country—an attempt to crush a nut or rather a very agile flea with a steam-hammer. In 1908 Lord Morley was at last induced to authorize a punitive expedition to the Zakha Khel Afridi country, which is known as the weekend raid from the fact that the dates for it were fixed in London over a weekend. It went off all right because the commander wisely found that he could not get his transport together and stayed a day longer, and so gave the Zakha Khel a warm reception when they came back in accordance with plan to occupy their villages. I was in London at the time, and Lord Morley was triumphant over the success of his plan. Rather impudently I said, "Well, you may yet have trouble with the Mohmands," and was told that I was an alarmist. Two days later I was called to London and found a very angry Secretary of State, who said, "Well, I suppose you know what has happened." I said, "No." "Oh, but you must," he said, "as you told me we should have trouble with the Mohmands; and they have now come down and burnt Shabkadar." I assured him I had been in my home and had no communication with India. But he said, "Why did you say that there would be trouble with the Mohmands?" And I explained what happened in 1897, and that I felt that this time the Afridis would call on the Mohmands for help in return. On the frontier there is no regular rule for administration, but, if a thing of this sort has happened once, you must be prepared for its recurrence owing to the Pathan's code of honour. At last he was pacified, but I might have lost my office as Lieutenant-Governor. I then begged him, as the Mohmands had made this absolutely unprovoked attack and a brigade or two must be sent up to the frontier, to call on the Amir to complete the demarcation of the Mohmand border. Whenever he was asked before to do this and to escort our commissioners up, he always replied, "Oh yes, but as you say the Mohmands are yours, you must send your commissioners direct, and that could not be done without an expedition." Abdul Rahman always thought that he had not been fairly treated over the Mohmands, whom he claimed. Lord Morley thought deeply, and at last burst out, "Yes. Logically you are right, but I cannot sanction such an expedition, as it would be contrary to the principles of my lifetime." It was a pity,

and the Mohmand question remains and in the general unrest the frontier must get worse.

I do not know so much about the Wazirs, but they are more republican than the other tribes, and their Maliks have less influence with them. As long, too, as they could remove their families and herds through Birmal into Afghanistan no real pressure could be brought to bear on them in support of the Maliks. To get rid of the outlaw nuisance, which, as Colonel Bruce points out, is the cause of many raids on British territory, I had succeeded in having the Dalwathi nests of outlaws near Bannu cleared out and in securing the construction of a lateral road from Idali in the Tochi to Thal to cut off their retreat westwards. These arrangements worked well. I strongly advocated a similar scheme for dealing with the Wazirs by a lateral road from the Tochi through Razmak, a high, healthy no-man's-land, with a cantonment there to let British troops learn what frontier warfare was, and by the Dre Nakhtar Narai to Wano. This, Sir Henry Dodds told me, has at last been made, but not until after tedious and expensive so-called blockades and expeditions. My policy here, as in Zakha Khel, was on the lines of Sandeman's; getting behind the Marris and Bugtis. I did not contemplate the expensive roads right through the heart of Waziristan which have since been made. Such roads are useful while under construction as the tribesmen are well paid, but afterwards they involve direct interference with the whole life of the tribes and involve great expense and trouble on their protection and maintenance.

Finally, I should like to point out that the Punjab system, except for some time under Lord Lawrence after the Punjab became British, was not a close border one. As circumstances compelled us we tried to influence and control the tribes to abstain from giving trouble by letting them have land in India and appointing khasadars and other tribal guards. Then the old Frontier Force of some 11,000 men was under the Punjab Government and could be employed when a punitive raid became absolutely necessary. Things did not really work badly, but in 1885 Lord Roberts, as Commander-in-Chief, who had been in command of the Frontier Force, insisted on this being brought under the Commander-in-Chief and that it could not be utilized without a reference to the Government of India. The Punjab Government then had to build up another frontier force out of Khaiber Rifles, Kurram Militia, North and South Waziristan Militia and other bodies—about 11,000 strong in all. Again we got along fairly well, but Lord Curzon came out determined to take over the management of the frontier and to make out a case against the Punjab Government for incompetence, as shown by constant expeditions. He had to start with his expensive and most unpopular Waziristan blockade lasting over two years, but it was not officially an expedition! By that time responsibility had been completely divorced from authority. The Punjab Government were responsible, but could not move a chuprasi without a reference to the Government of India. I was going on leave as my eye-sight had suffered from severe overwork. I told the Lieutenant-Governor that it was impossible to carry on as we were doing, and that he should ask the Government of India to restore authority to him for dealing with petty border raids as long as

we could deal with them with our own levies and militia, or if they would not do this they should later over the frontier, otherwise I was sure that Lord Curzon would force a change in administration in a manner very painful to the Punjab Government. The Lieutenant-Governor saw the Viceroy, who assured him that there was no idea of taking away the frontier from the Punjab, so he decided to do nothing. I left my opinion on record and was right. Lord Curzon arrived and proceeded forthwith to work up his case for the transfer of the frontier. Has the change been a success? I am not sure, but I think there have been quite as many border expeditions, and they are now much more troublesome and expensive than ever before. But after all, as Pathans have said to me, "We have no land. How are we to live unless we raid, and in the consequent expeditions we generally make money and get arms and munitions." It is a terribly difficult problem. A possible solution may be found in copying the example of Rome, though that after some centuries ended disastrously. Apparently European troops are not desired in India, and the British garrison has been disastrously reduced from over 60,000 to 40,000, and recently four more units have apparently been ordered to leave India. You cannot effectively replace these by additional recruitment in India without giving rise to further communal trouble. Perhaps the want might be met by recruiting freely on special terms of short service, good pay and leave from the excellent material in the transborder tribes, who are, of course, Asiatics and as much Indian as many of the peoples in India. I believe this would be very popular with them. They would make their money in India and spend it in the hills at their homes and so raise the standard of living and comfort there. We are doing something of the sort with the Gurkhas of Nepal. Thanks to the very cordial relations which were established with that great statesman the Maharaja Chandra Shamshere Jung, when he came down as a guest to the Delhi Durbar in 1901 and explained his difficulties about Russian intrigue in Tibet and gave his support to the Tibet mission, we have ever since been able to rely on Nepal for ready help in time of trouble. In the Great War, when Northern India was denuded of troops, he sent down many thousands of his own troops for garrison in addition to allowing the recruitment of thousands of others for our Gurkha regiments. The support of Nepal, which flanks our main lines of communications from east to west in India, is worth more than 100,000 men. Without it we could not have sent any troops from India to France. Therefore, if we must abstain from sending British troops to India, let us freely employ these non-communal forces which lie so conveniently at hand and would countervail each other—viz., Gurkhas from friendly Nepal and border and transborder Pathans. It is not perhaps an ideal solution, but it would work, and it might have a very powerful and sedative influence on the anti-British Empire elements who are giving so much trouble at present in India, and at the same time solve the problem of peace and prosperity on the frontier. Some of the Pathans might be settled on the millions of acres of land to be irrigated by the Haveli canal just opened and the Bhakhra and Sind Sagar projects now under consideration, and this would assure the position; but they dearly love their rocky, barren mountain homes.

CHINESE WOMEN AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS*

By Miss P. S. Tseng
(The author was the first Chinese woman graduate of London University)

Although I am addressing the China Society and the friends of China, there is also another bond between us. I belong to a family which for four generations, from the time when my great-grandfather, Tseng Quo-fan, fought with General Gordon in the Taiping Rebellion, has been much in contact with this country.

I belong to the transitional period in China. At first my education was entirely traditional. At the age of four and a half years I was placed under a tutor, where I continued until I was fourteen or fifteen. Then at the revolution I was caught up in the new times, my education was continued in the modern way and finally I came to England. In this talk I want to bring out how in one generation the Chinese woman has jumped from mediæval to modern life. The war has not been without its influence in this respect.

Changes through the war have been of great magnitude. Nearly 14 provinces have been involved and almost 60 million people have been driven out of their homes, lost their property, and have become refugees on the road. This is a gigantic number. It is larger than the population of Great Britain and Ireland. The help given to the Chinese refugees by the friends of China in this country is much appreciated, but in view of the numbers relief is difficult. Although millions of people have suffered through loss of property, life, physical hardship, etc., I think in one way the war is a blessing in disguise. It has helped to unify China in a way that nothing else could have done. In 1911, after the revolution, although the North and South were more or less united, there were three political parties. The Nationalists occupied most of China, the Communists were at first in Hunan and finally in North-West China, and the Kwangsi party is a moderate left with an inclination towards National Socialism. In the South-West there have been several skirmishes, and the country could not have united so quickly but for the present war. Even the Communists support Chiang Kai-shek and the Kwangsi Generals are fully behind him.

* Lecture delivered before the China Society at the China Institute on April 26, 1939. Sir Denison Ross presided.

The other great thing brought about by the war has been the emancipation of women, whose war work may be divided into four different categories: (1) Work organized by the Government, (2) by other organizations, (3) National Training Camps, and (4) the work of the Christian organizations.

In May of last year Madame Chiang Kai-shek called a meeting at Kuling of women leaders from among the people of free China. Those from Peking, Shanghai, and Nanking were not invited, for had they attended they might not have been able to return to the occupied areas. About 60 to 70 people were invited and 57 came. During the week of the conference not only women's work during the war but also the reconstruction work of the future was discussed. All over free China the Government has started centres for the training of first-aid and ambulance workers and also gives instruction in home nursing. There are generally from 40 to 50 people in one class, and after about six weeks' instruction from doctors and nurses they are sent to temporary hospitals, refugee camps, and the front. I am glad to say that old ladies of 60 to 70 work with schoolgirls and take the same examination at the end of their course.

The Government is also training a second type of worker for "literature" work. This is based on James Yen's Thousand Word Movement which started in North China many years ago. A thousand words suffices for the farmer and peasant, and easy books are being written containing these words, both for the teaching of the country people and the refugees. Wounded soldiers, too, are being instructed by the workers in this field, as also are their wives and mothers.

At one time the industries of China were concentrated in the large seaports such as Shanghai and Tientsin, but since the war it has been the policy of the Government to encourage the setting up of smaller factories scattered throughout the country. Mrs. Yu Chin-tan, a well-known worker in the field of Rural Economics and Finance, and who is also interested in silks and textiles, was asked by Madame Chiang Kai-shek to start textile industries in the interior of China. I hear that there are now between 60 and 70 such centres in South China, in Yunnan. As there were many skilled workers amongst the refugees these were available, and the farmers, too, were given instruction in this new work.

In the North-West, especially, women have taken over the cultivation of the land and released their husbands, who have become guerillas. At the Kuling Conference this was the fourth type of women's work discussed, and we tried to think out ways of teaching these women to use modern methods. In the South, in Kwangsi, where there has been conscription and all men at the age of 18 have had to join up in a kind of territorial force to pro-

tect their district, the women have worked on the land. But the bulk of the women of China are not fitted for field work, although if the war drags on for 10 years or so women will have to do the work on the land.

In co-operation with the New Life Movement, Madame Chiang Kai-shek has started a society for the relief of children orphaned by the war, and we are trying to affiliate all women's work to this movement. Volunteers who often take from 10 to 20 children, and societies who may take up to 100 orphans, are allowed 5 dollars a month for each child, which at the present rate is not more than 3 shillings. In this the Roman Catholic is working hand-in-hand with the Protestant Church.

Independently of the Government, women's organizations and societies in each province have worked since the early days of the war doing propaganda and literary work. The members speak to the country folks, write letters for them, help with the wounded and start canteens. Visiting the wounded in hospitals is not like visiting in the Great War in Europe, which I myself have seen. In China our canteens are not really places where soldiers can amuse themselves. They are generally little sheds, made of bamboo poles with matting as walls and roofs, near a railway station or wharf. Often the wounded have travelled for 12 days on a train without having their wounds dressed. The trains cannot travel during the daytime as they are constantly being bombed from the air. During the day only the very badly wounded cases remain on the train and if they are bombarded that is the end.

We were never sure when a train would come in. Sometimes it did not come until the next night, and it was often unpleasant waiting on a cold night, especially when it was snowing or raining. Once when I was in a station it was raided. There was no time to seek shelter, and a heap of coal seemed the safest place. When the bomb dropped we fell flat on our faces in the coal heap, but somehow they missed the station. Either the wharf or the railway station is among the objectives of the Japanese.

Visiting the wounded soldiers is not taking flowers to them. We write their letters and help in every way possible. The wounded come in thousands, and medicines and the usual hospital facilities are often lacking. Last year nine million soldiers were wounded, and I believe there were not enough anæsthetics for operations. We thank you for your help, and also the Indian Government, which sent out two units.

The third type of women's work is that carried on by the National Training Camps in the different provinces. Students in the fifth and sixth years (16 to 18 years of age) from the Senior Middle Schools and the first and second year university students

were called to these camps, which lasted for about three months. There they received military instruction, training in red-cross work, first-aid, ambulance, and methods of teaching. After their course was finished they were given books and sent to start schools for adults in Central China, before returning to their own schools. As a schoolmistress I found it most disturbing. On their return they had forgotten most of their work, but education is not confined to the schools. They had seen life at first hand, which is something which no school can give. That was in the early days of the training camps. When war came the time of the provincial training camp was shortened from three months to six weeks. In Hunan, where I was working in the first training camp, there were 1,400 boys and 400 girls, separated by quite a low wall. Each morning the girls had to do exactly the same physical drill as the boys. They had rifles and marched up and down. In the afternoon they had first-aid and red-cross classes and methods of teaching. After six weeks they were sent off in batches of fives or tens under an officer. The batches of five were made up of boys, while those of ten consisted of five boys and five girls. They were given travelling facilities, food and lodgings, but no pay, and were sent to the remote parts, near the lines where the Japanese were likely to come, to teach the peasants. They were supposed to be there two to three months and then report to headquarters.

General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek thought that we ought to have a higher training camp, and because of my experience in the provincial training camps I was called upon to help. I went to the National Camp and appealed to General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek that the girls should be trained differently. We had 400 girls at the beginning of a camp and only 150 left physically fit at the end. I asked them to have a slightly different programme for the girls, but they could not see how to separate the two camps. I think it is a good idea to have the two together. All were very good and behaved magnificently. Young people are very conservative and react badly to restrictions, but if you leave them to themselves it is different. I have not heard of one bad report from the country where they were sent. The girls wore men's uniform and were undistinguishable from the boys until they walked or talked. Unfortunately I was not able to continue at the camp. Hankow fell in November and finally the camp was moved to Hunan, near the sacred mountain of H'engshan, but unfortunately it was bombed and several were killed. At that time, too, my school was bombed, and I was very nearly killed. I asked to be relieved as I was to go to the Madras Conference, so I did not follow the camp into the Far West.

The fourth movement is that of the Christian organizations,

which started independently of the Government in the very early days of the war. The women of the Church, the Y.W.C.A., girls' schools, etc., began making garments for the soldiers. They did not go to the front, but did ambulance work after air raids. The ambulance units, which consisted of two stretcher-bearers and a red-cross worker, did very gallant work and came out before the "all-clear" was sounded. From experience they found that if they waited until the raid was over people would crowd back to claim their property and try to salvage what they could, and thus hampered the work of the rescue parties. So immediately the drone of the engine had passed overhead they began trying to find the injured. I found that when a place we knew well was bombed we lost our sense of direction, and although we could hear the cries of the injured it was difficult to locate them. Wearing rubber gloves and boots on account of the electric wires, they often worked till morning.

The women's Christian organizations undertook refugee work. Each worker was given a number under which they registered the refugees for whom they made themselves responsible. They helped the refugees, took them where they wanted to go, to the railway station or the hospital. You must not imagine that you were travelling from London to Birmingham. The dialects of China are so different that a better comparison would be with people of Czecho-Slovakia arriving in England.

Finally, safety zones, generally in the missionary compounds, were organized in the occupied areas. I think women have a very difficult time during the war, and harder losses to bear than men. They have a keener sense of property and suffer more in that way. But women suffered physically, especially young girls, and in the compounds the missionaries worked to keep the Japanese from raiding the zones; many of you may have read of this in books about the war.

How have we changed so quickly? And in 20 years! I remember the time when I had to be borne in a closed sedan chair which was carried into a closed compound and the curtains opened by women before I could walk out. I think it is really very marvellous, and that in some ways we are a little ahead of your country. Our women are paid the same as men in the teaching profession, and all professions are open to women—medicine, Government offices, law and even soldiering, for women of the Kwangsi and of the North-West Communist region served as soldiers. I can give you three reasons. In the first place both men and women were caught up in the war so quickly that there was no time for the men to form traditional prejudices. Secondly, we never really minded being ruled by a woman. The Dowager Empress certainly ruled China! And, lastly, we owe a great deal

to the early Christian pioneers of education. It is interesting to note that out of the 57 present at the Kuling Conference 17 were Christians and the others at one time or another had attended Christian schools.

China is at the bifurcation of the road. Either we will come out a nation strong for peace, a leader to the world, or we will come out an ultra-nationalist nation, containing a quarter of the people of the world, and proceed to worship nationalism at the cost of other nations. The responsibility seems to me to rest in the hands of the Chinese women. By our influence we can make China a leader of world peace or a menace to the world, and I am sure you will wish that we do the former.

PROSPECTS OF FEDERATION

By K. Vyasa Rao
(Author of *The Future Government of India*, etc.)

Many were the critics of the Federal scheme who foresaw the insurmountable difficulties in the way of its successful inauguration. But the Government was mainly concerned with one position, and that was that responsibility at the centre could be conceded only in a system in which the rulers of Indian States had an equal opportunity with British-Indian provinces, and this could be secured only in a Federal Constitution. The Indian public lost no time in making it plain that all the Federal units must possess the same political status as self-governing bodies. And the Indian princes, on their part, did not conceal that they would federate only with responsible provincial Governments in British India as administrative entities. In this respect the rulers of the princedoms rendered a signal service to the people of British Indian provinces which has not been appreciated by them as it deserves. It suited the British Government to leave the question in uncertainty whether rulers and their nominees in their individual capacity, or the States and their Governments in their collective capacity, were to be the Federal partners. This uncertainty gave rise to the fear that Indian States were brought into Federation to outweigh the Indian provinces, and therefrom started the agitation that the States should become responsible Governments and their responsible Legislatures should elect representatives on the Federal Constitution. Nor did the British Government realize that there was no way by which Governments in Indian States could be "responsible" simply to placate the demand of British-Indian politicians. These are obstacles in the very nature of State and provincial organizations as such. What were not quite apparent in the stage of theoretical legislation have now become formidable impediments as the second part of the Act awaits implementing.

Federation by Compulsion

Federation by compulsion is out of the question either in respect of British India or in respect of the States. There are several stages which have to be reached in regard to the States before they can be considered fit for federation on a footing of equality with responsible provincial Governments in British India. In the first place, their own internal constitution should undergo successive changes, and, in the second place, the scheme of

Federation as it affects them must be satisfactory in their eyes. Who can dictate to them the constitutional changes in their territory? Of course, persuasion verging upon coercion, and coercion in the form of disinterested advice, may play their respective parts. But the crucial position calls for unequivocal enunciation. If responsibility is to be yielded to a popular Legislature, is it to be subject to the discretion of the ruler or to be independent of it? And is not the obligation of the ruler to the paramount Power to be saved from the purview of the responsible Legislature? The latter is easily coped with. If this is recognized as imperative, the sovereign prerogatives of the ruler will claim a like consideration. The Government of India can no doubt require satisfactory guarantees of good government in the States, but the supreme interest of the ruler in the welfare of his subjects cannot be taken out of his hands and located in a democratic Legislature by the use of documentary powers.

That there is no such thing as an annual Budget in scores of Indian states, particularly in Northern India, is no news to Indian politicians. The past neglect of the Government of India in exercising their power over rulers has now taken a concrete form when the British Government wants to see what kind of good government has been prevailing in their feudatory territories. It cannot be denied, however, that in some notable instances at least the moral and material progress achieved in Indian States has been marvellous and far in advance of what has been found possible in British India. Until a couple of years back it was only in the States that Indian talent could find scope for full play. Subordination was writ large on the foreheads of Indians, and the late Mr. Gokale was unwearied in his pathetic complaint that the "tallest amongst us must bend to the most mediocre." But for the existence of Mysore as an Indian State, where would have been the opportunity for Sir K. Seshadri Iyer and Sir M. Visveswaraya to demonstrate the capacity of an Indian administrator to harness natural resources of the country with an inborn genius for the utilization of its finances for achieving the economic supremacy of an Indian state in comparison with British-Indian provinces? The present Viceroy during his recent visit to Mysore could not help stressing his unconcealed admiration for the manner in which economic benefits have been distributed all over the State with remarkable appreciation of the needs of the people by Sir Mirza Ismail, who is only an appointed minister of the Maharaja. If from the days of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer to those of Sir Mirza the vast improvements that have taken place had been subject to the sanction of a democratic Legislature and responsible government been in vogue all these years, it is more than probable that Mysore would be several decades behind other States. There

are many today who talk of pensioning off Indian princes, and they have yet to realize that if there is economic independence anywhere in India it is in an Indian State, with all its autocracy. The day may come when the States will be protective shelters in times of rapine and disorder. If linguistic provinces should become a reality, the only way in which it could be achieved would be to hand over similar linguistic British districts to the corresponding linguistic States, and stipulate the granting of representative institutions to the enlarged linguistic dominion which retained the sovereignty of the ruler.

Turning the Tables

While, on the one hand, the paramount Power has to satisfy itself as to the government which obtains in the States, the day is approaching for the latter to make sure that the paramount Power is discharging its obligation towards them when British-Indian organizations start campaigns in defiance of law and order within the territory of a state. It cannot be disputed that those who compose these organizations are under British rule, and, simply because the British Government is committed to Federation, these party organizations are not entitled to throw off the obedience they owe to the British power as well as the restraint they are bound to observe in the territory of another state. At any rate, even if the British Government cannot prevent these campaigns or help the ruler in protecting his territory and rights over it when necessary, it must at least leave him unhampered in coping with these disorders with his own slender resources, with such additions to them as he may be able to secure. The time may come when Indian States will have to make agreements among themselves in the event of organized bands of *satyagrahis* invading their territory with protestations of non-violence.

The Logic of the Congress

The position of the Congress is scarcely consistent, inasmuch as it is committed to self-determination and at the same time is prepared to bear the burden of provincial administration under the British Parliamentary Act of 1935. While urging a programme of independence, its practical conduct is that of admitted subordination to British rule. By postulating conditions under which it will accept federation under the Government of India Act of 1935, it torpedoes its own claim to self-determination and the right to frame a constitution by a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage. The Congress has not yet chosen between self-determination and federation with satisfactory changes for its goal. At one time it emphasizes its right to strive for an all-India

democracy including the States, and at another time it keeps the States at an arm's length in the constitution of the Congress. Integrally the Congress is only composed from British Indian provinces, although its sympathy may overflow to the States. Before an intelligible programme of national demand could be drafted these anomalies must be corrected. However, Congress has enough driving power in the country to cause serious anxieties both to the paramount Power and the independent States, and there is as yet no prospect of a settlement by negotiation between the British Government and Congress or between the paramount Power and the ruling princes as regards Federation. A situation of this kind, if indefinitely prolonged, can only tend to undermine the faith of the people in the future of their country and the governing capacity of England.

The Dawn of a New Era

It is apparent that unless the British Government makes up its mind to give a new orientation to the purpose of its rule in India and is prepared to openly declare it and state the steps it intends to take to effect that purpose it cannot give the much-needed new turn to the political outlook of the country. One vital defect in the federal scheme was that it did not define with precision the relation between the Federation of India and the British Crown. From this point of view it must be admitted that there is no escape from an open declaration that the grant of Dominion status to India by England is an immediate concern of His Majesty's Government, for the fulfilment of which it would be authorized to take the necessary measures, the Imperial Cabinet reserving to itself the power to vest in the Governor-General the supreme responsibility in times of war affecting British or Indian interests.

No one need mistake this suggestion as an admission that Dominion status is to be the final goal of India. On the other hand, what is to be undertaken is the establishment of *Dominion government* in India, comprising British India as well as princely India. In such a contingency every party will have to make appropriate sacrifices for achieving the maximum benefit at a minimum cost; Indians must forgo their claim to complete independence, the British unreservedly surrender their over-riding authority in the internal affairs of India, and acknowledge India's title to continue the British connection as a matter of self-determination, and Indian rulers laying down their inherited autocracy for the achievement of a higher political status for the country. None of these parties can hope to escape paying the price expected from them. The postponement of this radical solution can only mean the continuance of confusion and uncertainty.

SOME FOLK-DANCES IN SOUTH INDIA*

By Dr. Arnold A. Bake

(The author is a Senior Research Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, to study the religious songs and music in India)

Dancing for the fun of it, at least by grown-up people, is a fairly late development in the history of mankind. We who dance more or less regularly at social functions forget, or do not even know, that what we execute is, almost without exception, the development or degeneration of some old ritual movements which may have been performed with joy and pleasure in ages gone by, but certainly were not done for the pleasure of it in the first place, by a long way. Dancing used to be one of the great means by which man put himself in touch with the superhuman powers outside him, and eventually sometimes became invested with those powers so that he temporarily came to belong to that other world. As such, dancing belongs in one group with singing and instrumental music, not immediately in the same sense India attached to the word *sangita*—namely, vocal music, instrumental music, and dance (*gita vadya* and *nrtya*)—but as a powerful religious means. Indubitably, at least in India, the intoned word, either chanted or sung, became the bearer of the highest, most elevated form of religion, which culminated in the liturgic music of the hymns of the Vedas. Instrumental music by itself was not such a powerful agent in India although we find its divine powers recognized in the voice of Krishna's flute. It was mostly in combination with dance that instrumental music kept its connection with religion in one of its oldest forms—namely, that of bodily outstepping the bonds of human limitations.

Dance shows many aspects; to begin with, the dance as an act of worship, visible in many folk-dances in India, such as the Raslila and the Garbha up in Gujerat and Kathiawar, where the divine play is that of the Gopis dancing round Krishna. The same is the case in other round-dances, like some forms of Kolatam in the south, notably where some object or even person must be placed in the centre of the revolving circle—now professedly in order to be able to keep the proper distance, etc—or where the sticks are put first on the ground, all pointing towards the centre of the circle, and then are taken up more or less ceremoniously, and other signs of the deity being present in their midst. In

* Based on a lecture held for the Overseas League, Madras, at the University Examination Hall.

general, round-dances have the object of prolonging life, of getting in touch with the divine, particularly in its respect of eternal life—so as, for instance, the Gopis and Krishna—or the portraying of cosmic happenings—as, for instance, the circling of the stars and the planets, conscious instances of which have been found in Greece.

In another form of dance, of which there probably may be traces in India, ancient sacrifices live on, in effigy, so to say—as, for instance, human sacrifice—of which form England has preserved some most interesting survivals, notably in the sword-dance. The fool in that dance is the one-time victim. The dancers trace their steps and interlace their swords, until at last the principal dancer triumphantly holds up the five-pointed star of matted swords—clearly a symbol of the sun and a powerful talisman all over the world, also in India, where it finds a prominent place in Tantrism. The fool asks, "What is that?" and is told that it is a mirror. The conversation goes on until at last the fool is persuaded to put his head through the centre of the star. The dancers immediately withdraw their swords like a flash, and the fool falls dead upon the ground. The dancers then lament the death of their "father," giving a detailed description of how his blood streams the ground. Finally, there is a resurrection of the fool.

I have no doubt that related forms of this kind of dancing could be found in that immense storehouse of data of human culture in its different stages that is India, but this English folk-dance with its remarkable words is one of the purest instances one can think of. Another form of dance, finally, is that where the actor or performer becomes a different being, not belonging to the human world—sometimes an animal, sometimes a demon, sometimes a god. The animal dance or mime very often has the aim to get power over the animal in question and secure success in hunting. The demon or god dance very often is performed for the same reason—namely, to get power in the divine world and reach the aim in view by forcing the deity in question to grant the request or obey the command, the latter, in the case of a demon, for instance, being ordered to leave the body of a possessed person.

It is in this form of dancing especially that the dress or disguise assumes a vital importance—masks, paint—if only blacking of the face—and various forms of dress. It is, indeed, a very deep-rooted feeling in humanity that by putting on a different dress one becomes somebody else. Who doesn't remember the intense delight in childhood of dressing-up parties and in charades? Even where the dances have lost their religious meaning for the present-day population—as, for instance, the mask-dances in England—older people still feel the underlying meaning. I once heard an interesting conversation quoted in a lecture on the subject. The



FIG. 1.—MUSIC IS INSEPARABLY CONNECTED WITH THE DANCE.

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PLATE I.



FIG. 2.—DRESS AND MAKE-UP ARE DEFINITELY DESIGNED TO HIDE THE HUMAN FORM AND FEATURES.



FIG. 3.—"CUT AND DRESS RATHER REMINDED ME OF THE MERRY-GO-ROUNDS AT HOME."

dialogue was between a girl typical of the younger generation and an old village woman watching a procession of masked dancers. The young girl tried her best to recognize her friends in their disguise, and exclaimed, "Oh, look; there is John, there is Bill," etc., but the old woman said: "I don't know what you mean; there are only the dancers." For her they definitely had divested themselves of their everyday personality and had become the characters they portrayed in the dance.

Instances of that form of dancing are plentiful in India in many different folk-dances and even in recognized forms of art. Sometimes the dancing attire only consists of a different kind of dress, leaving the head and face as they are except for an unusual turban or head-dress, perhaps! But even in those instances it is remarkable how the very dress puts the dancers on a different level. There are, for instance, the Kota dancers in the Nilgiris, round about Ooty, definitely unprepossessing individuals in their everyday attire. How that changes the moment they start dancing in their wide-skirted dancing dress! It would be interesting to investigate where that dancing dress came from, because it is utterly unlike anything people wear nowadays in those parts of the world. That they feel themselves that the dress is something out of the common is proved by the fact that a corpse is dressed in it at the time of burial. The music is inseparably connected with the dance and presents a curious form of heterophony, quite unlike what is usually found in India (Fig. 1). The theme is played by the hobos, and the drums form the rhythmical background in the usual fashion. It is, however, the huge horns that butt in at the most unexpected moments, with complete disregard of the melody either in pitch or tune, that constitute the remarkable feature. The main strain of the music does not concern itself at all with this deluge of sound that is poured over it; it just ambles on uninterruptedly and becomes audible again when the flood of horn sound has subsided.

An instance where dress and make-up are definitely designed to hide the human form and features and place the actor on the superhuman plane of gods, demons, and heroes is the Kathakali of Malabar (Fig. 2). Kathakali could not be called a folk-dance by any means; it is what could be called a sophistication of a folk-art. The Yakshagana in South Kanara, however, is a close relative of the Kathakali, and is executed by ordinary villagers, who tour the country during the months that work in the fields is impossible. It is, of course, much cruder, but, on the other hand, has some features no longer noticeable in Kathakali, which has developed into a canonized art. In Yakshagana, and especially in Kathakali, the actors have nothing definitely human any longer, and their appearance in the old-fashioned style of perform-

ance with nothing but the uncertain light of the multi-whicked cocoanut-oil lamp to light them brings with it all the awe of the world of demons and gods. The performance is semi-religious and the subjects are puranic and epic.

Here the supernatural result is reached by a conscious and laborious process. The making up is a work of art in itself and suits the stylized movements of the actors on the stage to perfection. Definitely a development from the same basis, but in a different sphere of life, we find in the widespread hobby-horse in its numerous manifestations. Hobby-horses are well-known in Europe. The English Folk-Dance Society has one in its crest, if I am not mistaken. Turkey knows them, and India has them from north to south. In connection with an exercising ceremony in North Malabar we saw a small child being the centre of the group of dancers, dressed up as what could be called a hobby-cow.

In the neighbourhood of Madura we saw hobby-horses in a rather sophisticated form. Cut and dress of horse and man rather reminded me of the merry-go-rounds at home (Fig. 3). I was told that in that district they were often connected with marriage-parties, which would bring them in line with the Turkish hobby-horses, whose essential function is in connection with fertility rites.

The most convincing hobby-horse we saw, however, was connected with a devil-dancing ceremony in South Kanara. The horse itself was no more than an indication of a horse, a stick draped with stripped young cocoa-palm leaves, and a mask rather loosely attached to it, made of the sheath of a young areka-palm leaf. The horse's antics, however, were quite realistic and almost convincing. A comic touch was introduced by the rider wearing a topi. I wasn't able to make out its actual function, but the horse pranced round three little devil-dancers dressed in what can be described as a long hula-hula skirt worn over the head.

It is in the devil-dancing of South Kanara that one sees the clearest possible instance of dress, music, and dance combining to put the dancer outside the human sphere. The devils of South Kanara—bhutas, as they are locally called—are sometimes spirits of departed human beings, heroes or otherwise; sometimes their origin is traced from a divine or semi-divine source, and their activities are very different. They all have individual names and individual places of worship. Some bhutas bring sickness and disease when not properly worshipped and propitiated; others play pranks very much like what we know under the name of poltergeist phenomena in Europe; others, again, seem quite benevolent. Usually the dance starts with the long recitation of the history and acts of the bhutas by somebody not the bhuta's priest. The acts are very interesting and show that the worship of many of

these bhutas has come down the Western Ghats. Some, like Panjurle, are of animal origin, Panjurle being a pig-bhuta.

After the finishing of the recitation the priest begins the dance, to the accompaniment of stirring instrumental music. The priest is dressed in the attire his particular bhuta is thought to wear, and there are great individual differences in dress. He usually adores a sword in one and a bell in the other hand. We saw the sword in the right, the bell in the left hand; Burnell (*Indian Antiquary*, 1894, "Devil-Worship in the Tula Country") notes the reverse. The dance does not end before the priest has danced himself into a trance, and thus gives his body to his bhuta to enter and speak through his mouth. The boundary between this world and the other is crossed.

It stands to reason that this worship dates back countless centuries and is a first cousin of the rites of the shamanes and practices found in other parts of the world. In later years many bhutas have been incorporated into the very wide fold of Hinduism, but the Hinduistic traditions bear the stamp of relatively recent origin.

The whole performance is psychologically very well arranged. The minds of the spectators are first brought into a state of semi-stupor by the intoned recitation of the acts of the bhuta and the incessant clanging of the bell. By the time the bhuta appears everyone is ready to believe in a supernatural apparition, and, indeed, the dress has fulfilled its aim, as the dancing figure has something altogether unhuman. Then the dance comes and the insistent accompaniment of the drum and the wind instruments. Even outsiders must make an effort not to be swept away.

It is, perhaps, the most perfect illustration, at least in India, of becoming invested with superhuman powers which I mentioned at the beginning of this talk, as one of the chief aims of dance in, perhaps, its oldest form. It is to be remembered, when seeing and contemplating these dances, that they must be judged according to what the devotees themselves feel in them, or what they consider that the dance represents in its ideal form. It is easy to laugh at fakes, but it never should be forgotten that this form of worship constitutes the basis of religion of thousands of people of another stratum of life than that to which we belong, and, remembering the results of modern scientific investigations into psychic phenomena, we ought to be at least careful in judging the powers of this kind of worship professedly used.

CEYLON'S POSSIBILITIES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By J. Vijaya-Tunga

(Author of a book on Ceylon entitled *Grass for My Feet*)

Ceylon, though a small island, is admittedly of great strategic importance, and, as the model for the rest of the Colonial Empire, of paramount importance politically. Moreover, it is a country that became British, not through defeat, but by assent. As with the rest of the British Empire, the looming into importance of Ceylon, in its capacity as the premier Crown Colony, is quite accidental. By the way, this accidental muddling-through quality of the British forged, to begin with, a kindred feeling between them and the Oriental races (I suppose, with the African as well). But neither Oriental races, nor primitive races, nor Great Britain can continue with this pleasant pastime in a world now seething with plans, policies, and whatnots. Hence the need for scrutiny, investigation, and forecast.

At the risk of rousing no more than cursory interest by the use of such overworked terms as "political" and "economic," I must define Ceylon's problems as educational, economic, and political. Or we might combine the first two, for more than ever is it necessary that an individual's education should be not only in terms of culture, but also of self-survival and citizenship. With the solving of the bread-and-butter and what-to-do-with-oneself problem the political problem might appear to solve itself, but for the sake of clarity let us examine the three problems apart and in a reverse order.

The Political Scene

I shall not stop to review the various stages of Ceylon's constitutional growth from 1815, when, by convention between the Singhalese Chiefs and the representative of the British Crown, Ceylon was ceded to England, to 1833, when her Government was granted its first "Council," to 1931, when under the terms of the Donoughmore Commission's Report it emerged with a full-fledged State Council of fifty territorially elected members, together with eight nominated unofficial members and three Officers of State. This also marked the introduction of adult franchise, a very statesmanlike measure on the part of the members of the Donoughmore Commission. Conflicts between State Council and Governor, between the Ministers and the "Officers of State" were inevitable, incidental in the working of a new

constitution, and need not, therefore, in the present analysis be given undue prominence. Also there has been anxiety on the part of certain minorities and certain conservative bodies at the sight of democracy rampant in a feudal country like Ceylon. Also, faced for the first time in their ministerial career by a grave economic crisis combined with a malaria epidemic (which accounted for over 70,000 deaths), the Ceylonese Ministers found the Committee system, involving the presence of the Officers of State, hindering and vexing. Regarding these difficulties and fears there have been communications and deputations to Whitehall, but for the purposes of this analysis I overlook them.

Constitutionally, exactly where is Ceylon? England knows of Ceylon's immense strategic importance; and Trincomalee is now being built into a naval base, supplementary to that of Singapore. Though not on the England-Australia air-route, Ceylon's air-port at Ratmalana will develop in time to be one of the most important in the East. The few Ceylonese among Ceylon's statesmen who think on such lines say to themselves, contemplating these projects: "Well, they might be assets to our country some day." Actually they are more likely to be targets, the objectives of militaristic powers in Asia. In envisaging the British Empire in the East at any future date Great Britain cannot, and will not, leave out Ceylon, just as much as she would not leave out India, or Burma, or Malaya. India with its man-power is in a special category; on the other hand, countries like Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma must not imagine for a moment that they would, as they did in medieval times, be independent countries, each with its Lilliputian navy and air force. At the same time, Britain's Colonial Empire, which covers, including the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, an area of three million square miles out of the Empire's total area of thirteen and a half million square miles (and almost the whole of it occupied by non-white races), raises a very urgent problem.

Some of the colonies, like the West Indies and Malaya, have reached a stage of political development which must soon outgrow the Crown Colony system. In this connection Britain might say in precise terms: "We need you as units of the Empire. It would be just as well for you to remain units of the British Empire. These will be your advantages. And this is as far as we intend to leave you alone to manage your own affairs; and these are the minimum concessions we need, which, considering the relationship between us and you, should appear small."

The wait-and-see policy is easy. In our individual problems it is the line of least resistance. In dealing with politically undeveloped countries it is very tempting because it seems so non-committal. But it is fraught with danger for the future.

You ask the "Opposition" in a country like Ceylon to formulate their demands, and this is what they would say:

> "The goal of the Congress had always been self-government within the British Empire. That was the policy laid down by its founders. They wanted freedom within the British Empire, freedom to manage the internal affairs of their country. They wanted their country to be a self-governing Dominion like the Union of South Africa, Australia, or Canada."

These words were spoken by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Minister for Home Affairs in the Ceylon State Council, but as one of the founders of the Ceylon National Congress and a veteran Nationalist, constituting, in a sense, the "Opposition." But you note there is no peremptory demand. They are content to wait. Their deputations to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald have involved no specific demands other than the "reform of the Constitution," and their efforts were directed, in the words of Sir D. B. Jayatilaka at a meeting of the Ceylon National Congress last year, "to secure the amendment of the Constitution so as to remove the three Officers of State, because their presence in the State Council robbed them of self-government." Considerate? I would say naïve almost. Truly, despite Trinidad and Palestine, the men at Whitehall appear not to be unduly anxious about the problems of the major part of the Empire. But that is just the point. It is just at times like these, when the influences of the older generation and the traditions of the past are still exerting themselves, when there is comparative calm or manageable turbulence at worst, that our young men at Whitehall should be thinking not only for their country, but thinking ahead for countries like Ceylon.

The spearhead of discontent is already in these countries, and at each General Election the electorate of a country like Ceylon sends in to represent them in the State Council younger men, each of whom indulges in more violent denunciations and rhetoric than the one before. The Governor of Ceylon, Sir Andrew Caldecott, speaking (February 16, 1939) at a "Recall to Religion for Buddhists" meeting in Colombo, said:

> "People are just seeing red, and there is no discipline or self-control to stay the thrust of the knife or the fall of the bludgeon. Whence are we to import, and how import, self-control and discipline of the mind and body?"

Earlier in his speech he had described the increase of crime in Ceylon as attributable to "unemployment and nearness to starvation." I quote these words, incidentally, in support of my con-

tention that the spearhead of discontent is there, and that if unchecked it will take a political form, unanticipated both by the Ceylonese and the British Government. On the other hand, if Great Britain, without waiting for crises and "ugly situations" (in newspaper language), could tell the Ceylonese, who are at heart so Anglophile and quite content to be within the British Empire: "Your statesmen, new to new responsibilities, have managed things well through a critical period. If within the next five years you can show as good a record (or better), there shall be a Royal Commission to inquire into your Constitution, with a view to self-government in the sense Australia and Canada are self-governing."

Such a gesture would prevent any plans that Berlin or Rome or Tokyo might be waiting to precipitate on important nerve-centres of the Empire such as Ceylon is. It would take the wind out of the sails of local political discontent; it would enable the people and their administrators and executives to concentrate upon economic and social problems.

Economic Problems

That the latter are of a very urgent character must be emphasized in passing, even though it might sound somewhat of an anti-climax. Ceylon's economics must be essentially in terms of agriculture. And this must not be taken to include rubber and tea. It is, I believe, beginning to be realized that to regard any part of the Empire (or, for that matter, any one part of the earth) as a milch-cow for the rest is suicidal in the long run. It is admittedly a credit to the first State Council (1931-35), under the new Constitution, that it took in hand agricultural and irrigation schemes. Until recently large tracts of land were sold to capitalists for tea and rubber cultivation, both industries being, incidentally, dependent upon immigrant labour. In recent years there has been some check to immigrant labour, but 534,000 acres of rubber and 457,000 acres of tea together still employ 550,000 immigrant labourers.

While the country has been concentrating upon export commodities like tea and rubber, which are at the mercy of a world output, the cultivation of Ceylon's staple need—namely, rice—has been overlooked. Half of Ceylon's food bill of Rs. 110,000,000 (Rs. 1,000 equal £75) in 1935 was on account of imports of rice. The area under rice cultivation, 850,000 acres, is quite inadequate. At least an extra 2,000,000 acres must be cultivated to provide enough rice for Ceylon. Ten million out of Ceylon's area of 16,000,000 acres is uncultivated land. The people cannot be blamed altogether for this state of affairs because agriculture is

dependent upon irrigation, and this is a provision which the Government must make. How much this department of the public service has been neglected can be seen when we realize that "the extent of land irrigated at present" (to quote from the Government Report for 1933, the latest available) "under major works is 152,348 acres, and under restored village works 206,239 acres."

These figures are closely linked to the 70,000 and more deaths during the malaria epidemic of 1934-35. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Minister for Home Affairs, when he was here in London for the last Imperial Conference, gave me an interview, in which he said:

> "If the origin of the epidemic was due to climatic conditions, it is no less certain that its persistence and the resultant high mortality were due to the bad economic conditions. To prevent the recurrence of such a calamity in the future it is not only necessary to introduce preventive measures, but also to raise the standard of living among the people and increase their earning capacity. One step towards this is to provide the landless with land. Fortunately, a new scheme for providing land for the peasants and middle-class Ceylonese on easy terms has already been inaugurated under the new land policy. No land can now be sold to capitalists until sufficient land has been reserved for the needs of each village. Within the last four years between 80,000 and 100,000 acres have been granted as peasant holdings."

Education

Here we touch that universal malady—the dislike for work on the land while a few miles away there is the city with its glittering lights and all the tinsel temptations that go with it. A shop-salesman or clerk or travelling salesman from the city can go into a village and put the robust rustics to shame, because of the inferiority complex civilization has heaped upon the latter. This is true of England; it is true of Ceylon. The farmer in Ceylon (farming in a primitive but withal self-sufficient way) does all he can to give his son an English "education," so that from that generation on his family will be "gentlemen."

In 1923 a Committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ormsby-Gore (now Lord Harlech), to report on Education in Tropical Africa. And what they said in that Report in the following clause applies to Ceylon (and India, Burma, and Malaya):

> "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving

> as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas. Its aim should be . . . to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people belonging to their own race."

We do not want an expensive Commission from England (whose expenses will fall both upon the English and Ceylonese taxpayer), but half a dozen English officials in Ceylon with another half a dozen Ceylonese, representative of the various communities, could find out in three months the kind of education Ceylon is crying out for.

To sum up, then, Ceylon's problems are political, economic, and educational. A start must be made in all three fields simultaneously. Let England give the lead with regard to Ceylon's political goal. Let the Ceylon State Council have all the encouragement and advice in its efforts at agricultural and irrigation and other economic recovery projects. And again, let England take the initiative (while through economic recovery starvation is reduced and economic security is established) in giving a healthy orientation to education. For political power in the hands of a semi-educated, ill-educated electorate is a great danger and invites the nostrums that are thickly flying about in the world today. There is not sufficient vision nor the statesmanship among the Ceylonese of today worthy of Ceylon's great historical past—chiefly due to their mis-education—but there is (as there always has been) that valuable quality of adaptability among my countrymen. This could be turned to good ends, and it is worth England's while to take a hand in real earnest. Then it might be possible for us to echo the hopes expressed by Lord Snell in his broadcast in America some time ago, and Ceylon (and the rest of the Colonial Empire) might be really content " to live and grow under the general principles of the British Constitution."

AGRICULTURAL HYDRAULICS IN INDO-CHINA

By André Artonne

(President of the British Section: Conseillers du Commerce Extérieur de la France)

From a colonizing experience acquired through continuous effort in all four quarters of the world, France has evolved certain vital principles which have enabled her to build up a lasting work on solid foundations. This has been done by associating the Native with the European in the pursuit of a common aim. Joint responsibility, therefore, constitutes the main precept of French doctrine which insists that the colonizer must act first and foremost for the good of the colonized.

Among all the problems facing France at the time of the occupation of Indo-China, there was none more urgent than that of a water-supply, for it was closely bound up with the demographic question. It was, in fact, a matter of assuring subsistence to an ever-increasing population whose unequal distribution left vast regions desert, while huge masses of people were packed together in the delta zones, which, though fertile, were limited in size, badly equipped and periodically devastated by floods and famine. Albert Sarraut, a former Governor-General of Indo-China, has written as follows on this subject: "Throughout large areas in many parts of Asia formerly arid, a new teeming, seething population is clamouring for the fulfilment of its needs—the provision of an ample food supply. Are these huge untilled tracts of land out of which organized regions might be created to be left to lie waste? Are they to be abandoned to ignorance and incompetence?"

To appreciate the problem in all its magnitude, we must look at a map of this great French possession in the Far East.

The peninsula of Indo-China consists of a group of mountain ranges and tablelands which rise to a height of more than 9,000 feet on the Chinese frontier and on the flanks of which rivers have, in course of time, formed alluvial plains. The Annamite range which divides Laos from Annam forms a rugged arc composed of a series of plateaux. The plains are of two types: the plains of the interior, extensive, monotonous, very thinly populated, and the alluvial plains of the coast, constituting overpopulated zones of intense activity.

In the north are the deltas of the Red River and of the Thaï-Binh; in the south is that of the Mekong. Along the whole of

the Annam coast there is a succession of much smaller deltas. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are gathered together in the maritime plains which represent a tenth of the total surface of the country.

Geological and hydrographic researches have established the fact that the deltas of Tonkin and Annam are situated where formerly there were gulfs, slowly filled up in the course of ages by upheavals of from 8 to 10 metres, of which the last would be comparatively recent. Gradually, regular off-shore bars were formed, whose present limits approximate to those of the bays, the final filling up of which was the work of the alluvial masses brought down by the rivers. To mention only the Red River in Tonkin, the weight of the silt it carries down when in full flood amounts to from 3 to 7 kilogrammes per cubic metre, which is more than that of rivers of such great length and volume as the Nile and the Mekong. This accumulated silt is soon transformed into a foreshore which the natives enclose with dykes so as to turn them into rice-fields. The Tonkin delta is 16,000 square kilometres in size.

The appearance of the Cochin-China delta formed by the Mekong is altogether different. Unlike that of Tonkin, work on it has hardly begun and vast stretches are left for native colonists to cultivate. Perhaps its development will prove to be the real solution of the disturbing demographic problem arising from the over population in the north. The arms of the Mekong and of the neighbouring rivers are connected by numerous natural arroyos and by artificially constructed canals. The tide penetrates into these channels at both ends and deposits mud in the arroyos whose beds are continually being raised in the centre. During the floods, that is from June to October, the rivers become too full to stay within their banks and inundate the surrounding country.

The work of man has brought under cultivation a large part of the plains which receive the fertilizing silt—this is the richest part of Cochin-China, its rice granary. But immense regions can be gradually developed; there is first of all the Plaine des Joncs, with its 700,000 hectares, and there is then the Plaine des Oiseaux in Western Cochin-China, with its 1,800,000 hectares, now almost covered with marshy forests and swamps.

The study of agricultural hydraulics in Indo-China has three main aspects: the construction of dykes, the draining of low-lying lands and the irrigation of high lands.

From time immemorial, the former Emperors of Annam attached the utmost importance to the construction and maintenance of the dykes. History and legend have left numerous evidences of the interest they took in works of this kind, and the Gia-Long Code provides a whole series of punishments to be

applied to mandarins who out of negligence or ignorance left the dykes in a bad condition.

It is generally admitted that the construction of the dykes was begun—at any rate in Tonkin—in the thirteenth century under the Trân dynasty, although certain Chinese documents give grounds for the belief that this undertaking dates back to a much more remote period. But the history of the Red River which, in spite of its volume, preserves a torrential character for the greater part of its course is nothing but a long tale of catastrophes due to floods.

In 1885, at the time of the French intervention, the system of protection designed by the Annamite sovereigns closely encircled the Tonkin delta, but it had grave defects. The dykes reached an average height of only 9 metres, while the Red River in flood could rise to 11 metres 93 centimetres. Moreover, there had, at the beginning, been no conception of the scheme as a whole, and owing to lack of proper engineering, there was only a weak protection against the inroads of the water. In the flood seasons, watchmen were posted at danger points. If a breach occurred in the earth wall supposed to withstand the force of the floods, the local authorities requisitioned the entire population of the neighbouring villages—men, women and children—to cope with the catastrophe with the poor means at their disposal then. They fought foot by foot, for days on end, against the advancing waters, piling baskets and sacks filled with earth against the cracks. These miserable shifts were generally of no use and served only to delay the fatal moment when the rushing river poured over the low-lying lands, rendering all their efforts futile.

The Protectorate, assisted by all the powerful resources of modern engineering, carried on the work begun by the Emperors of Annam.

The task was a formidable one: it was approached by tackling what was most urgent, namely the strengthening of the large dykes bordering the Red River and its effluents. But the successive improvements made here were still inadequate and there were frequent breaches from 1905 to 1926. In that year, the late Albert Pouyanne, the then Inspector-General of Public Works, put through a new programme costing 9,600,000 piastres or 96,000,000 francs. Its magnitude can be seen from the following figures: the volume of the Tonkin dykes, which was approximately 20 million cubic metres on the arrival of the French in the country, reached 32 million cubic metres in 1915, 48 million in 1926 and 87 million in 1938.

Since 1926, no breach has been recorded in the Red River basin although the floods of 1936 and 1937 attained a higher level than had been hitherto anticipated.

This work completed, a second programme was adopted in connection with the Thaï-Binh basin on the banks of the three rivers: Song-Cau, Song-Thuong and Song-Luc-Nam which unite at Sept-Pagodes to form a single short waterway, branching out almost immediately afterwards into a delta adjoining on the north-east that of the Red River, with which it is connected by two effluents from the Red River, the Canal des Rapides and the Canal des Bambous.

The old-fashioned dyke construction of the Thaï-Binh having proved inadequate in times of exceptional floods, recourse had to be taken to methods which had been tried out in the Red River basin. The modern type of dyke construction exhibits the following characteristics:

Formation level from 5 to 6 metres wide with a height of 1 to 1½ metres above the highest known flood level.

Watertight lining of the sides of the river about 2½ metres in thickness.

Widening by footways wherever circumstances permit.

The works were extended in 1938 to the value of 5,000,000 piastres or 50,000,000 francs, necessitating the employment of 20,000 coolies.

In Annam, the rivers are subject to annual flooding, but owing to the small area of the basins, these floods are not nearly so serious and therefore less disastrous than those of the Red River in Tonkin. The same is true of Cochin-China where the question of dyke construction does not arise, the waters of the Mekong being allowed the same freedom as those of the Nile.

As regards irrigation works, these, as was said earlier, fall into two distinct categories: the drainage of low-lying lands and the irrigation of high lands. The problem has an entirely different complexion according to whether it concerns Tonkin, Annam or Cochin-China.

In Tonkin, the works undertaken affected two different types of land: those of deltaic formation in the maritime zone and those inside reservoirs formed by the dykes of the Red River and its effluents. The first had to be protected from the salt water and their surplus fresh water had to be drained off. This was effected by the construction of dykes on the foreshore along the coast and by means of flood gates functioning at low tide.

These works were completed by the cutting of irrigation canals which have resulted in the development of 25,000 hectares in certain maritime reservoirs.

The lands in the second category were surrounded by dykes which protected them from the neighbouring river floods, but provision had to be made for the evacuation of their surplus rain water.

The clearing and draining works having proved inadequate, a great undertaking called the Day Barrage, near the confluence of the Day and the Red Rivers, was begun in 1927 and finished on July 7, 1937. This dam is one of the most important in the world.

It forms part of a system of hydraulic development which aims at ensuring, on the one hand, the draining off in summer of surplus rain water to allow 50,000 hectares of low-lying land to be brought under cultivation, and, on the other, the irrigation of this same land during the winter. With this double end in view, the following undertakings have been envisaged: the construction of a dam on the Day, effluent of the Red River and, by development of the existing thalwegs, the creation of a drainage system, whose chief canal 65 kilometres long involves the excavation of 8,500,000 cubic metres, to drain away the rain water.

Finally, the construction of a water-catchment on the Red River above the reservoir and of a communicating irrigation and drainage system for the chief canals, to ensure by means of gravity the necessary supply of water for the crops of the fifth month to the drained lands, which thanks to the aforementioned undertakings have already harvested the crops of the tenth month.

The chief features of the Day Barrage are as follows: It has artificial foundations on sand like the big dams of India and Egypt (Nag-Hammade) with a great base providing a long line of infiltration (135 metres) so as to avoid destruction by undermining. Its total length is 260 metres. It has seven sluices, each with a "roof system" gate which can be operated without mechanical power. The opening and the closing are ensured by the action of the water of the Day itself. This is, actually, the system employed in Switzerland and in America, but there are only two examples of it in France—and these are much less important—at Tours-sur-Marne and at Nancy. The dam has necessitated the employment of 31,000 cubic metres of concrete, 2,000 tons of steel, 57,000 cubic metres of puddling clay, 30,000 cubic metres of enrockment and 288,000 cubic metres of earthwork.

The total cost of the entire hydraulic system, of which the barrage forms a part, will amount to 6,000,000 piastres or 60,000,000 francs.

What advantages will the native population derive from it? The increase in rice that may reasonably be expected can be estimated at 900,000 quintals for the harvest of the tenth month and at 100,000 quintals for that of the fifth month, a total of a million quintals. So the reservoir will supplement the annual harvest to the value of 2,500,000 piastres or 25,000,000 francs.

The Day Barrage is one of the finest engineering works that has been created so far. It shows that, thanks to Western science,

the fertilizing but often capricious waters of Tonkin can be disciplined for the good of the natives.

In Annam, the improvement due to irrigation is equally remarkable. Most of this territory is a narrow strip hemmed in between the Annamite mountains and the sea.

In the province of Vinh (North Annam) the Do-Luong dam was completed on June 2, 1937. This is a very important work requiring 64,000 cubic metres of concrete, 29,000 cubic metres of stones and enrockment, 2,272 tons of steel and 9,700,000 working days. It should supply 37,000 litres per second; the average yield of a rice-field should be increased from 900 kilogrammes to 1,650 kilogrammes per hectare and the average tonnage of the paddy harvest in the irrigated zone should be raised from 39,000 tons to 112,000 tons a year.

In Cochin-China, the problem of drainage was invested with a special importance. Actually, Western Cochin-China is the perfect type of deltaic country; moreover it is mainly situated between two seas with different conditions, hence the complex nature of the flow of the waters.

The seas washing the coasts of Cochin-China have an amplitude of from 2 to 3 metres, so, if the tide could freely penetrate inland, huge surfaces would be periodically covered with water. But thanks to the land folds along the coast and to those along the manifold arms of the Mekong, the tide penetrates only a small distance; on the other hand, the local rain water and the river water that has overflowed find difficulty in draining off. The problem for the engineers was to utilize the movement of the tides to regulate the water level.

The first step was to establish a system of levelling. The second was to raise the level at certain points, so as to deduce from observations the laws governing water propagation. On the basis of these observations a huge system of canals was constructed. The canals have a two-fold object: to regulate the flow of the water for rice cultivation, and to open up communications with the big factories of Cholon and the port of Saïgon.

Two regions in particular needed attention:

(1) The region between the right bank of the Mekong, from Chaudoc to Lonxuyen and the Gulf of Siam, whose lands were inundated every year by the waters of the Mekong. The problem here was how to obtain a rapid evacuation into the Gulf of Siam.

(2) The Plaine des Joncs, to the north-west of Saïgon, between the left bank of the Mekong and the Vaï-Co where the flood waters remained standing, causing the formation of a vast swamp. The solution was sought in the opening up of canals running from east to west, connecting the Mekong with the Vaï-Co.

The dredging operations undertaken in the low-lying region of

Cochin-China are an imposing work. More than 650 kilometres of major canals and 2,500 kilometres of minor canals have been cut; and 180 million cubic metres of earth have been dredged. Thus the surface given up to rice cultivation in Cochin-China has increased from 700,000 hectares in 1890 to 2,111,000 hectares in 1936. A new programme in connection with the development of the inundated lands is in hand at the present moment.

The great attention paid to agricultural hydraulics in Cochin-China can be seen by glancing at the figures relating to the export of rice from the port of Saïgon during the last thirty years. These exports show a steady rise. The annual average each decade since 1875, shortly after the establishment of the French in Cochin-China, are as follows:

1875 to 1884	inclusive,	annual	average	...	360,000 tons.
1885 to 1894	,,	,,	,,	...	514,000 ,,
1895 to 1904	,,	,,	,,	...	734,000 ,,
1905 to 1914	,,	,,	,,	...	919,000 ,,
1915 to 1924	,,	,,	,,	...	1,200,000 ,,
1925 to 1934	,,	,,	,,	...	1,344,000 ,,

The programme of works for Cochin-China should extend to 1950. When it has been completed the development of 500,000 hectares will be possible, and the total area of rice-producing land will be 2,500,000 hectares.

Such are the chief aspects of the human problem, in the different parts of the Union of Indo-China, which France has set herself to solve.

SOCIETY IN INDIA

By Dr. S. N. A. Jafri
(Barrister-at-Law)

The main object of this article is to trace briefly and clearly significant landmarks in the growth of our society and to show to the best of my ability what remarkable and rapid advance India has made and is making in the path of her social evolution. To bring this out, it is vitally necessary to have a proper conception of the essential principles of our society and the traditions which have tenaciously, or some might like to say capriciously, clung to it. It must be a matter of common knowledge to students of history that the action and the repercussion of different civilizations have not only profoundly affected but have left unmistakable traces on the social fabric of our country. There is no doubt that India has derived cultural benefit by contact with the other countries of the world. If through conservatism she had taken no notice of the march of world events, she would have been a most backward country and a mere geographical expression. Rudyard Kipling has spoken of the mysterious and the unchanging East, but anyone who has witnessed the trend of events in this country will bear eloquent testimony to the fact that, while progress has been tardy, the India of the East has certainly changed, and is changing, enormously.

For a correct and proper appreciation of the position it is therefore necessary to know the historic background of Indian society. India's civilization dates back much further than the advent of Aryans, as the excavations of Harappa and Mahenjo-daro clearly disclose. The genesis of the religion and social system, which is known as Hinduism and has for many years affected the lives and destinies of many millions, is, however, to be found in the institutions of the Aryans. This race brought with them a highly organized and developed culture and grafted it upon the earlier inhabitants of India. An analysis of the Hindu social organization shows two things prominently: (*a*) that the family was the unit of society and that the authority of the father or patriarch was not only supreme but unquestioned. The Hindu family is considered to be one body until separation is definitely declared. Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt, in his book on the *Civilization in Ancient India*, says, "Aryans settled in India had no temples; each patriarch of a family lighted the sacrificial fire on his own hearth and offered milk and rice; offerings of animals had invoked the gods for blessings, and health and wealth for himself and for his children."

(*b*) That society was divided into strata. Professor Tara Chand, in referring to the state of society at that time, says that there had always been two distinct strata of society in India; the one higher and the other lower—the first small in numbers, but in possession of highly developed religious social ideas and institutions; the second comprising the great mass of the people, who occupied a humbler rung on the cultural ladder. The family unit, while remaining tribal in lands between the Ganges and the Jumna, became also territorial. The clansmen held their land in family groups, and the head of the clan became also its territorial chief or Raja, with a right to receive a portion of the produce of the land. This is something analogous to feudalism. The original organization of society, however, comprised village communities which formed the basis of social administrative order.

The institution of caste is a peculiar feature of Hindu society. In no other country can we find anything of the same kind. Whatever may have been its origin, as it exists at present, caste is a system by which the accident of birth determines once for all the whole course of man's social and domestic relations. Throughout life he must eat, drink and marry in accordance with the usage of caste or community in which he is born. It is said that the basis of this theory lies in the doctrine of Karma or the law of the deed, but it is difficult to see what Karma had to do with it. The Hindus are divided into four castes, of whom three came from the Ayran people and the fourth from the conquered India. The one possible advantage of the caste system according to a historian is that it has preserved intact through centuries of varying fortunes the spirit and teachings of Hinduism. But against this it must be said that the system has repressed individual liberty, narrowed down the scope of affinity, has obstructed intercourse with foreign culture, and has opposed social reform.

It would be not without interest to say here a word about Hindu marriage. Marriage among the Hindus is not permissible in the same *gotra* or family, but is certainly confined to the castes concerned. There is no discretion left either to boys or girls to choose their mate; it is the duty of every parent to see that his children are married suitably. It is possible, as is stated by some writers, that in old days there were practically no unmarried women of marriageable age in the whole of India, but there were always plenty of widows, for widow remarriage was prohibited.

Behind the Hindu idea of marriage was the conception that the union between man and woman is life-long and is indissoluble by death. There is therefore no divorce system amongst the Hindus.

Rishis and Munis were considered to have supernatural powers who could do and undo things. Charms and talismen were commonly believed in. The highest ideal of life was renunciation

of the world, and men who devoted themselves to divinity followed no profession, but relied for their living on the charity of the people, which was practised as a duty of love. Such, in short, was the state of Hindu society when the Muslims came to India.

Muslims had altogether different ideas of society; their customs and manners differed fundamentally from those of the Hindus. In other words, Islam was foreign to the Indian soil. The Muslim family was not organized like that of the Hindus. There was no patriarchal or joint family system; widow remarriage was permitted and child marriage was condemned. Marriage amongst them was a civil contract sanctified by the law of religion. There is only one God and he is to be worshipped without image or symbol. Islam is intensely democratic and knows nothing of caste distinctions. In Islam all men are equal, though it must be admitted that the influence of the Hindu social order has affected them inasmuch as it has brought about restrictions in marriages between the classes. Despite this, dining together and praying together are still the remarkable common features of Muslim society. Greetings among Muslims manifest a spirit of brotherhood and friendship, like that noticed in modern countries; when they meet any friend or relation they say, "Assala-mo-Alaikum" (peace and health for you), which is analogous to that of "good-morning" or "good-evening" of the West. They shake hands with their right hands like the Western people. It is very different from the Hindu system of greeting with folded hands, which is, in fact, a relic of the old method of presentation of individual before the king when the identity of *parja* (subjects) was merged into that of the rajah. I hope Hindu society will consider dispassionately whether the spirit of the time does not demand a revision of this method. Lord Morley was not wrong when he said in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Indian Council Bill, "The difference between Muhammadanism and Hinduism is not a mere difference of articles of religious faith or dogma. It is a difference in life, in tradition, in history, in all the social as well as articles of belief that constitute a community, so it is no wonder that religion so opposed could not amalgamate without losing their identities." Kabir's and Guru Nanak's attempts towards fusion of these two religions have not succeeded in the long run.

There was no mysticism in early Islam, though Amir Ali considers that the elevated feeling of divine inspiration with which the Prophet often spoke, the depth of fervent and ecstatic rapture which characterized his devotion, constitutes its chief basis. It was really later through various influences, especially those of neo-Platonic ideas, that Sufism began to gain ground among the Muslims. Al-Ghazzali and Mohamed Ibn Arabi in the East and

Ine-e-Tufail and Maulana Room in the West were its most notable representatives. Their work spread Sufism far and wide. India was also influenced by it. Later the lives of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, Nizamuddin Aulia, and other famous saintly Sufis of India made an indelible impression upon the minds of the people who were in favour of Sufism. Contact with Hindu philosophers brought to bear upon it the influence of Vedantic philosophy and the teachings of Bhagwat Gita. Thus Sufism has become in India a prominent feature of Islamic divinity.

The question of a central language hinges upon Urdu and Hindi. In view of the fact that Urdu had absorbed in itself many civilizations and is the result of the combined effort of different communities towards evolution of a language, it is naturally best suited to occupy that position. Tendencies in certain quarters, however, show that this will not have a smooth course. Personally, I would be satisfied if Urdu is regarded as an exclusive language in two or three provinces—*e.g.*, the Punjab, Delhi and the United Provinces and Hindi, exclusive in provinces like the Bihar and the Central Provinces. Besides, an interprovincial language should be formed, having its roots in the different provincial languages, which may serve as the Esperanto of India* and may be called the Hindustani language. I am not in favour of a common language, for communal tendencies will never let any such language develop which may be agreeable to all the communities. On the other hand, communities interested in Urdu and Hindi will each try to Sanskritize and Arabicize the language, and one will become a Hindu language and the other a Muslim language, which will impede the growth of nationalism.

Indian Christians form another section of society in India. They profess a religion given by the East, but brought to them by the proselytizing organizations of Europe and America. For some decades they were exclusive, but the attitudes of the foreign priestly order towards them, and the upheaval of thought in India have made their outlook entirely Indian. They interdine, intermarry freely among themselves, except that in South India Brahmin and non-Brahmin distinctions are kept up even after conversion. The only other community worth mentioning here is that of the Europeans. They have always been exclusive, and

* We have a number of languages in India, and with the progress of provincial autonomy each provincial language will naturally claim a proper place in the provinces concerned. No attempts should be made to kill any important provincial language. The question of language should be settled in such a way that each important language gets a territorial jurisdiction which guarantees its development and progress within that jurisdiction. For central purposes the Esperanto as suggested above will serve the purpose. It should be with limited vocabularies, easily intelligible throughout India.

the complex and vision, specially of the members of the Imperial Services among them, have always been so distinctive that some writers have attributed the position of the British Government mainly to their social attitude. There is no need to mention here other minor communities.

In all these ages it must be noted that women played no direct part. The rigid indigenous Pardah system of yore, lack of education, the economic dependence of women brought to culmination by the laws of Manu and the variety of other factors built up a system in which the position of women became very invidious and unchangeable. If they are vocal now it is in spite of the ancient system and an indication of the spirit of the time.

Modernity and impact with the West have brought about a great change. The faint and dim idea of nationalism, brought about by the unification of India under the Mughals, received a fresh impetus by impact with the West. The growth of individual freedom is mainly a Western gift. Thanks to the impact of the Western civilization, ideas and culture, India is slowly but surely advancing in the path of progress.

It is still true that India is a land of diversity with divisions and subdivisions. Manners and customs differ not only from community to community, but they also differ from province to province. A comparison between the Brahmins of Northern India, Bengal and the South India shows that they differ in many respects. It must be the primary duty of all those who have the interests of the country at heart to unify and consolidate the better elements of the country. The first thing to do is to examine the dividing elements—*e.g.*, untouchability, rigid caste marriages, prohibition against inter-dining and lack of a common *lingua franca* and to fight against the fissiparous tendencies. Efforts are being made in all these directions. Mr. Gandhi's campaign against the untouchability focussed the attention of the caste Hindus towards the problem. The wider enfranchisement has led the Untouchables to make their importance felt, and it seems that the solution of this problem is merely a matter of time. Western education and common political work and aspirations are bringing about an atmosphere favourable to interdining. Intermarriage still seems far away, but the bold step taken by some cultured Indian ladies in breaking the barrier against marriage between Hindus and Muslims makes the position hopeful.

European garb with a lounge-suit, evening-jacket, morning-dress, etc., with a variety of headgear, will not suit a poor country like India. Moreover, it is unsuitable on account of the country's climatic conditions. Were I to choose male dress for Indians, I would select as footwear European shoes or boots, Rajput tight pyjamas or breeches and Mussalman Sherwani, and as headgear

I like the Gandhi cap for its cheapness, but unfortunately it is unsuited to both the winter and summer climates. The best method of introducing it, I think, is that this dress should be made a uniform for all the schools and colleges in India, and the students reading therein should not be allowed to use any other dress in public except during religious festivities. Thus gradually this will become the common dress of India. We need not worry about women's wear, because in spite of the multiplicity of dress they are sure to make the sari with a blouse their national dress and are now commonly using it. It is said that, while the sari is a good dress, it is not so businesslike and does not avoid risk of accident.

There are two other things which deserve attention in this connection: (*a*) that in the economic sphere there cannot be any division by communities—*e.g.*, market slumps and the uneconomic conditions of tenure affect all concerned; (*b*) fanaticism is not religion, but a negation of religion. The true religion lies in the humanitarian spirit—the whole humanity revolving round one centre in a compact whole.

Before concluding, I may give some specific characteristics of rural India. Despite the march of time, rural India has remained almost unchanged. The outside world does not appear to have affected the conditions in villages very much. They have no clubs, no cinemas or theatres. Modern games do not attract them. Their amusements and activities of life lie in occasional fairs and religious festivals. The winter *alao*—that is, fire-pit—serves as a club, where all sorts of conversations and discussions on village affairs are carried on; and news brought by villagers who go to the city or towns for business or to attend courts are recited with great interest. Similar gatherings are held in chowpals of zamindars or big tenants. Another interesting place where young men and women often meet is the village well.

These provide enough life for villagers and they go about with their innocent mirth. Illiteracy and lack of sufficient communication are keeping them backward.

Such is the state of our society. If variety were of any interest in this connection India presents the greatest variety, but in between that there is that diversity which is most deplorable. I am not for that conservatism or adoration of the past which necessarily retards progress, nor for that loose appreciation of modernity which may overlook those lofty principles of philosophy which were the pride of the East. We should act upon the principle "Khuzma safa wa daama kadir" (Take the meat and leave the kernel).

Our policy should be like that of a bee, to suck up the juice of every flower and to make our own honey.

SOME ORIENTAL BEARINGS ON THE CHESHIRE MEDICAL TESTAMENT

By Dr. G. T. Wrench

The Medical Testament of the thirty-one medical men of the Local Medical and Panel Committee of Cheshire, recently put before the public, has been widely recognized as a unique document. The conclusion of the doctors is given on page 7 of the Testament in these words: "Though we bear no direct responsibility for such problems, yet the better manuring of the home land so as to bring an ample succession of fresh food crops to the tables of our people, the arrest of the present exhaustion of the soil and the restoration and permanent maintenance of its fertility concern us very closely. For nutrition and the quality of food are the paramount factors in fitness. No health campaign can succeed unless the materials of which the bodies are built are sound. At present they are not.

"Probably half our work is wasted, since our patients are so fed from the cradle, indeed before the cradle, that they are certain contributions to a C_3 nation. Even our country people share the white bread, tinned salmon, dried milk régime. Against this the efforts of the doctor resemble those of Sisiphus.

"This is our medical testament, given to all it may concern—and whom does it not concern?"

In discussing some Oriental bearings upon this Testament, I propose to exclude India, because I have now in the Press a small book dealing with the restoration of peasantries with special regard to that of India. I shall, therefore, limit myself to China and Japan, not to their foods—that of Japan has been fully dealt with by Dr. E. Gray of the League of Nations Health Organization—but to their agriculture, which relates itself to the recommendation of the Testament of such better manuring as that devised by Sir Albert Howard and Mr. Wad, and described by them in *The Waste Products of Agriculture,* published in 1931.

This method of composting, as the authors state, was itself suggested by the wonderful, but too little known, *Farmers of Forty Centuries,* by the late Mr. F. H. King, one time Chief of Division of Soil Management, U.S. Department of Agriculture. The book records the observations of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese agriculture made by the author on a prolonged tour of these countries before the Great War.

Before, however, bringing forward the favourable picture of the mother-country of this agriculture, it is advisable to give of a

contrast picture, which China also offers in an area not visited by Mr. King. China, like most countries of the world, has suffered from erosion of the soil. In the north-west, where Mongolia is divided from China by the Great Wall of the Emperor Shi Huang Ti, is the loess country, in which the civilization of China took its origin. Mr. William Gear describes this country in *The Great Wall of China,* 1909. The centre of Asia has inexhaustible supplies of land and dry earth uncemented by rainfall. This blows to North-West China and forms a yellow dust "occasionally a thousand feet deep," named by the Germans "loess." There is rainfall in North-West China, and when regular "the soil is moistened and the crops are amazingly prolific," so much so that the Emperors bore the title of Lord of the Yellow Earth. The loess is a soft erodible earth, and through it, passing due south, runs the Huang Ho, or, as known to Europeans, the Yellow River.

The Huang Ho arises in the mountains of Tibet and, before it turns south, enters Mongolia to the south of the Desert of Gobi; in other words, it traverses areas which in history have been so frequently disturbed by the peoples whom the Chinese historians named the Tartars. Consequently, if the Chinese had had the skill to control the river, much of its catchment basin was out of their control. That they were not careful to keep the hills and watersheds under their control well forested may be acknowledged. Of the final result of this lack of control of the Huang Ho there is no question. The river itself and its tributaries wore away the soft loess and carried an immense amount of silt. So the Huang Ho became known as the Scourge of the Sons of Han, and now the area, where a prosperous civilization once flourished, is poor and very sparsely populated. As Mr. Gear remarks, had the prodigious skill and effort applied to the Great Wall been applied to the Great River, the fate of much of China would have been happier. But the Chinese feared the Tartar more than they feared the river, and so the Huang Ho offers an example of erosion and flood without parallel in the world.

Yet, in spite of the destructive floods of this and other rivers, China has been and still is able to support dense populations, and this her people have accomplished through conserving the soil and its fertility for thousands of years. "They probably have done more erosion control work than any other people of the entire world," writes Mr. Thorp, of the National Geological Survey of China; and Mr. King points out that, including the Koreans and Japanese, "nearly 500,000 people are being maintained, chiefly upon an area smaller than the improved farm lands of the United States." Of seven Chinese holdings which he visited, he found a maintenance capacity of 1,783 people compared to 61 upon improved U.S.A. farm land per square mile.

Although Chinese agriculture must be taken as a whole, yet, for the purposes of this article, the part is selected—which enlarges the recommendation of the Cheshire doctors for "better manuring," the way in which the soil is conserved and fed—for the soil is conserved by full feeding and erosion begins when it is ill-fed.

The Chinese have followed the rule of return; that is to say, they return to the soil, after use, everything that once took life from the soil in the form of a compost. Let us take a single example from Mr. King's book to illustrate this: "The compost pit in front of where we sat was two-thirds filled. In it had been placed all the manure and waste of the household and street, all stubble and waste roughage from the field, all ashes not to be applied directly, and some of the soil stacked in the street. Sufficient water was added at intervals to keep the contents completely saturated and nearly submerged, the object being to control the fermentation taking place." After some months the product is removed in waterproof baskets "to the floor of the court, to the yard, such as seen in Fig. 110, or to the street, where it is spread to dry, to be mixed with fresh soil, more ashes, and repeatedly turned and stirred to bring about complete aeration and to hasten the process of nitrification. During all these treatments, whether in the compost pit or on the nitrification floor, the fermenting organic matter in contact with the soil is converting plant food elements into soluble plant food substances in the form of potassium, calcium and magnesium nitrates and soluble phosphates of one or another form, perhaps of the same bases and possibly others of the organic type." Finally it "becomes a rich complete fertilizer," is allowed to dry, is pulverized and spread in calculated quantities upon the fields.

There are other examples of composting, varying according to locality, but all of them essentially the same in principle of collecting everything that once took life from the soil, fermenting it and returning it to the soil as vehicles of future life.

What is the result in the health of the people, which is the goal of the Medical Testament? Mr. King writes of the hardiness, endurance, agility, litheness, contentedness, cheerfulness, of the well-nourished people he saw in different parts of China as they were thirty years ago. To get a more exact but limited picture of what this health is, it is expedient to remove from the huge China to a small, secluded area, in which is carried out the same composting with the same meticulous care and a like skill in conserving the soil, watering it and other agricultural practices, the Native State of Hunza on the north-western border of India. These people and their agricultural methods I have described in *The Wheel of Health*, which was reviewed in the Asiatic Review of October, 1938. It will suffice here to give the

health result of this agriculture, which, separated from the difficulties of the modern world, provides a relic of the one time agricultural civilization that constituted the basis of the glories of the Han and Tang. This result is a whole health. The cycle of life of soil, domestic plants, and animals enjoys one health. Sir Aurel Stein, Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg, General Bruce, Lord Conway, Captain C. Y. Morris, Mr. C. P. Skrine, and other distinguished travellers, unite in their testimony to the exceptional agriculture and irrigation works, and to the cheerfulness, strength, and endurance of the people. Sir Robert McCarrison, who was at one time the medical officer of the Hunza as a part of the Gilgit Agency, sums up the general opinion in the following striking words: "These people are unsurpassed by any Indian race in perfection of physique; they are long-lived, vigorous in youth and age, capable of great endurance, and enjoy a remarkable freedom from disease in general."

Here, then, is the consummation of the Medical Testament and the means to its approach. At the present, however, we are agriculturally a long distance from the goal, for, harsh though it may sound, our agriculture, in common with that of the modern scientific world as regards the rule of return and all its implications, has become degraded. To show how wide has been our severance from safe agricultural values, let me give two quotations from a great and opportune work that has just been published, *The Rape Of The Earth*, by Messrs. G. V. Jacks and R. O. Whyte. "When everybody ceases to be an exploiter, and becomes a conservator of the soil," writes Mr. Whyte, "the foundations of a society that has established itself on exploitation are shaken." Mr. Jacks writes: "If peace among all nations had been assured, if the League of Nations had fulfilled its purpose, soil erosion today might have become an uncontrollable force driving the whole world to starvation. So long as soil fertility could have been converted into money (the reverse is much more difficult), the process of soil exhaustion would have continued at an accelerating speed; nothing less than an universal terror of war could stop it."

If, then, the solemn conclusion of the Cheshire doctors, that a healthy soil and sound quality of food are paramount factors in the fitness of the nation, we have need of the most profound re-orientation of our attitude to our agriculture. It must be a real re-orientation, a looking to the East and its Wisdom, to guide us out of the accumulating dangers that have arisen from our exploitation of the soil. We must take no more from the soil than we give to it. We must give back to it all that belongs to it. We must preserve the wholeness of the life cycle, if it is to be a health cycle.

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE WARDHA SCHEME

By Rai Sahib Madan Mohan Varma, M.A.
(Secretary, Board of Education for Rajputana, Central India and Gwalior)

Of the many problems that have come into prominence through the introduction of democratic responsible government in India, that of mass education is easily one of the most outstanding. It would be repeating a truism to say that, while education is one of the essentials of life for mankind in general, for a democratic form of government it is its very life-blood.

The problem of mass education in India is both one of quantity and quality. To take the former first, during the thirty years from 1892 to 1922 the percentage of literacy increased only from 13 to 14 for males and from 0·7 to 2·0 for females (*vide* Hartog Committee Report). Taking both together, it has gone up from 7 per cent. in 1922 to 8 per cent. in 1931. These figures speak for themselves, and reveal not only the low level at which India stands in point of literacy among the civilized countries of the world, but also—thanks to the ever-increasing population of the country, which must be a matter of anxious economic concern in India—that the progress made in this direction during all these decades, even if steady, has been slow. Given the above rate of progress, it should take many centuries for India to attain the high level of literacy which obtains, say, in the United Kingdom!

There were reasons for the slow growth of education in the past. The British, during the early part of their rule, were occupied mainly in ensuring peace and order in the country; latterly more urgent economic, social, and political problems claimed their attention, and the poor financial resources of the Indian Government never allowed the colossal problem to be tackled. Further, there was the conservatism and apathy of Indians themselves, broken for the first time when, after a long spell of inertia, the birth of the Indian National Congress heralded the reconstruction of the Indian nation and, later, the post-war ideologies became prominent. With the virtual establishment now of democratic responsible government in British India the problem of mass education has, however, become urgent and imperative.

And what of quality?

It is agreed on all hands that the educational policy of the past has been more of a failure than a success in India. Higher and

secondary education has been of great "cultural" value, even if it has led to unemployment and not proved to be of much constructive value. But mass primary education has been even more barren in its results.

The bane of education in this country has been that it has been divorced from the people's life and environment; it has simply been a passport to clerkships, examination-ridden, and totally "urban" in its outlook, in a country 89 per cent. of whose population dwells in rural areas. Every villager's son who receives some education and wants to retain it hankers after life in the towns or craves after employment as a village schoolmaster or a *patwari* (most junior rank of Revenue official) or a clerk. It teaches him little of his own calling or the needs of his village. The less lettered often "lapses" into illiteracy, and *wastage* is writ large on India's primary educational system; but even for those who carry through all the stages of primary education there is no training for *life* and *citizenship*.

With this background, little wonder that one of the first acts of the Indian Educational Ministers of the British-Indian Provinces, when education became a *transferred* subject under the Government of India Act of 1919, was to enact legislation for compulsory primary education. But very little actual work on this score was achieved. First, though education was a transferred subject, finance was not, even in the Provinces; secondly, the "Liberal" Ministries lacked the dynamic purposefulness and drive shown by the Congress Governments, which have now been in power in a great majority of the British-Indian Provinces for the last two years. For the first time a systematic and organized crusade is being led by these Governments against this greatest enemy of the Indian people—illiteracy. Owing to their *fad* of "prohibition," they are already seriously handicapped by the enormous decrease in Excise revenues; yet one must acknowledge their resourcefulness and drive, from the plain fact that they are going ahead. Already appreciable progress has been made in some of the Congress-governed provinces in primary education. In the Presidency of Madras, for instance, which has one of the best Congress Premiers in the country, according to the British Director of Public Instruction's survey of the progress made during the past eighteen months with Government's drive against illiteracy, the total number of pupils reading in the fifth standard (the highest primary class at present) has been almost doubled—from 108,186 in 1936 to 211,890 in 1938.

But the colossal problems of mass education in this huge subcontinent have yet to be faced in a bold and systematic manner.

First and foremost is the problem of *finance*, that being the rock against which all previous projects have been shattered.

Second, the problem of adjusting the curriculum to the *life and environment* of the people. Third, to make education an *economic* asset to those that receive it, and not an economic liability by turning them into parasites on the working classes on account of its purely academic and non-vocational character. Fourth, to remodel education on the lines that are best suited to train the new generations in the art of democratic *citizenship*.

For many years the press and the platform in India resounded with condemnation of the existing state of affairs in the country's educational system, but there was little constructive contribution to its actual betterment. There lay the tragedy of Indian educationalism. British educational experts favoured the country with their advice, but they naturally thought in terms of British conditions, and took it for granted that more and better education meant proportionately higher cost, which India could not afford, both because of her poverty and of the apathy of her people and Government alike. Practically for the first time the attention of the country was focussed on this "question of questions," as the late Mr. Gokhale called it, when, with Congress Governments wielding power in a majority of British-Indian Provinces, Mahatma Gandhi, with his usual instinct for the country's need, propounded his scheme of compulsory primary education for the country, subsequently known as the "Wardha Scheme." This scheme has since been modified in many respects, having passed the test of careful examination by educational experts throughout the land, and has with amazing quickness been adopted, as an experimental measure, by a number of Congress Governments in the country. How far and in what manner this scheme meets the requirements of the people and grapples with the main problems of primary education in India, enumerated above, deserves, in the first place, sympathetic understanding, and, secondly, careful examination.

The Wardha Scheme

At the first meeting of educationists called at Wardha in October, 1937, according to an almost verbatim report by Professor M. Mujeeb, Mahatma Gandhi said:

> "So far no comprehensive efforts had been made to confer the benefits of education on the countryside; schools were miserably insufficient in number, and what was termed primary education was a superficial and transient form of literacy which it took less time to lose than it did to acquire. If this education stimulated the desire for further study, the results were still worse, for it prompted the villager to imitate the townsman, to give up his occupation, if not his home, to

become a drudge in some office instead of a free man ploughing his field. In most cases the temptation to imitate the townsman led to a deterioration of character and carried into the village unhealthy habits and vices common in the towns.

"Education in the villages could only be vocational, and it should be vocational." Mahatma Gandhi recalled his experience and experiments when educating his own children, and the system adopted and now further developed at the Tolstoy Farm in South Africa. This was the background of the plans he now had in mind.

Training in some craft could easily be made the centre of all other instruction. Language, general knowledge, hygiene, arithmetic, history, geography could all be harmoniously grouped round vocational training. This method would obviate the grave dangers to which primary education now exposed the youths of the village. They would be made into bread-winners and learn to follow and respect their occupation; instead of being uprooted, their life would become more deeply attached to its environment; their character would be strengthened, and the opportunities of self-development provided by their vocation would banish the lure of the town. There were institutions of various kinds even now where training was given in crafts, but crafts were nowhere considered the medium of instruction. In the technical schools conducted by the State the training given was adopted only to a developed industrial life, and the actual circumstances of the country were ignored. So, while primary education of the general type led to the abandonment of ancestral occupations, technical training had not become attractive, either because it lacked scientific method and educational purpose or because it accustomed men to machinery, tools, and processes that had no place in a village. The result of all this could be seen in the disappearance of accomplished craftsmanship from the countryside.

"True education," Mahatma Gandhi continued, "could be imparted only through some craft. It furnished opportunity for that exercise of physical powers, that training of the eye and the hand, which is essential for healthy growth, and by delivering instruction from the thraldom of books and classrooms it made the acquisition of knowledge a pleasure instead of the burden it now is. On the other hand, vocational instruction would gain in estimation and value by becoming thorough and scientific and by being associated with general education.

"Vocational education," he considered, "should be extended over a period of seven years. We could make a beginning

with the *takli* (spinning-wheel), and complete education could be given simultaneously with scientific training in the various processes comprehended in the spinner's and weaver's crafts." This industry fulfilled needs so permanent and universal that no difficulty would be experienced in utilizing or marketing the produce. Further, this vocational education should be organized with the definite object of becoming self-supporting. In a poverty-stricken land like India only a self-supporting system of education could be contemplated. Our Ministers of Education, if they really meant business, could not afford to wait till they had discovered fresh sources of income with which education can be financed.

No method of education, Mahatma Gandhi said, could be conceived of which did not involve expenditure. But there was no reason why vocational education should be considered in any way defective, if it was based on the principle of making education yield an income. Also we should not assume that children would go on wasting material put in their hands, and that therefore the system would not work. From the educational point of view there was certainly no harm in teaching with the help of toys, or in converting these toys by degrees into instruments of production. A friend had written that the idea of making education self-supporting would make children into slaves. That was wrong. In India children were already employed by their parents in fields and for other work, and there could be no harm if at the same age they were made to do profitable work at school. Today the time spent by children at school was wasted. The teaching of a vocation would convert this waste into profit.

In conclusion, Mahatma Gandhi said that it was manual labour and not books that formed the character. The continuous exercise of mental faculties without a corresponding development of physical powers produced a host of distortions and perversities. Indeed, that innate sense of harmony and truth which humanity possesses taught it ages ago to symbolize the supreme deformity of restless intellect divorced from the corrective power of toil and achievement in the person of Devil, the enemy of all that was good, beautiful, and true.

Now, it was easy enough to belittle the novel theory propounded by one who could not claim to belong to the fraternity of orthodox *educationists*. Many did so. But many also saw in the Mahatma's scheme certain key features which show a way out of the existing vicious circle of which hardly anyone was enamoured, and agreed to meet and discuss the scheme in a conference. Some supporters of the Mahatma's exaggerated notion of the "self-supporting"

aspect of education maintained that it had been tried in certain places in India. Even from the West, with its differing conditions and urban outlook, one paper quoted Mr. Henry Ford's experience in his Greenfield village: "The earning process in Greenfield village actually starts in the kindergarten, where children are encouraged to participate in the gardening project. Surplus produce is sold by a student-staffed roadside market, and proceeds are divided equally." "This year," says Mr. Ford, "each child received about $42 from the garden fund. These little children, earning money with their gardens, teaching each other the knacks they have acquired, helping each other plant and cultivate, are getting a real education. For true education consists in learning to do by doing, learning to help by helping, and learning to earn by earning." The Mahatma, however, had the modesty to state that he would explain his views; the conference should discuss them, decide how much it considered acceptable and practicable, and propose means and methods for giving its views a practical shape. And so these men examined the proposition and thrashed out a scheme, outlined in what is known as Dr. Zakir Husain's report, Dr. Zakir Husain being a Muslim educationist who presided over the deliberations.

As regards the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work, the conference held that psychologically it was desirable because it relieved the child from the tyranny of purely academic and theoretical instruction, against which its active nature always made a healthy protest. Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of the nation, would tend to break down the existing barrier of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme would increase the productive capacity of our workers and would also enable them to utilise their leisure advantageously. From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality could be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge would thus become related to life, and its various aspects would be correlated with one another. The main object of this new educational scheme, as they clearly stated, was *not* primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft "mechanically," but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. And they sounded a note of warning against the obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect might be stressed with the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. In the light of this warning the Committee drew up a detailed scheme and outline of curricula for a seven-year

course of basic education, which was recommended to be made compulsory for boys and girls, instruction being prescribed in their mother-tongue. The Committee made it plain that the economic aspect would be incidental and subordinated to the educational objective, and, secondly, that subjects which could not be correlated with the craft would be taught separately at the same time. Thus, the syllabus drawn up according to the scheme is an admirable combination of the three R's with social sciences, which should go to turn out good citizens.

The scheme in its modified form has since gone so far as to be commended by the Central Advisory Educational Board of the Government of India, which includes in its personnel many eminent British and Indian educationists; and several Congress Provincial Governments in the country have already adopted the scheme and are devising quick methods to overcome obvious practical obstacles. The large Indian State of Kashmir has decided to work the scheme and has made large-scale arrangements for the training of teachers to that end. Some other Indian States and educational bodies also have been induced to make radical changes in their curricula, in favour of agricultural and industrial courses, even though not following the Wardha plan as such. That too is not a negligible "bye-product".

The success of the scheme would largely depend on its pliability. That is, it must be moulded and remoulded to fit in with realities, in the light of actual experience. It is unquestionably in an experimental stage, and if its potentialities for good are to be preserved and exploited an honestly *experimental* spirit must be kept up in its working, modification, and future development. In the light of experience many modifications in the scheme may be found necessary. And due note must be taken of the various pitfalls inherent in the scheme. A fetish must not be made of the "spinning-wheel"; to save it from becoming monotonous and educationally futile a variety of crafts suitable to local needs must be introduced. *Co-ordination* of the crafts will require the utmost skill and resourcefulness. There are other incidental but essential problems like those of training a large band of teachers, the supply of playgrounds, the provision of school-houses, etc. It may also be found Utopian to have a full seven-year course from the beginning as part of compulsory primary education, even though all precautions must be taken against the risk of "wastage" inherent in too short a course. Above all, one must guard against the possibility of looking at this matter "from society's end and not the child's end," as has been so significantly pointed out by a distinguished Indian educationist. The ghost of "self-supporting" education, as such, must be laid once for all, though the productive and other economic

possibilities of the scheme should be welcomed in the Indian conditions of abject poverty, and should certainly be exploited. Discriminating "educational cess" and other sources of taxation should be tapped. Last but not the least, the problem of co-ordinating the scheme with higher education has yet to be examined and tackled.

The progress of the scheme will be watched with interest throughout India, for it claims to be fitted to the unique conditions of rural India and is practically the first constructive effort in the country to grapple with the varied problems confronting a quick spread of basic education on anything like a *wholesale* scale. Evidently there are many gaps to be filled, but the promoters of the scheme have shown every sign of being awake to them, and if they proceed with the experiment in a scientific spirit it may well be that they will have answered one of the major challenges to Indian statesmanship.

THE TURKO-BRITISH PACT

By Z. Niksel

Historical Survey

England came into contact for the first time with Turkey during the reign of Murad III. He had the good fortune to find on his accession to the throne a remarkable Grand Vizier, Sokullu Mehmet Pasha. This statesman listened with favour to the overtures of three English merchants who happened to be in Istanbul at that time, ostensibly for trade, but who in reality had been dispatched there by Queen Elizabeth to sound the feelings of influential people, and pave the way for the establishment of links between England and Turkey.

Sokullu Mehmet Pasha was at that time dissatisfied with the political activity of France, and irritated at the intrigues of the Republic of Venice, which through the medium of Safine Sultane, a Venetian lady, favourite of Murad III., tried to secure privileges by eluding the Sublime Porte.

These informal talks led to a practical result. William Hairbone, one of the negotiators, was accredited as first Ambassador to the Porte. He arrived at Istanbul on March 29, 1583.

On his solicitations the capitulations which had been granted before to France and the Republic of Venice were extended to England.

The relations between England and Turkey thus inaugurated retained—with the exception of a few friendly mediations on the part of England to prevent war or to urge peace—a purely commercial character.

However, the ambitions of Napoleon led to the first co-operation between Great Britain and Turkey in 1798. The invasion of Egypt by the Corsican adventurer was a staggering blow to the latter, as well as a serious threat to the former country. This community of interests created the first strong bond between the two countries. After the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir by Nelson and other episodes of war, the co-operation ended with the peace concluded in 1802.

France never fully recovered again since that event the unique situation which she had held for years on the shores of the Golden Horn.

The Turkish historian Jevdet Pasha emphasizes this turning-point of history with these words:

"On the 14th Safer, 1213 [Hegira], the Reis-ül-Kuttab [the

old name of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, literally 'chief of scribes'] had a conversation with the English Ambassador, in the course of which they exchanged views on the situation. From that day the place of France was taken by England, which became henceforward the confidant and the loyal friend of the Porte."

The second alliance between England and Turkey was directed against Russia. An old quarrel about the Holy Places was at that time raging among Catholic and Orthodox monks in Jerusalem. This served as a pretext for Russia to open hostilities against Turkey. A Turkish squadron anchored at the port of Sinope was destroyed by the Russian fleet without any previous declaration of war. Lord Aberdeen, the then Prime Minister of England, strongly supported by public opinion, did not hesitate to declare war on Russia. France and Sardinia joined. In the Crimean peninsula Turkish and English soldiers fought side by side. Russia was defeated, and peace was concluded at the Congress of Paris (1856).

Turkey's Longing for Peace

From 1911 until the Armistice of Mudanya (October, 1922), during eleven long years, Turkey had to sustain the Tripoli War against Italy, the first and second Balkan Wars against her neighbours of that peninsula, and the Great War on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary against nearly the whole world, and finally the Anatolian War against Greece.

When the peace negotiations in Lausanne, conducted by the actual President of the Republic, Ismet Inönü, were concluded and the Treaty of Lausanne was signed (July, 1923), Turkey, exhausted by twelve years of uninterrupted warfare, found herself in the midst of endless ruins, untilled fields, burnt houses, destroyed railways, battered roads, and innumerable cripples.

Kemal Atatürk, who had led the Turkish army to the final victory, was elected first President of the First Turkish Republic (October 29, 1923). Since that day to the end of his life this great Turk, seconded by men of patriotism and self-denial, devoted himself to the huge task of healing the wounds, removing the wreck, and regenerating the country.

Atatürk never again wore a uniform. He was no longer a warrior. He had set his heart on the works of reconstruction, and he knew that their foundations were—peace.

He had vowed to keep closed with a firm hand the doors of the temple of Janus, and he kept word to his last breath.

The peace policy of Atatürk was joyfully and effectively backed by Ismet Inönü and Dr. Aras, now Ambassador to the Court of St. James. These statesmen were not mere deferential tools, but fervent votaries of the same faith.

With Soviet Russia Turkey had established friendly relations since the beginning of the Independence War. The old secular foe has been our sole friend in a trying period when our very existence was at stake. The Communism of Soviet Russia did not form an obstacle to our co-operation. Turkey has never been Marxist, but she is tolerant towards the ideologies of her neighbours.

With Iran Turkey solved all her pending problems; she drew a clear frontier line and removed all the clashes provoked by constant tribal shiftings of the boundary. The visit of the Shah to Turkey sealed the friendship between the two nations.

With Irak, as soon as we disentangled the Mossul question, the best neighbourly relations were inaugurated.

With Syria and the Mandatory Power, France, we had not the least difference until the latter thought fit to grant Syria independence, omitting the fate of the Sandjak of Alexandretta, for which she had assumed special obligations. This question, too, has been settled by peaceful diplomatic means.

In Europe the task was more arduous. We had had a long, decimating war with Greece. The exchange of one million and a half of population and the liquidation of their properties engendered many intricate questions. The two Governments were harassed by the grievances of the dissatisfied exchanged and non-exchanged citizens.

In spite of all these hindrances, the rancours of the recent hostilities were little by little and by reciprocal effort erased from people's minds, and a serene atmosphere of co-operation and friendship was created.

The immigration problem, which is still an acute one in the Balkans, has been handled by Turkey tactfully as regards the Turks left in the old Imperial territory.

Turkey has never entertained islands of agitation in the midst of their neighbours. Turkish minorities never served to realize political ambitions, to claim territories, to justify interferences " in order to allay the fate of oppressed brethren."

Turkey knows better than anyone the bitter flavour of this insidious policy. She had over a century to wrestle with those unceasing claims which under the mantle of exalted human principles concealed hideous ambitions. Because she knows this treacherous path she avoids it.

With Greece she had removed the deep-rooted feud by exchanging between 1924 and 1934 all the Greeks and Turks living in their respective territories.

All the Turks dwelling in Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria are given a home and means of livelihood if they wish to come to Turkey. No propaganda is made either to keep them where

they are or persuade them to leave. It is a matter of free choice. Between 1934 and 1938, 70,000 Turks from Roumania, 65,000 from Bulgaria, 9,000 from Yugoslavia have migrated into Turkey. Bulgaria was the only frowning member of the Balkan family. The adversity suffered by her in the second Balkan War and the World War had made her irreconcilable. She could not find, as Turkey, a diversion and a new ideal in internal reconstruction. Besides, the situations were not quite similar. Turkey tried repeatedly to persuade Bulgaria into Balkan co-operation. She succeeded, so far, in bringing about correct relations, but she has never given up the hope of securing a willing partnership.

As we had not any dividing issues between Roumania and Yugoslavia, the Balkan Entente could be created. Thanks to the Entente, the Balkans, which had been a furnace of ever-seething hatred, has become a region where good-will, peace, and harmony reign.

Why Turkey is the Leading Partner in the Balkan Entente

This fact is not due to statistical data on natural resources, on industrial machinery, or to any balance sheet of wealth and power whatsoever, although Turkey has gone a long way in every direction with vigorous strides.

Roumania and Yugoslavia are countries blessed with multifarious natural resources and equipped with extensive industries. Greece has, in addition, a very extensive and active mercantile marine. It is not even population that confers priority to Turkey. Roumanians number 19,000,000, Turks over 17,000,000. Owing to the increase of births in Turkey, the next census may wipe out this small margin. Turkey derives her priority from two circumstances: first, homogeneity of her population; secondly, her geographical situation. Turkey is now an ethnic whole. There are no minorities with a magnet outside to attract them.

For the Greek minority in Istanbul there is the Turkish minority of Comotini to make counterpoise. Both friendly States treat them decently and avoid any measure which might hurt the feelings of the other party.

The last war has purged Turkey of all her heterogeneous elements. She lost nearly half of her ancient population and more than half of her former area, and she experienced a paradoxical phenomenon: she gained more vigour and vitality after this huge amputation. The three other States of the Balkan Entente are burdened within their frontiers by discontented newcomers into the community. Outside their frontiers they are worried by States which claim unceasingly and threateningly that they have been iniquitously despoiled.

Turkey has herself no claims beyond her frontiers. Her rights on the Sandjak have been duly recognized. She does not belong to the revisionist group of nations, although she was one of the greatest sufferers of the last war.

Turkey has no sympathy with revisionists of any kind, because as long as there is not a court of law for international conflicts and a coercing force to carry its sentences into effect, "revisionism," "irredentism," "expansionism," and other national aspirations, under whatever denomination, hide in their bosoms the seeds of war. All these banner-bearers aim at the change of the map of the world, and consequently are the aggressors of tomorrow.

Turkey has, above all, the privilege of an exceptional geographical situation. She sits astride on two continents. She binds Europe to Asia. She is the sole keeper of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and the Marmora Sea, which is the central extensive swelling of the channel.

Until the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarcik, which gave to Russia a coastline in the Sea of Azof, the Black Sea was a Turkish lake and the Straits had no international importance.

With the appearance of Russia and the subsequent cessionaries, Roumania and Bulgaria, on the Black Sea littoral, Turkey, which had lost the major part of the Pontus Euxinus, but had managed to keep its entrance under her sway, had to assume the task of regulating the passage of the channel.

That gave her endless trouble and made her the target of covetous neighbours. But to make good this handicap she had the valuable power to open the Straits to friends and close them to foes. The Straits were, at the same time, a bane and a boon—rather more the former than the latter.

Since the Axis has erected a lengthwise barrier from north to south between France-England and Poland-Russia-Roumania, there is only one way for the democratic Powers to keep contact with their eastern allies—the Mediterranean and the Straits. The Baltic way does not seem to be reliable. In spite of the Italian assertion that the western part of the Mediterranean could be cut from the eastern through naval forces massed between Sicily and the isle of Pantellaria, this passage is too broad to constitute an effective obstruction against powerful warships.

Parallel between the Turkey of the Lausanne Treaty and the Turkey of Today

The Turkey of 1939, when compared with the exhausted Turkey emerging from the Treaty of Lausanne, can hardly be recognized.

Since the proclamation of the Republic (October, 1923) the social and cultural reforms due to the genius of Atatürk, and achieved with no relaxation and respite, have altered the outer aspect and reshaped the inner constitution of the country.

It is not within the scope of this article to relate the striking changes brought about by modern education as imparted to the rising generation, the emancipation of women, the introduction of the civil code, and so on. Yet all these reforms are considerable assets when measuring the potentialities of a nation.

Let us make here a short inventory of the chief items—Budget, railways, roads, industry, minerals—without which a country's resources cannot be gauged.

Railways.—The Ottoman Empire had built 3,005 miles of railways in sixty-two years. Now there are 4,375 miles, which connect Eastern Anatolia to the Ægean Sea and the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The iron ribbon will connect within two months Turkey with Soviet Russia, and the work programme in hand will bring the Turkish locomotives in the very near future to the frontiers of Irak and Iran.

The first Turkish railway—the Aydin Railway—was built in 1856, thanks to English enterprise. It was intended by its promoters to go as far as the Persian Gulf and India. Unforeseen changes left that scheme in embryo. The Germans were luckier with their "Baghdad Bahn," which, perhaps, would have reached the mouth of the Euphrates had not the World War drawn afresh the map of our planet.

It has been said that the Turkish railways have more strategical than economic value. They have both, and it is futile to engage in hair-splitting arguments as to the predominance of the one over the other. A cheap transport policy has increased the traffic in an undreamed of proportion, and this volume of carriage alone is a sufficient reply to those who deny their economical usefulness.

Roads.—The Turkish roads had in 1923 a length of 11,472 miles. They were in wretched condition. Now 12,500 miles of roads have been added to the net, and the old roads have been repaired. An important transit road 3,776 miles long has been built between Trabzon, Erzerum, Tabriz, Teheran. A regular bus service carries, since June, 1937, passengers and goods to and from Iran.

Mercantile Marine.—The mercantile marine has increased eightfold in fifteen years—1932, 27,000 tons; 1938, 219,580 tons.

Budget and Public Debt.—In the first Budget of the Republic of Turkey (1924), Budget estimates were £T.140,000,000, with a deficit of £T.11,000,000. This deficit was, in the course of the year, wiped out by reducing the expenditure. The Budget rose

yearly, except in the crisis years 1930-1932, and reached in 1939 £T.250,000,000. This 80 per cent. increase resulted from the normal development of revenue, and no new duties were added or former duties augmented.

The regular payment of all public expenditure was made into an unshakable principle. This may appear to the Western mind hardly worth mentioning. But until 1908, and even after, the Civil Servants had constantly three months' arrears in their pay, and the officers even more.

Turkey has diminished in the Republican era her exterior debt and increased her interior debt, mainly for carrying out her railway programme. But the total amount of the debt does not exceed one year's revenue. Compared with the debts of other States, where the public debts amount sometimes to nine times the annual revenue, this may be considered as a very healthy situation.

Industry.—The development of industry has received the serious attention of the régime. Except for the domestic handicrafts (carpets, textiles, etc.), there were hardly any industries during the Imperial era. Half-hearted attempts were made from time to time to relieve the subservience to the foreign industry.

In 1915 Turkish industry amounted to 20,977 horse-power and produced articles of a total value of £T.262,720. In 1938 the horse-power total rose to 7,577,000, and the value of the production reached £T.285,000,000. The new Five Years' Plan provides for the creation and enlargement of plants for textiles, ceramics, chemicals, artificial silk, paper and cardboard, etc.

The Turkish industry envisages no autarchy in the sullen exclusive meaning of the word. But since the era of onerous exterior loans for deficit-filling purposes is closed, Turkey wishes, in a spirit of rectitude, to buy abroad as much as she can pay for and no more. Besides, she has perceived the absurdity of seeking outside her boundaries what she has got plentifully at home.

Minerals.—At the beginning of the century it was customary to speak of the hidden treasures of Turkey. This was a somewhat hypothetical belief. Nevertheless, a great number of minerals had been already brought to the surface. Only they were not or they were very feebly exploited.

This easy-going policy could not endure. Turkey, being busily engaged in equipping the country, quite naturally turned her eyes on the ores and minerals of her subsoil. Now important quantities of chrome, copper, zinc, lead, manganese, and magnesium are extracted, and those which are not directly consumed are exported and help to counteract our adverse trade balance.

The Causes that have Led to Anglo-Turkish Co-operation

(a) *England*

What has induced Turkey and England to agree on co-operation?

Everyone more or less familiar with world politics knows that the main characteristics of England's traditional policy are:

1. To resist any domination which could put her in a state of subservience.
2. To remove any threat to her Imperial communications.
3. To refrain from every Continental interference when the two first objectives do not urgently require it.

England has, of late, acquired the impression that in some quarters such a domination is designed, and that her overseas communications might be menaced. As a consequence, supported by public opinion, she has resolved to pursue an active policy aiming at preventing any conceivable attempts of this kind.

There may be differences of opinion as to the moment chosen by the British Government for deviating from the course followed until Munich.

Professional distributors of praise and blame may expatiate on the flaws and the merits of the recent English policy. The world is now aware that Chamberlain has left his umbrella; he has taken a sword instead, but he hopes not to unsheathe it.

(b) *Turkey*

The Turkish incentives are summarized in a speech made on May 12 by Fethi Okyar, former Ambassador of Turkey in London, at the Grand National Assembly on the occasion of the Anglo-Turkish Agreement. F. Okyar said:

"The political events of the last days have shaken the foundations of security. Czecho-Slovakia has been in one day wiped from the map of Europe. Through an ultimatum or something very much approaching it, Roumania has been compelled to adjust her economy according to the wishes of Germany. All these events have thrown a tremendous shadow over the atmosphere of tranquillity to which we had become accustomed. Anxiety spreads all round. Nobody expected the Government to remain with folded arms in a situation where no pledges, no assurances, no words have any worth whatever."

Fethi Okyar added: "A great Power has sent armed forces into a State in the Balkan peninsula, which belongs to the Balkan nations and bent it under her sway. The same Power has set foot on several islands very near to our shores and is actively busy in equipping and fortifying them.

"We have an extensive coast on the Mediterranean, we have a frontier in Thrace. Our chief concern is to protect these boundaries. On the other side, England is interested in seeing Turkey strong and unassailable within her frontiers. Nothing is more logical and natural than that two countries having identical interests and objectives should unite their forces to ward off any danger which might confront either of them."

All the reasons of Turkey's anxiety, as have already found expression in everyone's talk and in the Press, are condensed in the few words cited above.

The German "Lebensraum" has of late very often occupied the columns of Turkish papers. This vague formula allows wide scope for speculation. It implies aspirations which can never be brought to fulfilment and satiety, because every new annexation fills a gap and opens another. Countries are never, economically, geographically, ethnically, etc., complete wholes. Readjustments can be effected with far or near neighbours which possess what the others lack, and they are made by free agreements. Will the apostles of power politics seek to operate these readjustments by bringing forcibly the weak into the structure of the strong?

The "rights" and "vital interests" of Mussolini in the Mediterranean Sea are not less foggy than the nebulous "Lebensraum." There are the claims on Tunisia and Corsica, which have been noisily voiced in the Corporative Chamber, students' demonstrations, and in newspapers, but nobody knows exactly what are the limits of Mussolini's Roman Empire.

As the Mediterranean shores north and south, east and west are occupied by other nations, the coveted spots could only be secured either by a voluntary cession of the occupant or by a forcible seizure by the Blackshirts.

Italy could not materialize her aspirations of 1918 on the Anatolian coast. Has she now definitely buried her frustrated hopes? Do these hover over other sites?

Italian newspapers carefully avoid this theme. From time to time, when some newspapers at home awkwardly, or abroad, vexingly, hint at Italian designs on the Eastern Mediterranean, disclaimers are not spared.

What are these disclaimers worth?

Stages in the Anglo-Turkish Rapprochement

When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed there were between England and Turkey the lingering shadows of protracted hostilities.

Turkey remembered the merciless occupation, its concomitant

violences, and the moral and material help extended to the invader of the Anatolian soil.

Fortunately, in the dealings between nations new situations, new governments, new generations help to forget the past and to shape a new future.

The rapprochement between Turkey and Great Britain which ripened into the last agreement was initiated in 1926.

The question of the northern frontier with Irak had long been a source of uneasiness and a matter of controversy.

Turkey accepted at last the boundary line fixed by the League of Nations, and on June 5, 1926, the Treaty of Ankara was signed between England, Turkey, and Irak, and the atmosphere was cleared. Turkey received some compensations, including 10 per cent. of royalties of the Turkish petroleum and its subsidiaries for a period of twenty-five years.

The second milestone on the road of Turco-British amity is the Convention of Montreux.

The Treaty of Lausanne had created a demilitarized neutral zone along the Straits. When this treaty was drafted there was still in the world the hope of universal disarmament, somewhat like a rosy dawn of peace. The neutralization of the Straits was part of this Utopian programme.

After a decade it became apparent that not only nobody had disarmed, but that a hurricane of rapine and aggression was blowing over the world. Manchuria had been occupied, the Abyssinian war was raging.

In face of these shattered illusions, Turkey asked for the revision of the dispositions of the Treaty of Lausanne regarding the Straits.

On this occasion England first and foremost showed realistic comprehension and enlightened far-sightedness towards the Turkish claims. With the signature of the Convention of Montreux, Turkey became again the effective guardian of the Straits. She has the right to close them in case of war and even if she feels "menaced by war."

The present situation, heavy with suspense and anxiety, proves the timeliness and appropriateness of the Turkish step leading to the Montreux Convention.

The third milestone is the economic agreement made between England and Turkey in May, 1938. This agreement raised in Germany and Italy unjustified concern. Newspapers spoke of trade monopoly and of military preparations. It is only an economical co-operation on a large scale. As for its serving military ends, everything nowadays does. To build a road from a village to a town does too, because it might accelerate any mobilization.

The iron and steel works of Karabük are the result of this agree-

ment. Karabük is now an important industrial centre, created with English capital by English engineers seconded by Turkish craftsmen. The works have been created at a cost of nearly eight million sterling. Production will begin next August.

Karabük is on the railway line Ankara-Zonguldak. A few miles separate it from the Black Sea. When the train stops in the night Karabük looks, with its plants, its neat houses, and the numberless lights, like a mirage. Yet it is not a mirage. It is a symbol of the awakening of Anatolia from its long lethargy.

Comments and Expectations

German and Italian statesmen and journalists assert solemnly that neither England nor Turkey is threatened in their moral or material interests or their territorial integrity. It is needless to stress that it behoves each country to determine when and how its soil or its interests are in jeopardy and to resort to the required measures to ward off the impending harm.

No one in Ankara and London was so simple-minded as to expect approval from Germany and Italy when the pact of May 12 was concluded. The criticisms and sarcasms of the Totalitarians did not surprise anybody. Erecting a fence against an eventual trespasser is neither aggression nor encirclement.

Fifteen years of fervent and active peace-making are for any unbiassed mind a convincing proof of the pacifist trend of Turkish policy. The umbrella of Mr. Chamberlain has been, since last September, in the whole world the symbol of a pacifism reaching the extreme limits of candour and credulity.

England and Turkey have not in the least abjured their devotion to peace. But intervening events have shaken their complacency, and they are now more diffident, more watchful. If war ensues, that will prove the foresight of the parties pledging to help each other. If war is prevented, one would be justified in thinking that this pact and the other similar pacts have contributed to debar such a great calamity. Should our alarms prove baseless—as we are so emphatically told—we would gladly and heartily laugh at our mistake.

Anyhow, something will abide between England and Turkey—a co-operation in the fields of culture, industry and trade, deepened by the acceptance in a fateful hour of a common danger for common ends.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF IRAN*

By Dr. Henry Field

A map of the world on Mercator's projection shows Iran to be approximately equidistant from Manchukuo, Australia, South Africa, and the British Isles. South-Western Asia (including Iran, Iraq, Transcaucasia, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and the Arabian Peninsula) is surrounded by water with the exception of the eastern boundary of Iran and Transcaucasia, where the mighty Caucasus range forms in part a geographic barrier. Thus the only westward approach from Central Asia into South-Western Asia lies through Iran. On the other hand, this is somewhat modified by the location of the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan and the mountain complex in Baluchistan, extending southward to the Makran coast. Within the confines of Iran the Elburz range and the great deserts of Dasht-i-Kavir and Dasht-i-Lut appear as geographical barriers to migration. Thus, extensive migration from the east could only have taken place along the coastal strip between the Elburz Mountains and the Caspian Sea, through passes in these mountains, or beside the Irano-Afghan and Irano-Baluchistan boundaries to the neighbourhood of Bampur, from which point the direction of the mountain folding makes travel to the north-west relatively easy. Communication with the Indus Valley has long been established along the Makran coast.

These geographical features have undoubtedly played a prominent part in westward migrations into Iran.

Iran comprises, according to Stamp, approximately "628,000 square miles, equal to a fifth of the Continental United States, or larger than the British Isles, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany combined. It is 1,400 miles from north-west to south-east, and 875 miles from north to south."

The greater portion of Iran has an arid and semi-arid climate, although there are evidences of a greater fertility in ancient times. The vegetation is limited to that of the Mediterranean region. The fauna is relatively rich in genera and species. In passing it must be noted that South-Western Asia appears to be one of the important world centres of concentration of different species of cultivated plants as well as one of the areas where domestication of animals took place.

* This paper was read before the Twentieth International Congress of Orientalists in Brussels, September, 1938.

Iran has been inhabited since Paleolithic times, the evidence being extremely scanty but, to my mind, definite.

There is no need to give an historical outline of Iran. It will suffice to point out that historical records reveal invasions from north, west, and east. Each invader left some indelible mark on the physical characters of the modern peoples of Iran. There being no accurate census figures for the population, I am forced to quote the range from ten to fifteen millions of inhabitants, the latter probably being the more correct.

In 1934, as leader of the Field Museum Anthropological Expedition to the Near East, through the kindness of Shah Reza Pahlavi and his Ministers, and financed by Marshall Field, I had the unusual privilege of being granted permission to extend my anthropometric survey of South-Western Asia into Iran.

As upon 3,000 individuals in Iraq, I took eleven measurements and twenty-nine observations upon each of 299 individuals, including Jews from Isfahan, villagers of Yezd-i-Khast and Kinareh, tribesmen from the mountains of Pusht-i-Kuh in Luristan, and a few men from the Damghan area.

The basic elements were found by mechanical sortings on the Hollerith machines at Harvard or by selection from photographs. While the former method has the greater validity despite the smallness of the groups, the latter indicates the statistical procedure to be followed.

During the Harvard academic year 1935-36, through the hospitality of Mr. Donald Scott, Director of the Peabody Museum, and with the generous collaboration of Professor E. A. Hooton, I studied and sorted the 6,000 racial type photographs obtained in Iran, Iraq, and Georgia in the Caucasus. Special concentration was devoted to the Iran series, and as a result a number of Mediterranean and non-Mediterranean types were isolated into groups. Photographic sortings are not entirely satisfactory, since individual variation plays too prominent a part, but as a final result the head form, facial index, nasal index, and particularly the nasal profile, appeared to be of racial significance.

On the basis of the mechanical sortings we were able to establish that the two largest and therefore most representative elements in the population were relatively dolichocephalic, narrow-faced and narrow-nosed, distinguished from each other chiefly by a difference in nasal profile. One group was characterized by a straight nose, a slightly greater percentage by a convex or concavo-convex nasal profile. Beyond this, although statistically the two elements are not greatly differentiated, comparison of their morphological observations, in addition to their nasal characteristics, tends to establish them as separate entities.

To determine whether the large, convex-nosed, long-headed

type was an inherent element in this Iranian population, the statistics were tabulated for the large-nosed round heads. It was at once clear that the latter were in no way related to our representative long heads. Their convex noses had not been adopted from this foreign element.

Furthermore, a fourth group of mixed-eyed long heads, representing a blond element, especially among the Lurs, appeared close to the large-nosed dolichocephals, both in measurements and in indices.

It is therefore evident on the basis of these calculations that the hook-nosed, long-headed type developed and may even have originated on the Iranian Plateau. The straight-nosed long heads are closer to the Proto-Mediterranean type, whose modern representatives now dwell as Beduins in the wilderness of North Arabia. This hook-nosed, long-headed people appears as a new and possibly fundamental type of the Eur-African division of the so-called Whites, perhaps the original source of diffusion of the prominent convex-nosed group scattered among many other racial stocks.

The plateau of Iran and a strip of equal breadth westward to the Mediterranean may well have been that area of the world in which *Homo sapiens* developed. The mixed-eyed group, indicating submerged blondism, must be classified under a Proto-Nordic category. The round heads undoubtedly pushed southward across the plains of Turkestan into Khurasan and also south from the mountain fastnesses of the Caucasus.

The basic element is long-headed and forms the central link in the chain of Mediterranean types from the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of the Pacific.

The next stage in procedure was to examine the photographs, which already gave us the indications used for the mechanical sortings. The impressional types differ but little from those obtained statistically, with the exception that certain individuals can be placed in definite categories which do not appear in the mechanical sortings. These sub-types, such as Mongoloids, Armenoids, Hamites, etc., can be recognized by the summing up of several physical characters rather than by measurements, although in the Mongoloid types the bizygomatic breadth shows an increase, and in the Armenoid the additional waviness of the hair and the eversion of the lips would be recorded. The photographic types can best be divided into Mediterranean and non-Mediterranean groups and sub-groups. The latter, which are easier to differentiate, will be left to the end, since there appear to be several impressional Mediterranean types recognizable in this Irani population, and, since this paper can be but a preliminary contribution to the study of the anthropometry of Iran, it seems advisable

to distinguish between these types, with the full knowledge that after a detailed anthropometric survey is completed it may well be that many of these minor variations will merge into relatively few distinct racial elements.

Among Mediterranean types there occurs every mixture from the classic, gracile type described by Sergi to a crude or primitive type. In addition, the Proto-Mediterranean element is present in the modern population. There are also pure Mediterraneans, high-vaulted Mediterraneans with a straight or an aquiline nose, and Atlanto-Mediterraneans or Pseudo-Nordics with a long, narrow head, long and broad face, straight or slightly convex nose, and a square, angular jaw. Certain individuals would pass for North or South Europeans.

In this preliminary survey I have felt justified in further breaking down the Mediterranean element into Iraqo-Mediterranean and Irano-Mediterranean types, although statistically the differences are slight, but morphologically they appear to me obvious.

Among non-Mediterranean elements we can recognize an Armenoid or Anatolian mixed type with a flattened occiput and a large aquiline nose; an Alpinoid type showing strong, broad-faced admixture; a Hamitic type with a long, narrow head associated with a long, narrow, ovoid face; a characteristically Jewish type; and Negroid and Mongoloid types.

The impressional sortings of the photographs yield results which differ but little from the mechanical sortings. The main deviations occur where it has appeared possible to make finer subdivisions of the Mediterranean and non-Mediterranean types, sub-divisions which may or may not be confirmed when the anthropometric survey of Iran is completed.

In general, the population is Mediterranean in type, although brachycephals predominate in the north-western and north-eastern sections of the country. The presence of the non-Mediterranean elements, such as Mongoloid, Negroid, Armenoid, Nordic, and Alpine, will be confirmed by further study and their percentages indicated when the survey is finished.

The general summary of mechanical and impressional types divides the modern peoples of Iran into the following categories:

(A) *Iranian Plateau Dolichocephals.*

1. Large, convex-nosed, leptorrhine, leptoprosopic, hyper-dolichocephals with abundant hair.
2. Straight-nosed, square-jawed, long-faced dolichocephals of Mediterranean type.
3. Straight or concave, rather broad-nosed, square-jawed, short-faced dolichocephals of primitive Mediterranean type.
4. Mixtures of Nos. 1 and 2, possibly Proto-Nordic.

(B) *Iranian Plateau Brachycephals.*

1. Concave or straight-nosed, square-jawed people with globular heads; possible Proto-Alpine.
2. Markedly convex-nosed, with high-vaulted head and flattened occiput; "Armenoid" type.
3. Convex-nosed, long-faced, hypsicephals, possibly derived from Turkestan brachycephalic admixture with No. 1.

In my forthcoming Field Museum publication entitled *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran* I have attempted to compile significant historical references to the physical characters of the peoples of Iran as well as important anthropometric data, not only from Iran, but also from the surrounding countries. There is also a chapter dealing with the peoples of Iran province by province.

In this brief communication I cannot do more than summarize briefly the results obtained and to call attention to the fact that the modern inhabitants of the Iranian Plateau lie almost midway between the maximum breadth of the Mediterranean belt, which extends from Morocco eastward to the Pacific Ocean. When satisfactory anthropometric surveys between the Mediterranean and India have been completed it will be possible then, and only then, to decide the true relationship between these sub-divisions of the eastern extension of the Mediterranean Race and, in turn, their individual or combined relationship to the ancient and modern inhabitants of Europe, Africa, and Asia.

The true racial composition of Iran will be determined only after representative series from all areas are measured and observed.

It is to be hoped that the Government of Iran will not only facilitate anthropometric studies by foreigners, but will encourage their own students to be trained for this purpose and to publish the main text of their results in the English language.

In conclusion, the ancient *Homo iranicus*, the anthropological enigma "Q," was related closely, perhaps even a full brother, to the original *Homo sapiens*, who developed physically and culturally somewhere within that area designated broadly as South-Western Asia, the nursery of our direct ancestors, and it may well be that in due time we can with justification paraphrase the quotation "Fair Iran, thou nursery of Man."

KAPOK

By Charles M. Morrell, F.R.G.S.

Kapok is a white silky fibre, forming the natural protection of the seeds obtained from the fruits of a tree of the Bombacaceæ family. There are about twelve different kinds of kapok, but that derived from the Ceiba pentandra Gaertn. (Eriodendron anfractuosum D.C.) is generally recognised as being of the highest quality of those offered in commercial quantities.

Ceiba pentandra, a tree found by Hollanders more than 300 years ago, is now extensively cultivated in the Netherlands Indies, particularly in Central and Eastern Java and South Celebes. The soil and climatic conditions in these regions are particularly suitable for its successful cultivation, the essential requirements for which are a light, porous accreted soil of volcanic origin and a tropical climate without too excessive precipitation and with a distinct dry and wet monsoon.

The tree has a straight trunk with horizontal branches bearing pods, about 7 inches in length, somewhat similar in shape to the cotton pod, only larger. The kapok tree blooms two or three times during the dry season, and consequently the fruits do not ripen at the same time. They must therefore be harvested with great care by experienced harvesters in order to eliminate unripe fruit, the kapok from which would be immature.

Harvesting is carried out by natives, and the pods are either picked by hand by native youths who climb the trees with great agility, or knocked carefully off the branches by hooked bamboo poles. The pods are gathered and put into sacks which are transported to the storage sheds on two-wheeled carts usually drawn by oxen. Here the pods are carefully examined, those unripe are removed and discarded. The ripe pods are then broken open by hand, and, as thoroughly ripe fibre is usually almost free from both pod and seeds, it is easily separated. The fibre is then transported to the drying sheds, where it is dried in the sun and continually agitated by means of a long bamboo fork. This results in the loosening of the fibres and consequently some of the remaining seeds are separated and fall to the floor. When the kapok has been thoroughly dried it is removed to the factory to be put through seeding machines, which are in the form of a flanged rotator with blades which whip out the few remaining seeds and any foreign matter, such as pieces of husk or core, by centrifugal force through openings in the base of the machine, and the kapok is blown out through a chute.

The clean kapok is then pressed into light bales by hand-press for transportation to the warehouses at the ports, where it is again pressed, this time by hydraulic pressure into bales for export.

Examination of kapok under a microscope reveals the fact that the fibre is tubular. In other words, each fibre is an air-filled cell, which accounts for the many and varied uses to which it is put and to which we shall refer later on in this article. The wall of the fibre is covered with a waxy substance which renders kapok impervious to moisture. Neither the outer shell nor the actual fibre offers any nutrition to vermin or insects, and it is a notable fact that in the tropics even the white ant, that most voracious of insects, will not touch it. Consequently, it is generally recognized as being vermin-proof.

As an illustration of the lightness and filling capacity of kapok, it is of interest to mention that about 12,000 pods are required to produce one hundredweight of pure kapok.

The fruits produce seeds and fibre in the proportion of about 2 to 1 by weight. The seeds yield a yellow-coloured, non-drying, practically odourless and tasteless oil, closely resembling cotton-seed oil in its saturated and unsaturated fatty-acid content, though with considerably less linoleic acid than cotton-seed oil. Kapok seeds yield about 22 per cent. to 25 per cent. oil if extraction is applied, and inasmuch as about 45 per cent. of the weight of the seeds is represented by the shell, 40 per cent. to 45 per cent. of the kernels is oil. Kapok-cake is used for cattle food.

The extent to which kapok can be used and the wide range of uses to which it is put are not generally realized. Kapok is used in small household articles such as a tea cosy, and yet it is also employed as an insulating medium in large dry-ice containers which form a part of railway rolling-stock.

Kapok has been described above as an air-filled cell and for this reason kapok fibres are resilient, buoyant, and act as an insulant against cold. Because of its resiliency, it is used to a very large extent as a filling material for cushions and pillows and also mattresses. Any of these articles very quickly regain their shape when placed for a short while in the sun, as the natural expansion of the air-filled cells will loosen the kapok. Pillows filled with Java-kapok are recommended by the medical profession for use by sufferers from hay fever, asthma and other bronchial complaints, as it is entirely free from dust of any description and therefore cannot cause any irritation of the nasal membrane which is so often experienced with numerous other fillings. The low thermal conductivity of kapok renders a kapok-filled mattress cool in summer, when it allows the heat of the body to pass into the atmosphere, and warm in winter, because it does not absorb the heat of the body. If hygiene were the first consideration when

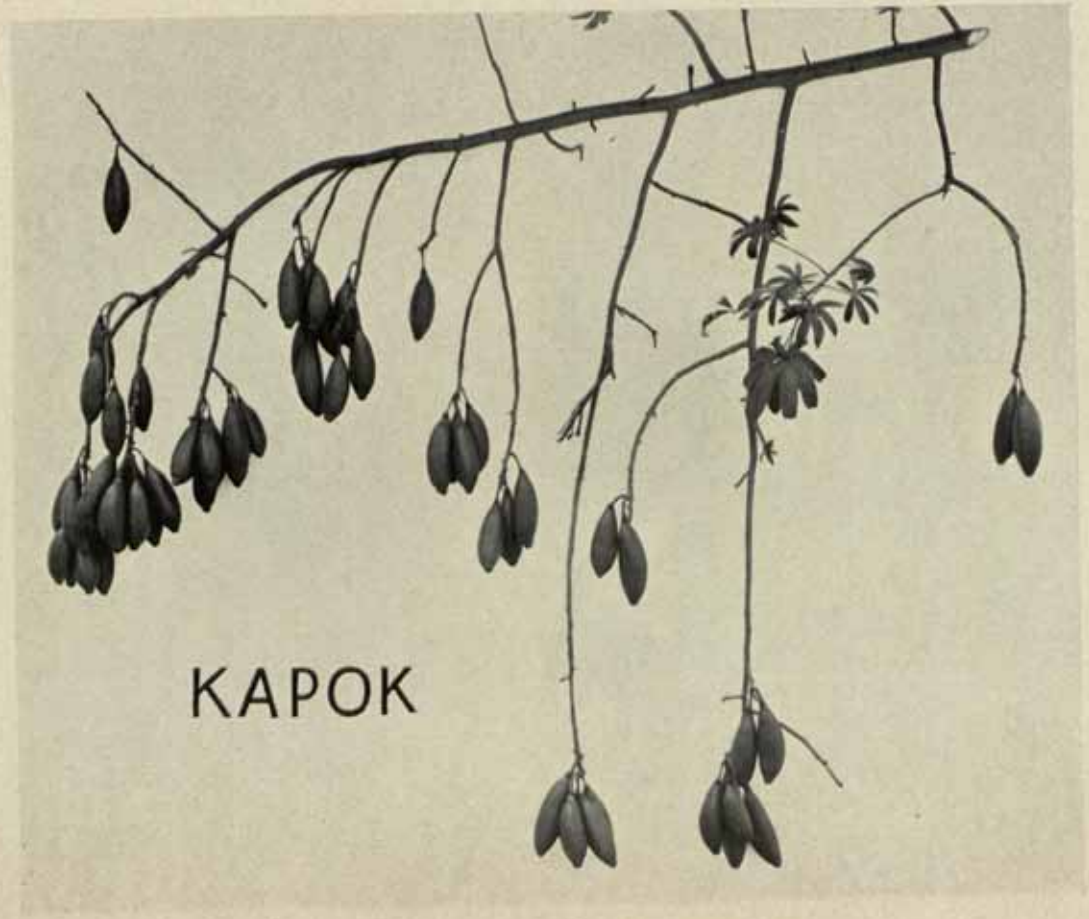


FIG. 1.—BRANCH OF KAPOK TREE WITH PODS.

PLATE I.

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PLATE II.



FIG. 2.—PLUCKING KAPOK PODS.



FIG. 3.—EXTRACTING THE FIBRE FROM THE PODS.



FIG. 4.—FEEDING KAPOK WITH SEEDING MACHINES.

PLATE IV.



FIG. 5.—PRESS-PACKING KAPOK BEFORE SHIPMENT.

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the purchase of bedding is contemplated, there would be much more kapok-filled bedding in use. Unfortunately, the present demand is for an article which looks attractive or feels soft, and no attention whatever is paid to the fact that the filling material used has, of necessity, to undergo purification. There is no necessity to purify kapok, as a vegetable fibre does not require the purification process which is necessary in the use of a large number of other filling materials, either by law of nature or civil regulations, before they can be employed.

Another use for kapok is in life-saving appliances. Here again it is the air-filled fibre and the waxy covering of the walls which give the fibre buoyancy and imperviousness to water. The floating power of kapok is about five times as great as that of cork, and, submerged, it has a carrying capacity of not less than thirty times its own weight. For this reason, kapok is used to a great extent by manufacturers of life-saving appliances. Particularly in the case of life jackets kapok is preferable to cork as in addition to its higher floating power it is softer and lighter, and the life-jacket is less cumbersome. It will be readily appreciated that also from the point of view of safety, kapok-filled mattresses are eminently suitable for use in ships. Modern requirements are for an interior-spring mattress which one would presume to be too heavy to float. This is not the case when kapok is used as a complementary filling. Floating bunk mattresses with interior springs and kapok covering have been constructed, which, when tested at the National Physical Laboratory, still had a total reserve of 220 lbs. after floating 90 hours with a superimposed load of 144 lbs.

Kapok-filled life-saving appliances are to be preferred to pneumatic articles because of the danger of puncture. For this very reason, kapok-filled floats are used by the army for infantry assault-bridges. The floats can be punctured by rifle and machine-gun fire without any detrimental effect and will in fact float until completely destroyed.

Until quite recently, the spinning of kapok fibre has been impracticable from a commercial point of view. The fibre has a smooth surface and is quite straight in contrast with cotton, which has a natural twist, thus facilitating spinning. Experiments have been in progress for many years without satisfactory results, but during the latter part of last year many of the difficulties have been solved, and it is quite possible that, in the near future, materials woven from kapok yarn will be placed on the market. Already a satisfactory method of spinning kapok yarn has been found which is used for knitting ladies' jumpers. Such jumpers will undoubtedly become popular as they are extremely light and warm and also moth-proof.

The warmth of kapok is highly appreciated by airmen flying at great altitudes. As a result of a recent invention to "harness" kapok, it is now possible to line flying-suits with thin sheets of blanket kapok which have proved most successful in keeping out the cold and wet.

In the same way as kapok is used to keep the cold from penetrating a flying suit it is used for keeping the cold air from penetrating the walls of a refrigerator. The low thermal conductivity of kapok provides efficient insulation resulting in low consumption of electricity or gas.

The growth of vehicular refrigeration—whether motor, railway-truck or delivery-tricycle—has intensified the search for a lightweight insulating material. Kapok is one of the lightest insulants known and is now used to a great extent in vans for the transportation of perishable goods. The evolution of the kapok insulating slab or blanket is the result of study, along scientific lines, of the properties of kapok fibre. Manufacturers of kapok insulating slabs use only selected fibres which are fully grown and therefore give maximum insulation. Immature or damaged fibres result in loss of thermal efficiency. In the manufacture of kapok insulating slabs, greatest care is taken to ensure that no such damage takes place. These slabs are manufactured on a scientific basis to predetermined density which is fixed and constant throughout the entire area of the insulating slab or blanket. The fibres are thus used with the maximum effect.

Kapok has very effective sound-proofing value in addition to its thermal insulation qualities. Its merits for this purpose, combined with its lightness, are already appreciated in aeroplane construction, film studios, etc. A comparatively thin layer of kapok between the hull and panelling of the cabin of an aeroplane will exclude engine noise to such a degree as to make possible ordinary conversation in the cabin.

It should be borne in mind that if the best results are required, kapok of the finest quality must always be used. A low-grade kapok naturally cannot be expected to possess all the virtues of the carefully cultivated high-grade fibre.

INDIA'S GREATEST NEED

By R. W. Brock
(Formerly Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta)

The India Act of 1935 has endowed the future Federal Dominion with a modern constitutional structure resting on semi-mediæval economic foundations. The equivalent of a political palace in every British India Province is doubtless a valuable possession; but the more important task remains of acquiring the princely income appropriate and essential for its maintenance. As matters stand today, whereas the Central Government, while straining every taxable resource, retains only a negligible margin after financing defence, the Provincial Governments find themselves called upon to undertake all other "national services" with a smaller income than is enjoyed (for purposes of comparison) by the London County Council. The explanation is not reluctance either at the Centre or the circumference to impose taxation, but—despite considerable natural resources—a low level of production, and a correspondingly low level of taxable capacity. The population of India is large and increasing, as census computations bear witness; but there is a complete absence of equally conclusive evidence that production is expanding at the same pace, and much evidence to support a contrary view. Periodical efforts have been made to assess the total income of a country which contains three-quarters of the total population of the British Empire; and in a volume entitled *An Essay on India's National Income*, 1925-1929, by V. K. R. V. Rao, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Principal and Professor of Economics, S.L.D. Arts College, Ahmedabad (George Allen and Unwin, London, 6s.), the task has been attempted anew. Mr. Rao's calculations refer only to British India and are based on figures already ten years behind the march of events; but there is no reason to doubt that they are still approximately accurate, and, in round figures, the conclusion reached is that the *per capita* income is Rs. 80, equivalent to an annual income of Rs. 400 (£30) per family of five persons. Whether the correct figure is slightly higher or lower than this new estimate is of minor importance. Qualitatively as well as quantitatively, Indian official statistics are too defective to encourage dogmatic claims to precision except by controversialists—a familiar tribe—who employ figures only to buttress some preconceived political or economic theory. The obvious freedom of Mr. Rao from any conscious bias—or from the sloppy inaccuracy to which so many of the above-named class of

political economists are prone—adds immeasurably to the reliability and value of his analysis, and consequently also to its sinister significance.

Allowing for the fact that the average income quoted "comprises the incomes of both the millionaire and the manual labourer," the author of *India's National Income* observes justifiably: "Surely these figures are enough to cause dismay to any well-wisher of India! They reveal an appalling condition of poverty and serve to explain the well-known phenomenon of the high Indian birth-rate and the high Indian death-rate. Even a bare existence is possible at this range, simply because the vast majority of our population live in hovels, economize in clothes, know no furniture, rarely drink milk, hardly eat of fruits or other expensive though nutritious items of diet, and obtain little or no scope for expending on the 'Miscellaneous'—that well-known item in the family budget which serves as an index of the level of the standard of life of the family." Comparing his own figures with previous estimates starting with the famous Dadabhai Naoroji calculation, Mr. Rao considers that "the figures reveal that India has not been growing poorer in an absolute sense; at the same time, they also reveal unmistakably that our pace of progress is very slow. The national income appears to increase by about 1 per cent. every year, and as the other civilized nations of the world have been progressing in production at a rapid rate, we are becoming poorer from a relative point of view. In relation to the rest of the world, we are worse off today than we were sixty years ago, and this fact explains to some extent the strength of feeling underlying the plea of India's growing poverty."

India's industrial development has shown substantial advances in many important directions during the last decade; nevertheless, many will agree with the author's view that what India really needs is a careful and well-thought-out planning of her economic life. "If," he writes, "our productive powers are not to remain for ever a latent asset, we must have rapid organized and extensive development of our capital resources; and public expenditure on capital works must increase to a point much beyond that contemplated by the cautious imagination of those at present in power. Planning necessarily implies initiative on the part of the State . . . the national income is so low that radical measures are necessary and can be permitted for increasing it." During his term as Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir George Schuster extended practical and valuable encouragement to the conception of economic planning in India, and the haphazard development in recent years renders it desirable that this official support should be revived. Indeed, one might go further and urge that a stage has been reached when the Central and Provincial Governments might

well derive valuable guidance from an Economic Development Commission, recruited mainly in India itself, which should be appointed to review the progress achieved in rural and industrial development in the post-war lustrum, and to formulate practical recommendations indicating the most fruitful lines of development hereafter. Many years have elapsed since the Industrial Commission, the Fiscal Enquiry Commission, and later the Agricultural Commission made their respective and successive investigations and recommendations, and meanwhile changes of fundamental importance have occurred both in India's own economic and political systems, and in the distribution and incidence of world trade and production. India's political ambitions are well on the way to satisfaction; but her economic condition presents many problems warranting the closest and most competent scrutiny. And it is idle to hope that the present relative political tranquillity will persist unless these more fundamental economic hindrances to popular welfare are solved, and without avoidable delay. Not the least potent argument in favour of the suggested economic enquiry is that the recommendations of the proposed Commission would become available in time for action by the Federal Government, which may be expected to materialize within the next two or three years, thus rendering practicable a programme of co-ordinated development in which the Indian States as well as the British India Provinces could co-operate. And if full collaboration between the Provinces and States under the Federal Constitution is to be assured from the outset, it is pertinent to emphasize that it would be impossible to find a firmer foundation for continuous and constructive co-operation than a concentrated effort to promote the economic development so ardently desired in India by all classes ranging from the Prince to the peasant.

And that large-scale remedial measures are necessary to enable India to extract the maximum production and profit from her great natural resources, who can doubt? The problems to be solved are as evident as the desire and determination to face and overcome them: the main desideratum therefore being, as already suggested, a workable, comprehensive and co-ordinated series of recommendations—to be evolved by the proposed Economic Development Commission—which all the responsible Governments and commercial and industrial organizations could co-operate in carrying into effect. Undoubtedly, for example, much more vigorous action is necessary than has yet been taken to cope with the immense, complicated, but fundamental hiatus of rural indebtedness: a subject on which a valuable preliminary survey has recently been conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, whose guidance and co-operation are indispensable to an effective

solution. Some of the Indian States have already made valuable experiments in this field of action, and useful legislation has been initiated by the new Ministries in certain Provinces. But the length of the road still to be travelled may be inferred from the authoritative estimate that cultivators' debts are still in excess of £1,000,000,000, on which heavy rates are charged. "Is it remarkable," as Sir H. P. Mody, the Indian employers' delegate, asked at a recent session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, "that the *per capita* income of Indians is £7 against four times that figure in Japan, eight times in France, and twelve times in the United States?" Is it remarkable, one may also ask, that Indian purchases of British goods have fallen to the low level of under two shillings per head per annum? Or that, despite protective tariffs, many Indian industries, including cotton goods and sugar, have reached the limits of their development until rural purchasing power can be increased to a new high level by release from the paralysing thraldom of the moneylender? Is it remarkable, again, that modern methods of cultivation make such slow progress when initiative is killed by the fact that, in most instances, any increased profit so derived would merely swell the present excessive tribute to the moneylender to still more gargantuan proportions?

Taking the average rate of interest levied by the *bania* at 20 per cent., is it realized that the cultivator is liable to interest charges aggregating £200,000,000 per annum before he can buy a single personal or household necessity in the form of handicraft or factory products, indigenous or imported? Modern industrial production rests on mass consumption, and, it is surely evident, can reach its full development in India only if the mediæval moneylending system, which constitutes the most formidable single hindrance to optimum agricultural production, is eliminated wholly and finally. "The population of India," states Lord Linlithgow, who was Chairman of the Indian Agricultural Commission before becoming Viceroy, "is expected to increase to 400 millions by the census of 1941, and it is increasing at the rate of about 4 millions a year. Only three-quarters of an acre is under cultivation per head of the population. These facts are staggering, and you will agree with me that they must give matter for serious thought to all thinking men and women in India." With population increasing at this rate, the problem, in truth, is not merely "staggering"; it is cumulative, and calls for vigorous action in which collaboration need not necessarily be restricted to the Indian authorities alone. For in an empire, and a world, which willy-nilly is becoming increasingly economically interdependent despite any superficial evidence to the contrary, the welfare of a country containing close on 400 million people does not affect its own

economic destinies alone; nor, perhaps, its own political destinies alone. For if it would be unconvincing to describe as genuinely united an Empire whose "brightest star" was dimmed by clouds of political discontent, it would be no less futile to hope for a genuinely prosperous Empire unless and until the rural millions who form the overwhelming majority of India's vast and increasing population are assisted to emerge from the primitive economic environment in which they still remain.

In India political content and tranquillity will abide only if economic standards are raised. For it is no mere flower of speech to affirm, and to emphasize, that the new Constitution will be as fertile, or as sterile, as the fields of the peasantry whose welfare it is its ultimate object to promote. The reason is clear and insistent. Larger revenues are the greatest need of the new Ministries; and larger revenues will materialize only as the outcome of larger production, agricultural as well as industrial. In the last decade, industrial development in India has been brought about, in the simple protectionist fashion, by increasing domestic production at the price of the progressive exclusion of imports. The limit of development by that process is, however, obviously reached, when imports have been entirely eliminated, as in the case of sugar, or nearly eliminated, as in the case of cotton manufactures, and many other products. For the time being, therefore, the tariff stimulus in India, except in relation to industries of minor importance, has exhausted its immediate utility, in the sense that no important new industry can now be established, and no old industry substantially expanded, solely by utilization of that device. Such industrial development as has occurred, on the whole, has undoubtedly been helpful—good for employment, for the utilization of Indian raw materials, and, for the most part, also for the Indian investor. By curtailing imports, however, the development of Indian industries, at least temporarily, has almost certainly reacted prejudicially on the volume and value of India's total oversea trade; and it has quite certainly reacted prejudicially on Indian revenues, which, at the Centre, depend mainly on the yield of import duties. This sequence is not unfamiliar in Western countries, but in India there has been this important addition to fiscal experience elsewhere: that while the protective tariffs, having achieved their primary purpose, have ceased to be productive, the "revenue tariffs" have been raised so high in order to offset this loss of income that they also have become *protective* in effect. Consequently a repetition of the traditional sequence is threatened, and, if it materializes, will deprive the Government of India of the whole, or a substantial part, of a source of income which for many years has represented half its total revenues. Consequently also, the development of factory industries in India,

although beneficial on the whole and in any case inevitable, has created certain important new derangements and difficulties which will not be solved without clear thinking and considerable effort.

In a country where population is increasing by four millions a year it was always obvious that the development of urban industries could make only a negligible contribution to the creation of new employment; and as industrial development is now slowing down, owing to satiation of the very limited available purchasing power, no further assistance can be expected from that source until purchasing power can be lifted to a new high level. And, in two words, that spells RURAL DEVELOPMENT by every available means, but first of all by eliminating a system of finance which will keep Indian agriculture, except in isolated areas and instances, a stagnant and malodorous pool as long as it survives. By excluding imported manufactures, through the ready instrumentality of the Indian Government, the Indian industrialist has diverted to his own advantage a demand already extant; but he is now confronted with the much more difficult task of eliminating the *bania,* whose exactions deter the materialization of a larger demand for modern industrial products than India has ever known. It is, indeed, inconceivable that India can attain a full development either of its agricultural or industrial resources until this massive obstacle to progress is removed. Nobody desires to describe the Indian moneylender as an ogre in human disguise. But he is the exponent, and sometimes the victim, of an archaic system of finance which is wholly vicious, obsolete, and—in view of modern facilities and requirements—indefensible.

Today, therefore, a clear conflict of interests has emerged, raising an issue which can no longer be evaded. The Indian manufacturer, and the Indian moneylender, are economic "incompatibles," and cannot co-exist except at the price of an arrested development deleterious to every Indian aspiration. In a land of many sharp contrasts, the manufacturer stands for the new economic order towards which India is moving as indubitably as the moneylender stands for the traditional system which she is endeavouring to slough off. In a sentence: the factories in India cannot flourish if her fields are not fertile, and today they are rendered sterile by a jungle-growth of usury as fatal to full production as to full consumption; a form of economic strangulation more inimical and widespread than *thuggism,* and calling for an equally unhesitating policy of ruthless elimination. In this conflict the interests of modern industry and of the democratic system of government towards which India is advancing are identical and even interdependent—the former being as dependent

for progress on fuller production and consumption as the new Governments are for efficacy on the greater taxable capacity to which a more intensive development of the country's immense natural resources is the vital pre-requisite. An attitude of fatalism and defeatism in relation to the present low standard of life in India is explicable only on the part of those who have underestimated the retarding influence of a system of finance which poisons rural revivification at the roots. Progress in every direction is delayed until this primary obstacle is removed, for the main inducement to efficient cultivation is lacking so long as the *bania*—who often doubles the rôles of financier and purchaser of the cultivator's crop—retains all, or most, of the net profit, leaving his victim only the barest means of subsistence. A wider application of the technical knowledge accumulated by the Government Agricultural Departments, therefore, awaits the psychological transformation which will occur only when usury has given place to methods of finance enabling the cultivator to secure the maximum profit from his labours. When this all-important preliminary hindrance to optimum production has been removed, the subordinate problems of Government revenues and progressive industrial development will be solved automatically. That perhaps is merely another way of saying that the initial task of the new Governments in India is to revitalize agriculture by establishing the economic freedom and independence of the cultivator through the general application and enforcement of a saner and more equitable system of finance.

In a recent address at Lucknow, Professor R. A. Fisher, Galton Professor of Eugenics at the London University, stated that: "The menace of over-population is the basic issue in India to which problems of public health are subsidiary. For all such programmes are deferred or frustrated as population outruns the capacity of education, sanitation and rural recovery. Economic adjustment seems to lie more in the direction of a judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialization and, above all, more in the control of population increase than in the diversification of employment." Major-General Sir John Megaw, Medical Adviser of the Secretary of State for India, perhaps adopted a more hopeful, as well as a more practical, outlook when he affirmed: "All that is needed is to tackle the problem with courage, intelligence and determination. If this is done the remedy will be found and inevitably it will consist in Education . . . an education of the whole community in life-planning," assisted by every publicity device known to modern propaganda. The prior problem, however, still remains of finding the revenues necessary to finance the "nation-building" departments through which alone such propa-

ganda could be effectively conducted; and here again the inescapable conclusion emerges that the moneylender must take less from the "national dividend" if the State, as well as the industrialist, is to take more. It is not merely that a redistribution of India's present income on these lines would divert a larger percentage of a limited total to productive investment, and the financing of urgent and essential social services. Such a financial re-orientation would also—by reducing the crushing burden of rural indebtedness—clear the road for the intensive and therefore more productive and profitable farming which is India's greatest need. In the analysis of *India's National Income,* mentioned above, the proportion of taxation per head to national income per annum is estimated at 7·4 per cent., compared with 5·7 in the United States, 5·8 in Italy, 13·6 in Canada, and 18·4 per cent. in Great Britain: a comparison all the more significant when it is recalled that the latter countries enjoy national services—education, public health, etc.—which in India are still only at a very early stage of development. Consequently at this juncture the immediate requirement is not additional taxation of general incidence, but a programme of economic expansion which will *render existing taxation more productive,* and, in pursuit of that objective, the reduction of the moneylender's toll unquestionably represents the easiest, and most fruitful, line of development. In all countries taxation has become, in increasing degree, an instrument of social and economic readjustment as well as a means of raising revenue; and the circumstance that the *bania's* levy on rural production reaches the high level of £200,000,000 a year, even though the total nominal charge may not be always collected, may be taken as a sign-post to the road it is necessary to travel. The political and technical difficulties hindering the implementation of such a redistribution of income may be conceded; but if there is an alternative policy, equally workable and effective, it has not yet been formulated. In recent years, Indian Finance Members, when additional revenues have become imperative, have followed the simple method of enforcing progressive increases in import tariffs and income-tax; but it is generally recognized that, on the present basis, these imposts have reached their maximum fertility, and, in respect of Customs duties, are coming under the operation of the law of diminishing returns. Urban industries are carrying as heavy a burden as they can bear; and agriculture, which sustains three-fourths of the population, will yield larger revenues only when the cultivators are enabled at the same time to earn more and to retain a larger percentage of what they earn: a position, as we have seen, which will be attained only when the *bania* ceases to paralyse production, and to divert most of the small profits secured to his own coffers.

I have stressed the vital importance of full collaboration by the Indian States if economic advance is to proceed at the same pace as the march towards Federal Automony. Nor is there any reason to doubt that this full collaboration will be forthcoming in the solution of problems common to British India and the States alike. Thus, in the Cochin administration report for the year ending August, 1938, it is noted: "Assuming an even distribution of the population over the whole area (of 1,480 square miles), there are as many as 814 persons to the square mile; and if the habitable area of about 865 square miles alone is taken into account, the density of population will work up almost to 1,400 per square mile. Cochin is thus one of the most densely peopled areas in the world." "Luxuriant coconut palms cover almost the whole of the coastal tract, and the various products of the coconut tree provide the means of livelihood for the teeming population which inhabits it. In places where there are natural or artificial embankments, rice cultivation is also carried on." In Cochin, where, the Dewan considers, "there is not much scope for the expansion of large-scale industries," Government "have therefore to concentrate on the development of industries of smaller scale," and State assistance is shaped accordingly. Of special value is the development of the great natural facilities of Cochin Port in which the Government of India is co-operating. In Hyderabad, with its larger area and resources, financial as well as economic, a comprehensive programme is being pursued, embracing a co-ordinated extension of transport facilities under the direct administration of the State; the introduction of new and more profitable crops; and the development of a wide range of large-scale industries, in some cases with direct assistance from the substantial Industrial Fund set aside by His Exalted Highness the Nizam for that specific and commendable purpose. As is indicated by a study of the second issue of the Statistical Year Book recently issued, the accumulated financial reserves of the premier State are of impressive dimensions, and as knowledge and experience direct, they are being employed to increasing advantage in raising the level of production over a growing range of industries, bringing about a steady improvement in the standard of income and living, and the volume and variety of employment, and thereby equipping Hyberabad to exert its appropriate influence in the great Federation which is beginning to emerge. It will be to India's advantage when the Northern India States follow a policy of economic exploitation as vigorous, as well-planned, and as far-sighted as Hyberabad, Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, and Cochin in the south; for, alternatively, progress in these important segments will be limited and tardy indeed, and the desirability of uniform development can hardly be overrated. Conclusive proof

that the Indian States have more than a symbolic significance as economic laboratories is afforded by the fact that in no part of India has a more constructive or effective effort to reduce and rationalize rural indebtedness been made than in Bhavnagar: indeed, had similar measures been given general application, it would have been possible to "write off" the problem as solved, and the position and outlook of the Indian peasantry would have been correspondingly improved.

The overriding consideration is that today the moneylender levies a heavier toll on Indian production than all the tax-collecting authorities combined. And unless a rising population is to be accompanied by a further deterioration in a standard of living already pathetically low, that exaction represents a burden which India, for humanitarian as well as economic and political reasons, cannot be reasonably asked to continue to carry.



FIG. 1.—THE NAUCHOKI, HERE PICTURED FROM THE AIR, AND THE BARI PAL, ARE THE TWO DAMS WHICH, CONSTRUCTED NEARLY 300 YEARS AGO, HOLD BACK THE WATERS OF THE GOMTI RIVER TO FORM THE SACRED RESERVOIR OF RAJ SAMAND.

The Nauchoki includes beautiful *chattries* adorned with some of the finest stone carving in the world.

PLATE II.



FIG 2.—COOEE, ONE OF THE IMPERIAL FLYING BOATS PLYING THE ENGLAND-MALAYA-AUSTRALIA AIR ROUTE, AT MOORINGS AT RAJ SAMAND.

Some of the airport buildings on the Bari Pal are in the background.

Flying Boats in Central India

To face p. 591

FLYING-BOATS IN CENTRAL INDIA

UDAIPUR LAKE AS A PERMANENT STATION FOR FLYING-BOATS

By N. N. Mitra

(Station Superintendent, Imperial Airways, Raj Samand, Udaipur)

In India, even more obviously than elsewhere, general progress today marches with progress in transport.

The coming of the motor-car meant a considerable broadening of many phases of community life and a considerable advance in the understanding and knowledge of the different parts of the country. Railway and motor services prepared the way for the air services, and India today is rapidly becoming one of the most air-minded countries in the British Empire.

A notable example of the influence of the air services, not only on long-distance travel but also on surface transport facilities in local areas, is Udaipur. When the flying-boat route of Imperial Airways and Indian Trans-Continental Airways was established across the sub-continent, the lake of Raj Samand, 42 miles north-east of the capital city of Udaipur, was chosen as the first stop after Karachi, 434 miles away.

Until April last, Raj Samand was listed only as a temporary base, but the experience of over a year of operation of the flying-boats has led to the decision to establish it as a permanent air station on this route—a suitable tribute to Mewar State, whose Ruler has contributed so much to commercial air progress. Thus, Udaipur, "City of Sunrise," will be linked closely into the British world network of air services with three flying-boat services in each direction each week.

One of the most interesting aspects of this development, however, is the effect which it is having on the land communications in Udaipur. Before the opening of Raj Samand air base, there was no *pucca* road or railway to the lake, and so aviation is directly responsible for connecting Raj Samand with Udaipur, Marwar and Ajmer by the Udaipur-Chitorgarh Railway and also for the building of a *pucca* road (now under construction) from Nathdwara to Kankroli and the air base. A *pucca* road has already been constructed from Udaipur to Nathdwara and Eklingji. The development of road communication in Mewar has been given a considerable fillip as a result, and has been taken up seriously by the Government of India and Udaipur Durbar.

Surveyors have been over the district with a view to submitting

plans for the development of road communications to connect up with the major road systems and give good road communication with all the main towns in India, while, I understand, a road from the air base to Ajmer will soon be constructed to connect with the Grand Trunk road of India. Incidentally, this road programme will provide access to the other lakes in the Raj Samand district, which may be used as an alternative when the normal alighting area is, for any reason, unsuitable for flying-boat operations.

Raj Samand has also advanced considerably with regard to telecommunications since the coming of the air line. Telegraph lines now connect Kankroli with Udaipur and Ajmer and, through these points, with any part of the world. At present the only telephone connection is between the telegraph office in Kankroli and the marine airport at Raj Samand, but with the opening of the Government of India radio station at the air base, more telephone lines will soon be installed.

A decision to make Raj Samand a permanent airport must result in more and more of these amenities, and in a higher standard of living comfort all round. New residential quarters are being built to accommodate more men for the airport staff, and extensive electrical plant is being installed. Very soon now, the whole of the base will be lighted with electricity. The massive Bund, hitherto unlit, will very soon be well illuminated. A beacon is to be placed on one of the hills around the lake. A gleaming diamond on the black velvet of the Indian night, Raj Samand will be as beautiful throughout the hours of darkness as it is in the blue and gold of the day.

A great deal of the credit for the development of this airport must go to the ruler, H.H. Sir Bhupalsinghji Saheb Bahadur, Maharana of Udaipur, who is an energetic and enthusiastic supporter of civil aviation. The lake itself was built by his ancestors some 300 years ago at a cost of a crore of rupees, the great dams being built to back up the river Gomti, one of the chief sources of the Banas river. Magnificent *chattries* with valuable carvings, which remain today, were built to enhance the beauty of the dam at Rajnagar, and the loveliness of the lake was further increased by the white marble palace of the ruler set in the recesses of the mountains. On the other side of the lake the soaring domes of the palace of His Holiness the High Priest to the Maharana, make a further contribution to the stateliness and beauty of the scene. The air base buildings have been erected on the Bari Pal, and the equipment installed, or being installed, will make this a first-class airport in every sense.

The City of Udaipur has been described as the Venice of India, and to it and to Nathdwara, to Kankroli and Charbhuja and

Eklingji, more than 20,000 visitors come each year—globe-trotters, to see its amazing scenic beauties, religious pilgrims and students interested in the historical records for which the city is also famed. They come to see the fortress of Chitore, which seems actually to grow out of the rock on which it is built. It is the symbol of the Sesodia dynasty, "the descendants of the sun."

In the marble halls of the palaces on the islands and around the lakes, one can go back through the centuries and watch the struggles between Rajputs and Moghuls.

The more you see of Udaipur the more fascinating it becomes. Its glories whet rather than cloy the appetite for new exploration, new feasts of loveliness. There are the lakes, the temples, the hills, the Mohan Mandir, the arches of the Maharanas (weighed against their weight in gold), the Jain Temple, the magnificent garden. . . . This shining store of ageless beauty is a brilliant new world for all kinds of tourists, and the fast and frequent air services from England, from South Africa, from Hong Kong and from Australia, are bringing increasing numbers to Raj Samand.

Aviation has given immensity to the traveller, dwarfed distance and made the world grow small. It has brought far distant places within the scope of a few days' journey. It has opened up places like Udaipur to a new and wider appreciation.

WANDERINGS IN INDIA

By Stanley Rice

We have been warned not once but many times that it is unsafe to generalize about India, but it is still a common practice for writers who have only seen a piece here and a piece there to deduce that what they have seen must be repeated endlessly throughout the country. Thus it is that scorn is poured upon those tourists who rush into print after three or even six months in the country. Yet even these may have something of value to say, if they confine themselves to what they have seen and do not read into the pages of India what they have seen on a single page, if they do not assume that the wild tribesmen of the North-West are of the same blood and the same kidney as the peaceful citizens of Madura, whose main idea is trade and the accumulation of riches. I once heard a missionary declaim from an English pulpit against the worship of Kali, the bloody goddess in whom, he declared, rested the hope of salvation for some 250 million people, apparently unaware that in nine-tenths of India no one worships Kali in the form which is peculiar to Bengal. I can only suppose that the excellent man had spent his Indian life in Calcutta. There is misconception even in such an everyday matter as hot weather. People do not realize that the hot season only lasts three months and that the latitude of India stretches from 38° in the north of Kashmir, which is about the latitude of Lisbon, to 8° at Cape Comorin, and that the weather varies accordingly.

For all that, there are certain characteristics which might be called common to the whole country and which if used with discrimination and sifted from those which are peculiar to a given locality might furnish valuable material even for a generalization. If it is untrue to say that because the Punjab is martial all India is martial, it is on the whole true to say that the population everywhere is poor, that superstition is rife, that education has not made much headway, and that the people are courteous, kindly and hospitable, hardworking and patient in adversity. But each observer sees only a part of the whole. If he is an Imperialist, he will see nothing good in, and make no allowances for, the national aspirations; if he is a missionary, he will assess the religion by the most superficial tests—the images he sees in every village, the signs of superstition in the various devices for avoiding or for circumventing evil spirits. And so on through the whole gamut.

These not very profound reflections are suggested by Dr. Shahani's book, *Indian Pilgrimage.** He claims, or his publishers claim for him, that an attempt has been made to give shape and coherence to this "bright shape" of Indian life. Dr. Shahani has the inestimable advantage of writing as an Indian. However well disposed, however critical, however impartial a European may be, there must always be at the back of his mind that he has seen only what he has been allowed to see, and in particular what he has been allowed to see of female life. Fortunately the myth is now fairly well exploded—at any rate among those who know India at first hand—that the woman is a downtrodden drudge, allowed only to be the man's cook and the mother of his children. We must also give up the once fashionable saying that every woman has her price. That is a most undeserved calumny, and has always been in a country where Sita, Draupadi, and Damayanti are regarded as the perfect types of womanhood. We must, however, beware of falling into the other extreme of imagining that because the great majority of women are chaste, every one comes up to the standard of the heroic age. That seems to be the idea of the author in discussing womanhood. His instances come for the most part from Mussulmans, but perhaps among the peasantry there is not much difference between the life of a Hindu and of a Mussulman woman. Her labour is endless. Up early to milk the cows and to get the meals; then to attend to the children, to wash the kitchen and dining vessels, to mend the clothes, and so on—a hundred and one small tasks before she can go to her night's rest. The man's task may be more exacting, but at least it comes to an end by dark. Yet, when all is said and done, is not that equally the lot of woman in England? We who can enjoy our leisure have little idea what it is to toil to keep the house decent, to look after the children, to work in sickness as in health, even when, as the phrase goes, another is expected. But perhaps where the Indian woman excels is in her boundless patience. Day after day she goes on uncomplaining, anxious only lest her health should prevent her from working. Such is the peasant, but the modern girl is different. She wants her amusements and, in some cases at least, her avocations. Possibly there may not be much open to her, but that is gradually coming. Apparently it is no longer marriage alone which attracts. It is for one thing too expensive. But one doubts whether the agelong honour of the married state and the agelong desire to have a son has lost its charm to the extent that some of these sketches seem to imply. At the same time there are others of the older school who, wedded to the idea of the joint family and of maintenance by the man, think of nothing but money. Dr. Shahani gives us

* *Indian Pilgrimage*, by Ranjee I. Shahani. Michael Joseph. 15s.

a vivid tale of his own grandmother. She came to see him, as Dr. Shahani supposed, from affection for one who had been out of India for many years. Not a bit of it. She came to complain of hard times and to try and find out how much money she was able to squeeze out of a man who to her was immensely rich. This was her idea. "First you must give me the allowance I have asked for; then you must give a handsome allowance to your mother; then you must marry your sisters—that is to say, pay their dowries; then buy a nice new car, give parties, live in style, burn the heart of your enemies." In other words, the man is expected to take on the obligation of providing for the entire female part of the family and himself to live in a style to impress his neighbours.

But the book gives the general impression that India is ruled by greed—there is corruption everywhere. Now, I have heard it said that some provinces are worse in this respect than others, and there is, I think, a good deal of petty extortion everywhere, but of corruption on the grand scale there is not a great deal. It is true that a European gets little chance of observing it; that is always the difficulty. Of course, one hears stories, and if one chooses to believe all one hears the whole country would seem to be a rotten mass, but one cannot and should not believe all one hears. The pay of minor officials is very small; there are many temptations, and it would be surprising if there were not many who yield to them when they are trying to make a living on so little. Much of what is called corruption in India is little more than the acceptance of "tips." Quite small people are entrusted with large powers. The police can, if they want to, make life very difficult to a man who has offended them. Those to whom is entrusted the distribution of water can drain away the lifeblood of the people. There are many ways in which petty officials of all departments can add something to their tiny incomes which is strictly illegal but is generally acquiesced in.

The merchant, on the other hand, is commonly reputed to add to his prices for the benefit of the Europeans, who is for the most part blissfully ignorant that he is being cheated and in any case does not mind the pecuniary loss. Dr. Shahani, however, reveals the fact that these business tricks are not played upon the European alone. He tells us how he went to buy some Indian silk and was fobbed off with some inferior Japanese stuff. In spite of his protests, the merchant who had previously been loud in praise of his goods refused to give any redress. "Once sold, always sold," was his motto, "so far as he was concerned." Dr. Shahani had to pocket both his pride and his rubbishy silk. It is, of course, possible that at times such tricks are played when a customer tries to beat down the seller beyond a fair price. Bargain hunting can

be too clever. Dr. Shahani has an instance of this. At Aden an Arab was trying to sell a Chinese shawl for which forty shillings was asked. The Scottish would-be purchaser offered a pound, and after much haggling gained his point. As the boat moved off the Arab shouted, "After all you don't get him—you get only Japanese stuff. You pay poor and you get poor." Arabs, it may be said, are not Indians, but the moral is the same. Chaffering and tricks in the East are largely due to the complete ignorance of the traveller of the true value of the article. Perhaps this is the reason why the Indian shopper examines with such care the things he is trying to buy. He probably does know, or has a shrewd idea of, the true price, and so is content to spend an indefinite time in choosing. The average European is often cheated because, if he really wants the thing, he does not care very much whether he overpays provided that the overcharge is not too high.

Dr. Shahani's book is chiefly made up of incidents such as those I have quoted. He has called his book *Indian Pilgrimage,* and pilgrimages are made up of small incidents. He does not often touch on politics, and during his search for material he seems to have eschewed political controversy. But one wonders whether he has not been a little unfortunate in his experiences. No doubt, like so many others, he has found the peasant a charming fellow, "honest, loyal, and warmhearted," as his fellow-passenger, Harry Lauder, put it. He added "courageous and persevering," but I do not find much, if any, reference to his unfailing courtesy, which is so characteristic of all Indians from Maharaja to peasant or even lower, if they are treated as they should be treated. Courtesy you may say is a superficial gift; men may smile and smile and yet be villains. It sometimes degenerates into obsequiousness, but on the whole it is a very engaging trait. It seems at least curious that the author's instances should so often be in derogation of his own countrymen. He has lived for many years in Europe; has it not struck him that much of what he says of Indians can be paralleled in the West, not perhaps quite in the same way but in ways peculiar to Europe?

When he comes to the European, with whom he seems to have more in common than even with his own Sindhis, he has little to say about Christianity that is new. There is much truth in the reflection that "Christianity has had no roots in the Indian soil, not because there is anything the matter with the teachings of Jesus, but because the carriers of the religion, apart from a few noble individuals, have lacked the requisite insight—what they have preached is pure and simple Church-ianity." It is probably true that that is how it strikes Indians, but it is equally true, if you ponder it, of England, where the roots have struck very deep and where there are many good and loyal souls who have been

hypnotized by this very Church-ianity. It is very difficult for Indians to appreciate the doctrine of vicarious atonement. "By oneself the evil is done," said Buddha; "by oneself one suffers." It is not so easy to follow Dr. Shahani when he argues about a personal God. No doubt that is inherent in Christianity. But surely to the great majority of Hindus God is also a Person. Granted that to eclectic Hinduism God is an abstraction about which one cannot predicate anything, there are comparatively few who either can, or try to, understand the reasoning of the philosophers and metaphysicians. Food and drink are offered to gods; they sleep and they marry. They behave in every way as a glorified man. It is mere sophistry to pretend that this is not so.

Dr. Shahani has set down exactly what he has found in his pilgrimage. That is his claim and the claim may be admitted. He has not found very much to the credit of his own countrymen, or if he has he has clothed it in vague phrases whose value is overlaid by the many detailed instances to the contrary. The European is free from the grosser vices but has his own. He is a good worker and he is seldom corrupt. "Wherever I went, in bank or commercial establishment, in Government office or court of law, I found quiet efficiency." For instance, one official he found was disliked for his very virtues. Indians disliked him for his "incorrigible honesty." "He treats the rich and poor alike; decides cases on their merits. Whoever heard of such a thing?" The English disliked him because he was too aloof. He preferred a book to a game of bridge, and that, of course, is a grievous offence. A man who does that is unsociable; he is lacking in bonhomie. But the English in India really live a drab life of monotony. "After tea, nothing can keep a Britisher to his desk." This, by the way, is an overstatement. It is truer to say that nothing will tear a Britisher from his desk until his work is done. He wants, he even requires, his game of tennis or other exercise because he has been brought up to think that it is good for his all-important health, but if he cannot get out of his office in time, he will cheerfully sacrifice his tennis to his duty. But the work must come to an end some time, though it may be "after tea." And then he will go to the "club" for his recreation. "The ritual of drink begins. The fumes of brandy and whisky rise from Karachi to Calcutta, from Simla to Ceylon. After that back home and another drink. Dinner and to bed." Allowing for a slight exaggeration, we may admit that the picture is true. "So live the British in India, from year to year, from generation to generation. Always among their own kind and always doing the same things." But Dr. Shahani again makes a mistake. He forgets or ignores that the greater part of the Government officials have to spend from one-third to one-half of the year in camp,

where they can have little companionship except their own and none at all of their own kind. The commercial community, it is true, seldom stir out of the big cities or towns except for the purpose of shooting snipe or duck, or very occasionally for a weekend after antelope or tiger. That, too, is a question of duty. Where the work is, there must the officer be. There are men who chafe under the monotony of life. I myself once became so tired of it, so sick of the endless chatter of the club—and if you do not go there you can only expect yourself for company—that I resolved to go into the jungle for three months and see no one. I enjoyed myself hugely. I saw no one except my own Indian subordinates and certain wild animals. But towards the end I confess to a longing for my own kind, for man is a gregarious animal.

But the gravamen of the charge against the English in India is a certain hauteur, a kind of superiority complex which prevents them from mingling as they should with Indians, and this naturally leads to misunderstanding. "The majority of Indians," says Dr. Shahani, "feel that the British are in the country for one and for only one reason: to get out of it all they can. They do not like the people; indeed, they hate them. They collar the best jobs, fill the highest posts, and try to have as good a time as they can. . . . They are always uneasy in the country, and are never so happy as when among their own kind." That, he declares, and more to the same purpose, is the view of most Indians. Well, they may be right, but not always. The happiest time of my life in India was when I was working almost entirely with Indians, when all my best friends were Indians, when I spent my time trying to understand Indians—in the Court, in the town, in the village, unsuccessfully perhaps, but to my own pleasure and delight.

But enough about the European, for this is primarily a book about Indians. Dr. Shahani sums up some of the races of India thus: "The Bengali is theatrical, delighting in extravagant display. Mounted on a Dulcina of his own choosing, he takes every windmill to be a giant." Is the author confusing Rozinante with the fair Dulcinea del Toboso? Don Quixote surely did not tilt at windmills, mounted on his liege lady! "The Punjabi is deeply religious, attached to his native soil and to his traditions, brave, fearless to the point of foolhardiness. The Maratha is industrious, easily contented, and makes an excellent policeman or Government servant." He does not quite know where to place the Madrassi, and one suspects he is not well acquainted with South India. But the book is largely concerned with Sind, the author's own country, and to him the Sindhi is light, indolent, frivolous, loquacious, smart, imitative and pseudo-Europeanized. He scorns the idea that Indians are "inscrutable," for in fact they are more

friendly, free and frank than the Westerner. But they are not "doers" though they are great talkers. They have a "surpassing power of absorption," but "they tack on new things" and "do not assimilate them." This is an apparent contradiction, but only apparent. For while the Indian is ready to absorb new ideas and new cultures, he looks upon Western civilization generally as only a means to an end. He never becomes truly Western. But if to be Western is to his worldly advantage he will put on the West as one would a cloak to be easily discarded when the purpose is served. But the most striking characteristic is the conservatism of the East—not only in India but elsewhere. It is, one may say, only Japan that has really assimilated Western culture, and even so there is still ancestor-worship.

Here we will leave our Indian pilgrim. At least, if he has drawn a rather sombre picture he has had the courage of his opinions.

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GENERAL

PIRENNE'S THEORY OF THE EFFECTS OF THE ISLAMIC INVASION OF EUROPE

HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE INVASION TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Henri Pirenne (translated by B. Miall). (*Allen and Unwin.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* DR. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.)

The late Professor H. Pirenne was recognized as among the most brilliant historians of the last generation, and at the outbreak of the Great War he was Professor of History at the University of Gand. In 1916 he was arrested by the Germans and sent to a concentration camp at Crefeld, being eventually removed to Holzminden. Here his international reputation led to a request that he should lecture to his fellow prisoners, and so stimulating were his discourses and so heartening the historical lessons derived therefrom by his fellow Belgians that he was shortly recognized by the German authorities as "an extremely dangerous person." They isolated him in a small Thuringian town, where he was deprived of every intellectual contact. In order to relieve the monotony of his detention, he decided, even in the absence of all books of reference, to draft a history of Europe which he had long contemplated. This was to be a survey of the social, economic, religious, and political evolution of the whole Continent from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation; and despite all difficulties he carried through his self-imposed task almost to completion.

When the Armistice took place, and Professor Pirenne returned to Belgium, the great manuscript was laid aside. The author devoted his attention to more specialized studies, and postponed until a later date the revision of the work which was to constitute the epitome of his thirty-five years of research and reflection. Unfortunately, however, he put off revision too late, and the *History of Europe*, now published by his son and by his widow, lacks the final touches which no doubt the author would have designed to give it.

Students of history will remember that at the Oslo Congress of 1928 Professor Pirenne put forward a startling explanation of the course followed by European evolution between the age of Constantine and the age of Charlemagne—a theory which overthrows many of the more commonly held conceptions concerning the Middle Ages. It centres round the effect to be assigned to the early conquests of Islam, and is set forth with clarity in the present work. To give a short account of it may be desirable.

Pirenne maintains that the effect of the Islamic invasion of Europe was far more definite than is generally believed. This effect, reduced to simple terms, was to interrupt the principal channel of civilized intercourse between the East and the West—namely, the Mediterranean. For centuries after the first impact of Islam the old highway was broken; East was severed from

West, and the new Germanic Empire was isolated from Byzantium. As a result of this interruption, so Pirenne argues, Western Europe became a region apart. Its traditional lines of communication with what had hitherto been the centres of civilization were severed; it was thrown back upon its own resources for its further development. Cut off from the Mediterranean it was compelled perforce to fall back upon the still barbarous regions of the Rhine, and in the course of this process a Western civilization presenting new and strange characteristics was gradually built up.

This theory, which is very ably expounded, has much to commend it; but it may be questioned whether it does not perhaps exaggerate the Germanic contribution. Indeed, it would be something of a psychological miracle, considering the circumstances in which the book was written, if such had not been the case. Professor Pirenne was almost of necessity highly critical of German institutions, and his incidental remarks are often witty as well as penetrating. His ascription of the observed characteristics of present-day Germany to the peculiar shape taken by the Lutheran reformation, though perhaps suffering from over-simplification, contains an undoubted element of truth. The curiously uncritical frame of mind which enables Germans to ascribe to themselves the credit for virtues which are in fact a commonplace of every civilization is unquestionably characteristic of a people whose mentality is in subordination. Indeed, Professor Pirenne reminds us of the fact, too often forgotten, that the renaissance of serfdom in Germany, which took place at the time of the Reformation, endured right up to the last century.

A History of Europe is peculiarly rich in stimulating ideas. It deserves to be widely read, less perhaps by those who desire to familiarize themselves with the facts, than by those who wish to reflect upon the explanation of facts already familiar to them. The style is charming—simple, lucid, and attractive. Mr. Miall is to be congratulated upon an admirable translation.

A QUOI RÊVE LE MONDE. By Alfred Fabre Luce. (Paris: *Grasset.*)

(*Reviewed by* C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

M. Fabre Luce's book, which has already run into twelve editions, is a collection of sketches made by the author of what he saw in the United States, Japan, China and Bali Island. I think that most English readers will appreciate best the first sketch entitled "Crise à Wall Street." M. Fabre Luce seems to have been in New York when the bottom fell out of the share market, when everybody speculated and when the suicides of millionaires were so frequent as to be hardly news.

The case of Mr. Dick Rainville was a typical one. He is introduced to us as the chief director of the Strong Bank, immensely rich and still living with his first wife—in fact, a prodigy. He actually foresaw the great slump, but he made the mistake of thinking that after the cataclysm

prices would right themselves. Blissfully ignorant of the future he promised his wife a pearl necklace. Next day, however, he had by speculation lost three-quarters of his fortune. Later another disastrous speculation carried off the remaining quarter. He forced himself to confess his misfortunes to his wife. She made him no reproaches, for she in turn had to confess that she herself had speculated and lost her own private fortune. In the hope of cutting down expenses he tried to reduce his staff of servants. It turned out that they, too, had speculated and were as ruined as their master. At last, faced with utter destitution, Dick Rainville threw himself from the top of a skyscraper and so ended a life passed in a plethora of wealth until the great slump swallowed him up with so many others.

Even the coloured population of Harlem did not escape the fever. One powerful negro preacher had held Thanksgiving services during the boom and had defended gambling on margins as the means by which the Almighty proposed to raise the United States to unimagined heights of glory. Unfortunately the negro divine practised what he preached, and when the slump came he, too, was skinned to the bone. His salary remained his sole possession, but as all his congregation were ruined also, they could no longer pay him a living wage. No wonder that the exasperated stockbrokers of New York exclaimed bitterly:

"This isn't a crisis; it's a Jesus Crisis!"

INDIA

BRITISH SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA. By Dennis Kincaid. (*Routledge.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.)

This brilliant book serves as a reminder of the loss which both England and India have suffered by the premature death of its gifted author. Dennis Kincaid was peculiarly fitted to write it. He came of a family which has been intimately connected with the country for three generations, and during his brief career he had made many close contacts with those among whom he worked. He was an impartial and accurate observer of men and manners, and extremely well read in Anglo-Indian literature. The history of the British in India falls into four well-defined periods. In the first, the English merchants were the guests of the Great Mogul, living a semi-collegiate life in the factories at Surat and other trading-stations on the coast. Dennis Kincaid draws a vivid picture of the Surat factory in the seventeenth century. On holidays the President invited his colleagues to a picnic in the country. He and his wife led the way in palanquins, in front of which went two large British ensigns, and "horses of state, rich in their trappings and gallantly equipped." Next followed the Council, "in large coaches, all open, except their wives are in them," and in the rear were the rest of the factors, "in coaches or upon horses, which are kept by the Company to accommodate

their people at these times, or whenever they fancy to take the air." Everyone wore the heavy English clothes of the period, and the meals were enormous. Dinner, which was served at noon, consisted of fifteen or more courses, washed down by copious drafts of Shiraz wine. After this, we cease to be surprised when we read that "two monsoons were the life of a man."

The second period may be said to extend from the battle of Plassey to the Indian Mutiny. This was the time when that queer creature, the Nabob, flourished. Englishmen came out, frankly and unashamedly, to shake the Pagoda Tree, and those who survived the climate seldom left the country with less than £100,000 in their pockets. Robert Clive was "astonished at his own moderation," when he was content with a quarter of a million! There were few English women in the country, and the European in a responsible position lived like an Indian prince, with his horde of retainers. General Martin, the founder of La Martimère College, "lived in great comfort, with four concubines, a number of eunuchs and a host of slaves. His library was famous; he had collected 4,000 volumes of Latin, French, Italian, English, Persian, and Sanskrit works. In his gallery were hung 150 oil paintings, including pictures by Zoffany and Daniell." He had underground apartments on the riverside for the hot weather. "As the water rises, he ascends; the lower storey is always flooded in the rains, and the second generally; when the water subsides, they are repaired and decorated." The result was that the Englishman of those days knew the country as this generation can seldom do. Warren Hastings occupied his leisure hours with the Mahabharata, and corresponded regularly with Panna Begum, the Indian wife of Colonel Pearse, in Persian. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, was one of the earliest students of Indian history.

The Mutiny of 1857 broke in rudely upon these idyllic, if somewhat primitive conditions. Dennis Kincaid gives a striking account of English society on the brink of that awful catastrophe, dining with the Nana Sahib and dancing at the balls given at his palace, quite unconscious of their impending doom. Could anything be more tragic than the stray diary leaves found among the débris in General Wheeler's encampment? "*June 17th*. Aunt Lilly died. *June 18th*. Uncle Willy died. *June 22nd*. Left barracks; George died. *July 9th*. Alice died. *July 12th*. Mamma died." The rest is silence, for the writer herself found her last resting-place in the well of the Bibigarh three days later. Anglo-Indian social relations never recovered from the shock caused by these heartless massacres and the savage reprisals which they provoked. This, and the curtailment of the voyage resulting from the opening of the Suez Canal, caused English society to withdraw itself more and more from contact with Indians, and the estrangement, despite the efforts of well-meaning individuals, was almost complete. From time to time, violent outbursts such as that which resulted from the Ilbert Bill proved the depth of the underlying feeling. Viceroys like Ripon, and Governors of the type of Lord Ray in Bombay, were regarded with deep suspicion. There is a delightful panorama of Simla under Curzon. The manners of the period have been remorselessly satirized by Rudyard Kipling; in view of his enormous vogue at a later date, it is amusing to read that he was regarded at the time as an impertinent young man who had taken a mean revenge

upon circles to which he had been denied an entrée. Dennis Kincaid tells us that, until her death in 1933, his grandmother regarded him as a subversive pamphleteer given to criticizing his betters. But after all, his grandfather resigned from his club at the mere mention of a proposal to admit members of the Public Works and Forest Departments!

This period may be said to have closed with the Great War, though its knell was really sounded by the Morley-Minto Reforms. The war was seldom brought home to India, save on rare occasions like the bombardment of Madras by the *Emden*, but its results were devastating. It left Anglo-Indian society, if not wiser, certainly poorer and more democratic. The post-war generation, brought up on jokes about *pukka sahibs*, developed few racial prejudices, and found it much easier than their fathers did to rub shoulders with young Indians of both sexes, who drove cars, played bridge, and read Edgar Wallace. The Gymkhana Club, that erstwhile symbol of British exclusiveness, has already begun to decline, chiefly owing to the alarming wave of sobriety which has swept over modern India. The paint is flaking off the Corinthian pillars of the stately porch, and already the white ants are busy in the Gothic archway leading to the ladies' cloakroom. Are these things a parable? Dennis Kincaid wisely refuses to hazard an answer. He is content with predicting that while the British in India may in future days be less noticeable for their eccentricities and their conscious superiority, it is impossible to foresee a time when they will ever be mistaken for citizens of any other nation but their own!

In view of the fact that the author did not live to complete his work, criticism would be ungenerous. But the serious student of social customs would welcome more precise references in the footnotes, and one is rather surprised to find no reference to Captain Basil Hall's racy account of Western India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A bibliography would have been useful. A special word must be said for the illustrations, which are extraordinarily well selected and are a social document in themselves.

NATIONALISM AND REFORM IN INDIA. By William Roy Smith. Pp. 485. *Oxford University Press* (*Yale University Press.*) Price 5 dollars.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.)

This is by far the most comprehensive and exhaustive work on the Nationalist movement in India that has yet appeared, and is likely to supersede all previous studies of the subject. The author has been at infinite pains to verify his facts. He spent the winter of 1919-20 in India, where feeling was running high over the events of the previous spring; he was at Jallianwalla Bagh a few months after the shooting, and reached London in time for the Parliamentary debates over General Dyer. He had innumerable conversations with British and Indian politicians and others, and spent a long time in research at the India Office and the British Museum. The result is a singularly impartial and detailed book.

Professor Roy Smith divides the grievances which led to the rise of unrest in India into four main heads—economic, political, social and religious. Dealing with the first, he complains that the British Government tends to place political before economic reform, and when it does make an economic concession it is apt to favour a privileged minority. Though much has been done to improve the lot of the peasant since the war, there are still economic abuses of far-reaching consequence which the administration has done nothing to remedy. He dismisses the theory of the "drain" as a political stunt. The money sent to England as Home Charges is more than offset by the protection India enjoys from the British Navy, by not having to maintain a diplomatic service and, above all, by being able to borrow cheaply. He thinks, however, that the incidence of taxation falls far too heavily on the rural areas. The Government should buy out the landlords and guarantee the cultivator a liberal minimum for his subsistence. The deficit could be made up by increasing income-tax and introducing death duties, and taxing to the full unearned increment on urban land. This would redress the balance between town and country. But he holds that the chief danger of the future is the growth of the population, and the remedy lies in birth-control.

In reviewing political grievances, the author has some shrewd remarks about the Indianization of the Army. He points out that the outcry raised by the intelligentsia is, to say the least of it, shortsighted, for they will govern just as long as the British element is there to protect them. As soon as the army is Indianized the martial classes will take charge and establish a military despotism. He rightly deplores the effect upon the political situation of the unhappy events of April, 1919. "The people of India, acting through the National Congress, repudiated a broad and liberal plan of constitutional reform and declared their loyalty to the Empire was optional. They followed and have continued to follow the leadership of visionaries who would deprive them of all the benefits of Western civilization without being able to restore the best features of their own ancient culture."

In dealing with social and religious grievances, he quotes with approval Lord Zetland's dictum that the secret of unrest is to be found in the efforts of Hinduism to preserve its ancient culture from being submerged. The Muslims are fighting the same battle, but at the same time are struggling to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed when the British legions are withdrawn. Psychologically it is all part of the secular struggle between the Asiatic and the European. This leads up to the most interesting and penetrating chapter in the book, which is devoted to an analysis of Hindu-Muslim relations.

The work concludes by tracing the various steps by which the British Government has tried to stem the rising tide of unrest and divert it into regular channels. The Simon Committee failed because it contained no Indian members, though, as the author observes, the Commission was after all a Parliamentary one, and the only Indian members of Parliament at the time were Lord Sinha and Mr. Saklatvala, neither being, for diverse reasons, very suitable. The Constitution of 1935 is briefly touched on, and

there is a really excellent bibliographical note. It is difficult to speak too highly of this erudite but illuminating volume, which deserves to be studied from cover to cover by all who have at heart the future welfare of India and the solution of her many pressing problems.

DRINK IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

(*Reviewed by* FREDERICK GRUBB.)

The Report on the Administration of the Excise Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for the year 1346 F. (A.D. 1936-1937) has just been issued—somewhat belatedly. It contains no features of outstanding interest, except perhaps the admission that Hyderabad has suffered for a long time past under the reproach of being the largest city in India with an excessive number of liquor shops. Some years ago it was claimed that the sale of drink had been excluded from the capital of the Nizam's Dominions—which is what might be expected in the territory of a Muslim ruler—but this ideal had apparently to be abandoned owing to financial exigencies.

The Government of His Exalted Highness is still a long way from following the example of the adjoining Provinces of British India in the matter of prohibition; but it may be noted as satisfactory that the number of country liquor shops was reduced from 5,096 in 1345 F. to 4,225 in 1346 F. Nevertheless, consumption increased from 392,632 proof gallons to 425,198 proof gallons within the same year. This increase is attributed partly to the selling of approved liquor to the aborigines of the Warangal forest tracts who had previously obtained drink from illicit sources, and partly to the improved detection of offences. It would also appear from the figures that many of the shops weeded out were of the smaller and less profitable variety, while those which remained must have done a substantially larger business. This conclusion is deduced from the fact that whereas in 1345 F. the average consumption per shop was only 77 gallons it rose in the following year to over 100 gallons per shop, though it is obvious that in any case the figures are very small when judged by European standards. The total excise revenue (Rs. 47,37,531) was almost exactly the same as in the previous year.

The Central Temperance Committee, which works under the experienced direction of Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur (Chairman), carried its propaganda into several new districts during the year. This Committee receives a Government grant of Rs. 5,000, which cannot be regarded as an excessive proportion of the revenue derived by the State from the sale of liquor. The Committee does excellent work in many directions. A free Reading Room and Library were opened at the head office, and a monthly magazine is being issued in Urdu and Telugu. The principle on which the Committee is working is that the public should be educated in the matter of temperance through the media of

schools, playgrounds, cinemas, lantern shows, public lectures, etc., and that at any rate the younger generation should be saved from the drink evil. The Committee, we learn, is also making arrangements to open more playgrounds in populous centres, and to establish a Temperance Colony consisting of 50 small houses, which are offered at reasonably low rents to persons who will undertake in writing to abstain from strong drinks.

It is something to the good when any Government recognizes the social mess which results from the drink evil and makes some attempt to mop it up; but would it not be more to the purpose to turn off the tap from which the evil flows before the harm is done?

HEALTH IN MYSORE

1. Annual Report of the Mysore Department of Public Health for 1937, Vol. 1.
2. Ditto, Vol. 2, Vital Statistics.
3. Quarterly Report of the Mysore State Department of Public Health, July to September, 1938.

(*Reviewed by* Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, C.I.E., I.M.S.)

Public health in India is at last beginning to assume its correct position as one of the most important concerns of Government and Mysore is rightly regarded as one of the most progressive of the independent States, so that we should expect to find in these reports evidence of activity and progress in the campaign against disease. This expectation is not disappointed, for it is evident that much is being done and that the authorities realize how much more there is yet to be done.

The computed birthrate in the State for 1937 is 21·6 per mille and the computed deathrate 15·1. If these figures approximate to the true vital statistics they are most satisfactory, for they compare with a birthrate of 35 and deathrate of 23 reported for British India during 1936. But doubt may be cast on the accuracy of the rates computed, because in the Kolar Gold Field and in Bangalore and Mysore cities, which are three of the areas in Mysore State where revised, and probably more accurate, methods of registration have been introduced, the reported statistics for the year 1937 are:

	Birthrate.	*Deathrate.*
Kolar Gold Field	58·6	31·4
Bangalore City	36·6	25·2
Mysore City	35·3	27·4

These figures are much higher than those reported for the whole State and, except for the unusually high birthrate in the Kolar Gold Field, are nearer those reported for British India. The State infantile mortality rate

for 1937 is reported as 106·1 per mille, which compares with the rate of 162 per mille for British India in 1936.

It is good to note that Health Leagues have been started in sixteen villages, and that the Bureau of Health Education is evidently an active means of Health Publicity in the State. One hundred and eighty-four cinema shows were given in 105 different places by means of a cinema van that travelled 7,353 miles in the process. Other methods of publicity were also taken and a Health Museum in Mysore city is to be built. The Mysore State makes its own vaccines for plague, cholera and the enteric fevers. It is not unnatural that a progressive body should desire to do everything for themselves; but in this instance it may be doubted whether decentralization is advisable, because these vaccines are so specialized upon in the bigger laboratories of Parel, Guindy and Kasauli respectively that it should be profitable to take advantage of the highly trained staffs at these places, even if the purchase were to cost a little more than local manufacture.

Food standardization is also undertaken, and nutrition experiments on certain articles of food sold in the market have also been started. This is an advance much to be commended. School medical inspection is done to a partial extent, probably to a greater extent comparatively than is done in most provinces of British India. The Bureau of Rural Health was active. Campaigns against hookworm and guinea-worm were undertaken and a small leprosy survey done. The observation was made that cyano-gas does not abolish rats from tiled or thatched country dwellings, because many rats live in the roofs, and deaths in the ground burrows are replaced in about a week by the rat population from above.

The report is good and the English in which it is written lucid. We suggest, however, that a report written for public perusal should not contain so much detail about number and date of Government order on a subject: to anyone but a State official this is unnecessary, lengthy and irritating. For instance, seven lines of the report are occupied by the statement that two gentlemen have been appointed probationers.

HEALTH AND NUTRITION IN INDIA. By N. Gangulee, C.I.E., PH.D. (*Faber and Faber.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR JOHN MEGAW, C.I.E.)

This book appears at an opportune time, as nutrition is at last coming to be recognized as the most important of all the problems of India.

Dr. Gangulee is well qualified for his task, as he has been a professor of agriculture and rural economy at Calcutta University and a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. The book is dedicated to "Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and other leaders of the Indian National Congress, who have undertaken the responsibility of shaping a national policy, based on directed economy, for the rehabilitation of my country, where for every three mouths there are only two rice bowls." There is an interesting foreword by Sir John Orr, who discusses "the newer knowledge of nutrition."

Dr. Gangulee deals in turn with the problem of nutrition, the science of nutrition, the consequences of dietary deficiency, Indian foodstuffs and diets, nutritional research and proposals for solving the problem of malnutrition in India. The greater part of the book consists of a clear statement of ascertained facts which have been culled from the writings of a large number of experts. Special prominence is given to the work of men like McCay, McCarrison and Aykroyd, whose researches form the basis of modern knowledge of nutrition in India, but many authorities from the rest of the world have also been quoted.

As a guide to the scientific aspects of the subject the book is deserving of high praise; the language is vivid, simple and accurate, so that the lay reader will find no difficulty in obtaining a clear mental picture of the deplorable situation which exists in India. Where this book differs from the ordinary treatises on nutrition is that it deals with the social and economic factors which are so intimately concerned in causing the malnutrition of the Indian peasant. Everyone will agree that these factors are of first-class importance, and that no solution of the problem has the slightest chance of success unless they are taken into account. In the discussion of this aspect of nutrition Dr. Gangulee at times writes as a politician. Nobody can fail to sympathize with the moving appeal which the author makes on behalf of the toiling masses of India, but although most of the opinions expressed with regard to the "socio-economico-political" causes of poverty are sound, some of them will not command unanimous approval even among the members of the Indian National Congress. The book is a striking example of the radical differences which exist between science and party politics: Dr. Gangulee the scientist finds no difficulty in interpreting the teachings of the whole body of expert workers, but Dr. Gangulee the politician expresses some opinions of a decidedly controversial kind.

There is one matter on the scientific side which calls for comment: in the discussion on the part played by over-population the author represents Malthus as teaching that population always tends to increase up to the limit of food supply; this is not quite fair, as Malthus insisted strongly that this law did not apply to those human beings who exercised intelligent restraint in reproduction.

Dr. Gangulee is, in reality, an ultra-Malthusian; he advocates contraceptive measures which never entered into the scheme of population control which was envisaged by the learned divine. Dr. Gangulee also seems to regard the enormous increase in the population of India as an unimportant factor in causing malnutrition; he argues that the potential increase in agricultural production can easily compensate for the normal increase in population. The weak points in this argument are that a potential food supply will not fill empty bellies and that the actual food supply is, as Dr. Gangulee himself insists, by no means adequate for the existing population. The controversial points which crop up here and there add to the interest of this excellent book and are not likely to mislead the discriminating reader.

The illustrations and tables add greatly to the value and attractiveness of the volume.

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN EDUCATION PAST AND PRESENT. By Sir Philip Hartog. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR HENRY SHARP.)

This book forms No. III. of the Studies and Reports published under the auspices of the University of London Institute of Education. It contains three lectures delivered by Sir Philip Hartog at that Institute under the Joseph Payne benefaction of the College of Preceptors. The author is to be congratulated upon having compressed a large amount of clear and useful information within the compass of 68 pages (exclusive of Memoranda).

The value of the book is threefold. It narrates the growth of education in India; it gives a picture of present conditions, together with reference in the third lecture to certain special problems; and it draws attention to defects.

The historical part, which is of great interest, deals faithfully with what Sir Philip calls the "great legend" which "has been built up of the terrible deterioration in education and literacy in Bengal during the past 100 years." (I must here add a personal note; for it is suggested that I believed and helped to disseminate that legend, whereas a perusal of the work in which I mentioned Adam's "estimate" of 100,000 schools in that Presidency in 1835 contains proof of its incredibility.) Having exploded that legend, he traces the initiation and expansion of an organized system of education through the great 1854 Despatch of Sir Charles Wood (whose grandson was to fill the office of Viceroy), the Hunter Commission, the Resolution of 1913 and the latest developments under provincial autonomy. "In these early days," he declares, "from 1854 onwards, it was the Government and not purely Indian opinion that pressed the importance of primary education."

If in these latter years the enthusiasm may appear to have passed to Indian opinion, the explanation is to be sought not in any weakening of sense of responsibility in the Government (witness the Resolution of 1913) but rather in the diversion of funds which might well have been spent on elementary education to the great mass of higher institutions which have sprung up and must perforce be maintained in some sort of decency, and in the attractiveness of the slogan of compulsory primary instruction. Yet the results of this enthusiasm are disappointing, and the great practical use of this book is the author's analysis of the flaws not only in elementary but also in higher education. In the former the low pay of teachers, the prevalence of single-teacher schools, reduction of the inspectorate and lack of central control over local authorities have had depressing effect, and 74 per cent. of the boys and 87 per cent. of the girls in primary classes leave them before attaining permanent literacy. Such wastage discounts the increase (to 51 per cent.) of the proportion of boys at school to those of a school-going age—the proportion of girls is only 17 per cent. In the sphere of secondary education the status of the teacher, often untrained and ill-paid, breeds an inferiority complex (I myself would cite the Madras Presidency as a happy exception), and the

studies are overshadowed by the matriculation examination when conducted by the Universities. It is interesting to find Sir Philip somewhat diffident about the advantages of changing from English to vernaculars as the medium of instruction, and, as against the supporters of Hindustani as a *lingua franca*, he urges, with Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the need of a "world-language." As for the Universities themselves, he refers to the opinion of the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission on the Growth of Education, of which he was Chairman. It found about 120,000 university students and took the view that these institutions are overcrowded with men who are not profiting either intellectually or materially by a training which involves waste of public and private money.

But Sir Philip is no pessimist. He realizes the immense progress that has been made, and perceives, among the defects, features which promise well for the future; and he has produced an admirable little book for anyone who wants to obtain in brief space a bird's-eye view of the subject.

CLIVE OF PLASSEY. By Mervyn Davies. (*Nicholson and Watson.*) 25s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

Clive died in 1774 at the age of 49. In 1836 appeared Sir John Malcolm's authorized biography, liberally documented, the value of which, as Sir George Forrest stated in another notable *Life*, published in 1918, "it would be difficult to exaggerate for historical and biographical purposes." In 1840 it was taken by Macaulay as the heading for his famous *Edinburgh Review* article on Clive, which has been, and, I hope, still is, far more widely read than all the biographies put together, for his view on Clive's character and qualities is particularly penetrating. Now the author of this book interprets these from the standpoint of a day which dissects reputations and "has ceased to be greatly enamoured of imperialism." He produces no new material, but refers extensively to Robert Orme's books and MSS. preserved in the India Office. His representative historians are Mill among the older and Thompson and Garrett among the younger generations. He barely mentions Malcolm, but admits that he is "perhaps Clive's best biographer" as well as his first. Macaulay, however, while stating that Malcolm's estimate of Clive "passes the love of biographers," condemns the "severe" and "undiscriminating" judgment of Mill, nor apparently do Thompson and Garrett think well of him.* On pp. 405-6 is a long quotation from Caraccioli's biography, which is surprising in the context, as from a rather long appendix it is apparent that Mr. Davies agrees with Professor Dodwell in regarding this book as "a piece of hack work inspired and paid for by Clive's enemies."

The introduction makes it difficult to avoid the impression that Mr. Davies starts with a bias against Clive, possibly because he thinks that Clive did not sufficiently appreciate Warren Hastings, with whom he compares him later on to his disadvantage. This impression is not removed by

* See their page 79.

various passages in the book. While allowing Clive the particular virtues of the eighteenth century, "vigour, enterprise, courage, self-confidence," he also attributes to him its vices, "which may be summed up as unrestrained egotism, producing a voracity for wealth, power and position the like of which has seldom been seen in English history." On p. 424, however, there is a more balanced judgment. Mr. Davies suspects tragedy in preparation in Clive's childhood and—apparently for no particular reason—in his years of upbringing in England and India. Eventually, he tells us, Clive was hated. Why? Macaulay says the same thing and shows that this was for his good deeds as much as or more than his bad. Mr. Davies aims at "redressing the balance a little" in favour of Clive's enemies, who, poor fellows, have lacked biographers and so been "the under-dogs of the story." But "even to those who opposed the establishment of British ascendency in India justice must be done."

We are given a clear and interesting narrative of Clive's early years. Born, like Warren Hastings, of a line of country gentlemen, at the age of seven described by an uncle as "fierce, imperious and out of measure addicted to fighting," he was at the same time "affectionate and full of natural charm." He went through the rough schooling of his time, but does not seem to have been wild or undisciplined. Yet "his whole world became built on selfishness." Did it? In view of his constant and generous affection for parents, home, wife, family, I doubt the assertion. We are told, however, that he "early put away the softer side of his character for domestic use." Surely, however, it was always there. It appears in his generosity to his Madras friends when they rejoiced over his early successes (p. 126), in his warm and enduring gratitude to Stringer Lawrence, in the fact that he retained as lasting friends three of the companion writers with whom he sailed for India. Malcolm's book gives us a pleasant picture of him "sharing the hardships of his soldiers in the field and much among them. . . . He used to march mostly at the head of the column with his aide-de-camps, or was hunting at the right and left."* He was early attacked by a severe illness, which left a permanent mark on his constitution, and he suffered from fits of extreme depression and nervous prostration which inevitably at times affected his moods and temper. In his early days at Madras he had a good reputation with his official superiors, but soon showed that he would accept wrong or insult from no one. In 1746 came the great change which turned him into a soldier and led India into a new stage of her long, wandering history.

Stringer Lawrence, "the old Cock," his instructor in military matters, bears witness to his capacity for his new profession. "Of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger, born a soldier, for without military education of any sort or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led an army with a prudence that certainly warranted success." Of various tributes from Lawrence a letter quoted on p. 124 testifies particularly to the affectionate admiration which he felt for his old pupil. Mr. Davies' appreciation of Clive's soldiering in Madras

* Malcolm, III., 383-4.

(p. 83) as that merely of "an ideal company commander" seems niggardly beside the descriptions of his "inspired leadership," military capacity and the headlong enthusiasm which always took him where danger was greatest or the fire was hottest. Such nobility of leadership is not found in "unrestrained egotists." It is not, however, Clive in Madras but Clive in Bengal that in this book comes in for criticism as a soldier. The Plassey campaign is stigmatized as a "gambler's throw" which did not deserve to succeed. It was the unmerited reward of inexcusable rashness. It was the result of a "discreditable" game—the conspiracy with Mir Jafir. The battle was preceded by a council of war as the general was reluctant to take the sole responsibility for an immediate engagement.

But as Nawab Siraj-ad-daula proved disloyal to the treaty of amity concluded by his desire after the indecisive brush between the forces outside Calcutta on February 3, 1757, Clive's negotiations with Mir Jafir and his disaffected subjects were only natural, although stained by the incident of the forgery of Watson's name on the false duplicate treaty which deceived Omichand, "the biter bit." The campaign was undertaken in the most oppressive month of the year, at the beginning of the rains, which would soon have turned that country into more or less of a bog. Clive must have felt that to act then was a lesser peril than to delay indefinitely, and relied less on the uncertain prospect of real co-operation from Mir Jafir than on his experience in February of the efficacy of "boldness of design and vigour of execution" in "terrifying" the Nawab (p. 170). The result proved that he was right, for from the account of the battle it appears that although it began about 8 a.m. the day was not lost until the Nawab fled in the afternoon (p. 226). If, turning from Mr. Davies' arguments, we closely examine his narrative of facts and developments we can see that he is wrong both in condemning Clive's judgment and in belittling his achievement. Fortescue justly observed in his *History of the British Army*, II.: "The victory may have been easily won. But the main point is that the British were there to win it. The campaign is less a study of military skill than of the iron will and unshaken nerve that could lead 3,000 men against a host of unknown strength and hold them undaunted, a single slender line within a ring of 50,000 enemies."

The description of the opening scene on the eventful morning, quoted from Orme, states that the Nawab's army presented "a numerous, splendid and martial appearance, and that Clive and his officers were doubtful of success, but the common soldiery, who had served under Major Lawrence in the plains of Trichinopoly, maintained the blunt spirit of Englishmen and saw nothing in the pomp or multitude of the Nawab's army either to admire or fear." The officers and soldiers of the Madras army possessed well-grounded confidence in their leaders, and the British were not "England's wrecks, physical, mental and moral," nor had they "slouching, stunted, twisted bodies" (p. 110). They never could have done what they did if such accusations were accurate. Even if some were jailbirds, we must remember how severe the penal laws of England were at that time, when to have been in jail by no means necessarily implied that a man was a moral wreck or had a twisted body.

On more pages than one the author exalts Eyre Coote at the expense of Clive. But the supreme responsibility at Plassey was solely Clive's. Coote was then a Captain in the 39th, promoted to be Major by Clive during the campaign, Clive, Major Archibald Grant of the 39th, and Major Kilpatrick of the Madras army being his seniors in standing. There is no reason to suppose that Clive was actuated by "spite" in saying years afterwards that Coote was at that time of insufficient rank "to have influence on his conduct" (p. 215). Coote's account of the battle* makes no reflection on Clive (p. 417).

Clive's acceptance of very large presents of money after Plassey and the whole "jagir" business are repulsive to our ideas and embarrassed him very seriously later on when as Governor of Bengal he had to combat corruption in the Services. They have tarnished his fame, even though acceptance of presents and prize-money were then allowed by the custom of the country and the Company's regulations. Mr. Davies gives a very interesting account of his two terms of office as Governor of Bengal, and justly observes that "the basis for the ultimate permanent situation created by Plassey could not, by the very nature of that situation, be created for some time to come." He sums up very fairly on the second term. "In the face of all his handicaps Clive made a gallant showing, and when we watch him suppressing mutiny in the army our admiration is ungrudging and unstinted." Finally the biographer disposes of the principal "underdogs of the story" in stinging phrases. "There was not a generous impulse among them. . . . Never was Clive's superiority over his enemies and rivals, a superiority of mind, character, intelligence, natural abilities, better displayed than in this final reckoning with them" (in the House of Commons). "They failed and most emphatically deserved to fail."

Clive was a product of rough climates, essentially a fighter. He was "prompt to link personal advancement with the performance of public services," but in emergencies he was inflexibly mindful of public interests, as, for instance, when he risked much of his fortune by his prompt attack on the aggressive Dutch and his peace and reputation by his resolute disciplining of the Services in his last term of office. Although he could be unscrupulous in details he held resolutely by certain main principles. Mr. Davies describes his behaviour on the occasion of the duel with the card-sharper (p. 61) as an early instance of his "sense of justice, insistence upon his rights and inflexibility of temper." He was certainly jealous of his reputation, but no man ever risked his life in battle more eagerly. In spite of his fine qualities, his sense of right and honour was blunted by his associations and environments. Malcolm shows that he was hearty and genial to those about him when his mind was unclouded by fits of melancholia or acute disease. He had enormous difficulties and temptations to encounter; and remembering this we cannot wonder that his last words to the Commons went home: "I have one request to make to the House, that when they come to decide upon my honour they will not forget their own."

I cannot sympathize with the author's surprising elevation of Lawrence

* Preserved in the India Office.

Sulivan into a "twin peak" (p. 346), or with his praises of Warren Hastings at Clive's expense. The tasks of Clive and Hastings were very different, and they were very different men. Hastings built upon Clive's achievements.

Mr. Davies is sometimes too imaginative and forgets that after all the psychology of a very remarkable man is elusive. With our best endeavours we can often only guess at his thoughts and motives, especially when he belongs to an age widely different from our own. But the author's pictures of the Indian and home backgrounds are vivid and illuminating and his book is altogether good reading. The print and illustrations are excellent.

DADABHAI NAOROJI: THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA. By R. P. Masani. With a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) 16s.

(*Reviewed by* HY. S. L. POLAK.)

It would be interesting to discover what proportion of those who shout "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai!" and of the younger Congressmen have ever heard of Dadabhai Naoroji, one of the Congress founders, could recall that he was among its Presidents, or could explain why he was called India's "Grand Old Man." Perhaps as many, among the younger folk of Britain, as could identify its "Grand Old Man" with the all-but-forgotten Gladstone.

Mr. R. P. Masani, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, has rendered a great public service by giving us this ample volume on the life and work of the great Dadabhai. It was a labour of love, and it will doubtless remain the textbook of a splendid period in the pioneer work of social, economic and political reform in India. A high tribute, too, is deserved by the author for the immense industry that he has shown in the research involved in order to present us with this chronicle of the manifold activities of one who combined simplicity, sagacity, intelligence, application, devotion, patriotism, idealism, business-like habits and a love of truth in a very high degree.

India has been fortunate in her great men during the last century; in none was she more fortunate than in her chief spokesman in England for many years—Lord Salisbury's "Black Man." Long before he had become the Member for Finsbury, Dadabhai had rendered valuable service to his Motherland in London.

Readers in this country will naturally turn to the pages of this book that relate primarily to the years spent here and to the little-remembered period when, for the first time, a British constituency was represented in Parliament by this spokesman for India. The story of English Liberalism would not be complete without some reference to this important episode in its development during the Victorian era. But there is hardly a page that will not remind Indian readers of some bright passage in their own history of modern times and inform them of some noble contribution by their country's great son. Ninety-two years is a long life; but it seems almost impossible

to crowd into it so many and so varied activities as those which, with a minimum of friction, Dadabhai carried on; each full of profit to his countrymen, each illuminated with faith, vision, and courage.

It is appropriate that no less an admirer of Dadabhai, from the South African days, than Mahatma Gandhi himself should have contributed a foreword to this noteworthy book, for which the author has laid his readers under deep obligation. Whether the great Parsi would have agreed with the Mahatma that he would, had he lived, have followed the latter's policy is a matter upon which opinions will differ.

Debt Legislation in India. By S. A. Samad, M.A. (Professor of Economics, Chittagong College, Bengal).

(*Reviewed by* Anwar Iqbal Qureshi.)

This is a paper which Professor Samad read at the twenty-second session of the Indian Economic Association held at Nagpur in December, 1938.

Since the last great depression the problem of farmers' indebtedness has attracted increasing attention all over the world. India has been no exception. Those who pin too much faith on the efficacy of such measures and think that once the farmer's debts are reduced all his troubles are over, must not forget that neither are the problem of farmers' indebtedness new nor the relief measures adopted during the last few years are by any means unprecedented in the history of the world.

Professor Samad gives a very interesting account of the measures taken to relieve farmers' debts. In ancient Greece when Solon came to power about 600 B.C. his first act was to help the debtors. Since the Congress has come into power various provincial governments have enacted laws to provide relief to the farmers. As a matter of fact an impression has been created abroad that the previous régime was altogether unconcerned with the difficulties that were besetting the farmers. This is far from the truth. Professor Samad does well to describe the various measures taken by the previous régime. A survey of the legislative measures adopted in India from time to time goes to show that each separate piece of legislation deflected the activities of the creditor or the borrower in a new direction, and thus a fresh legislation became imperative. "This process has been going on *ad infinitum* and it is difficult to say where it is going to stop."

Professor Samad has taken a good deal of pains in the preparation of this paper, which is full of facts and figures. It provides an excellent history of debt legislation in India. One great drawback in this otherwise excellently written paper is that Professor Samad does not trace the recent history of debt legislation in India, which, in my opinion, should have formed an essential part of his paper.

PAÑJĀBĪ ṢŪFĪ POETS, A.D. 1460-1900. By Lajwanti Rama Krishna, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. With a Foreword by A. C. Woolner, C.I.E.

(*Reviewed by* J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

English works on the subject of Islamic mysticism are surprisingly few, considering that it is impossible to go far in the study of either Persian or Urdu poetry—impregnated as both are with Sufistic thought and its traditional imagery—without an understanding of the Sūfīs and their doctrines. While, however, the Urdu poets followed Persian models closely, Sufism in the Panjab, at least in the poetry written in the Panjabi language, developed on somewhat different lines. Though Miss Rama Krishna perhaps overstresses its affinities with Hindu thought, it shows an increasingly friendly attitude towards Hindus. In its imagery, moreover, it reinforces the "rose and nightingale, the moth and candle," and the rest, with the homely symbolism of rustic life. Again, the lover, elsewhere always a man, now becomes a woman, seeking for the beloved male.

The strength of the appeal of these poets, from the fifteenth century up to the present time, is shown by the popularity of the well-known legends of the lovers Hīr and Rānjhā, and Sohnī and Mahīvāl, and also, as the author notes, by the existence of hundreds of widely venerated Sūfī shrines.

Much of this Panjabi poetry possesses a simple directness which gives it a peculiar charm, while several of the poets, Sultān Bāhū, Bullhe Shāh and others, rank among the greatest Indian mystics of all time.

Miss Rama Krishna's study was accordingly well worth undertaking. She has searched diligently through old manuscripts as well as printed books, and has also made use of oral traditions; and she has set out the fruit of her labours in a well and pleasantly written book. Taking the chief poets in turn she tells something of the life and doctrines of each, and then gives examples of the poems, with literal translations. The style is effective because clear and economical.

The introduction gives a short general account of the subject, with notes on the verse forms, vocabulary, and other matters. There are numerous footnotes and a bibliography.

MEMORY BE GOOD. By Evelyn Bell. (*Michael Joseph.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.)

Readers who were entranced with *So Kind to Youth* will not be disappointed with its sequel. Evelyn Bell's career in the artistic world of pre-war London came to an end when she married a member of the Indian Educational Service, and exchanged the society of musicians and painters for that of Commissioners and Governors. With her Bohemian outlook, she is not the person that one could imagine adapting herself readily to the atmosphere of Poona, the favourite butt of every social satirist, but she seems

to have fallen in with it with surprising ease. She had, moreover, a kind of naïve *insouciance* which would melt the hardest heart, and to this she added a happy knack of "cheeking" the Heaven-born in a way they thoroughly enjoyed. Her parting words to Lord Lamington at the conclusion of her first garden-party, "I *do* hope you'll ask us again," must have delighted the heart of that benevolent proconsul. Evelyn soon made herself at home in gubernatorial circles, and her sketches of the successive Govenors and other high officials under whom her husband served are as audacious as they are witty. She reserves, and deservedly, her choicest bouquets for Lord and Lady Willingdon, and those who shared the privilege of serving under that most charming of Governors will heartily agree with all she says.

Evelyn Bell, though she had all the average woman's liking for male society, was not the kind of person who would find solace for long in the gymkhana atmosphere which the average Memsahib finds so congenial. She never degenerated into the "thin cat from India." Her social activities were of a multifarious character. At one time she would be inspecting a Widows' Home, at another a gaol or a lunatic asylum! The National Indian Association was one of her hobbies, and it was not her fault that this well-meaning but rather anæmic attempt to bridge the gulf between East and West did not meet with better success. The war brought her the outstanding opportunity of her Indian career. The Children's Guild, the junior branch of the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund organized by the indefatigable Lady Willingdon, was entirely her own idea. "Little Tommy Tucker shall sing for his supper," thought Evelyn, "likewise little Ganpat, Lakshmi and Co., but not for their own so much as for all those other Tommies fighting the good fight over there." From twenty original members, the number had swelled by the end of the war to ten thousand. Those of us who were passing through Bombay at the time remember with delight the charming children's plays which filled the Opera House to capacity night after night. In Poona every school had its dramatic season. Ten thousand rupees went to the aid of St. Dunstan's, a like sum to Roehampton, where the disabled Indian soldiers lay, and every anna had been earned or contributed by children or was the result of entertainments given by them. One letter from a youthful contributor Evelyn Bell sent direct to the King. "I, your humble servant Radha, aged nine years and two months, beg to enclose the sum of eight annas in stamp-age, being the amount I have amassed from the weekly payment of three pice for collecting cowdung for *ooflies* (fuel cakes). I earnestly request that this amount may be sent to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the help of his soldiers and sailors hurt in the Great War." A thumb-mark concluded this ingenuous epistle, leading to the belief that the humble little patriot was not literate. Evelyn Bell characteristically omits to mention the well-deserved decoration conferred upon her for her remarkable effort.

Nor was Evelyn Bell's life in India without those lights and shades which are inseparable from a sojourn in the Land of Regrets. The Poona Hotel, with its spiders and mosquitoes, its flapping ceiling-cloths and rats dying of plague, "Geordie's" attack of enteric, her adventures in a lonely resthouse in Ceylon with a sick baby, will awake responsive chords in many hearts.

Her great adventure was when she and her husband all but went down when the *Egypt* was rammed by a French boat during a dense fog in the Channel, but this episode, which is excellently told, we must leave for readers to enjoy for themselves. The book is full of striking little vignettes. Here is one of them. "The sound of singing, hardly that so much as a soft monotone, came through the open window which overlooked the servants' quarters. I stole across the room and peeped through the chinks. A little Indian boy was sitting in the dust, making himself a garden modelled on that which had once delighted Babur the Great Mogal. For there were flowery walks, fashioned from the choicest blooms in my cherished plot, and nipped off under cover of darkness. There was a lake, too, made out of the inverted lid of an old cocoa tin:

For this hath all his heart."

Memory says, "May I get down, please? I have tried so hard to be good." Evelyn Bell's numerous readers will be unanimous in giving the required permission. Memory was certainly on her best behaviour during the writing of this charming and original book.

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC LIFE. By Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, M.A., M.SC., PH.D., Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan. (Bombay: *New Book Company.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON, C.I.E.)

Mr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi is the head of the Department of Economics in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan. He has travelled widely in the British Commonwealth and in the United States and has observed with a critical eye the results of the abandonment of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and its supersession by a policy of active State intervention in economic matters. In the book before us the conclusion which he has arrived at may be briefly stated in his own words, "As long as economic forces are not left free to adjust themselves and to find a natural equilibrium between supply and demand there can be no permanent world prosperity." That is to say, he definitely subscribes to the opinion of the political economists of the nineteenth century, who would have rigidly restricted the functions of government to the maintenance of law and order, and regarded any form of State socialism as an unwarranted interference with the liberty of the subject. In purely social matters we have very rightly abandoned this attitude, and it is only fair to note that Mr. Qureshi does not discuss them, confining himself entirely to the economic effects of State control of industry and commerce. These he considers to be, if not wholly unsatisfactory, at best merely temporary alleviations of the difficulties we have got into through the growth of extreme nationalism and the spread of communistic ideas. He is a critic of what has been done in democratic countries to remedy the evils from which we are suffering, but he offers no constructive ideas as to how nations are to be persuaded to remove the barriers to trade and commerce which they have erected. It may be freely admitted

that many mistakes have been made in attempting to adjust the chaotic conditions of the present time, but we can hardly accept the proposition that the free play of individual efforts would have yielded a better result.

Considerations of space utterly preclude discussing in detail the facts and figures which Mr. Qureshi brings forward to substantiate his condemnation of State control. He presents a strong case, supported, as to opinions, by extracts from the writings of eminent economists and, as to facts, by reference to the reports and economic surveys of the League of Nations and of similar documents published in the United States. His book is primarily intended for Indian readers, and its chief merit lies in the application which he makes of the experiments in economic management abroad to the conditions which now prevail in India, where, he says, the people are obsessed with "a growing belief that the State possesses some magic and immediately it steps in to undertake the direction of control of the economic resources of the country it will be able to remove the appalling poverty and establish a millennium." He has some pungent remarks on the subserviency of Indian students of economics to the politician, and deprecates the frequency with which they seek only for facts which they think will support their preconceived ideas and altogether ignore those that militate against them. He deplores the attitude of Indian students in foreign universities, to which they go "not with the spirit of investigation and learning but merely to get degrees." That this is universally true we can hardly accept, but there is a great deal in his assertion that the great defect in Indian education is that the students are not taught to think for themselves. They are crammed with information which they have no time to digest or consider how far it is relevant to the issues they are called upon to discuss.

It is worth while quoting the following passage, which might well be taken to heart by those who are striving to obtain control of the future of India. He says: "These students become the future statesmen and politicians of the country and are responsible for its destinies. If they are not properly trained and their intellectual faculties are not developed for independent thinking the nation cannot achieve greatness. We must learn the fundamental principle of democracy—that is, to tolerate and to appreciate differences of views. We must examine the arguments advanced by any other person not in the spirit that what he is saying is wrong but in the spirit that there may be something in it. Due to propaganda and defective thinking in India, notions about certain economic problems have become so rigid that a man who dares to say something against those notions is always liable to incur unpopularity. It is the duty of the younger generation and of the younger economists in India to study these notions dispassionately. The world is moving so fast and things are changing so rapidly that unless we keep pace with the events that are happening in other parts of the world we cannot do any great service in our own country."

To some extent to remedy this state of things his book has been written. In it he chiefly deals with planning of economic policies in various parts of the world, with the development of trade and the control of prices, with State intervention and economic life in Germany and with the group of administrative measures, collectively known as the New Deal, in the United

States. In the last chapter what should be the future economic policy of India is briefly discussed. The dangers of excessive protection are exposed and the advantages likely to accrue from the cultivation of more intimate relations with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations are set forth.

We can only hope that Mr. Qureshi's book will be widely read in India. It is a courageous attempt to show that the future welfare of the people of India demands from those who will have charge of it a much wider study of current events than has hitherto been accorded to economic questions.

A Concise History of the Indian People. By H. G. Rawlinson. (*Oxford University Press.*) 4s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* Dr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E.)

Mr. Rawlinson and the Oxford University Press have produced in partnership the most attractive school history of India I have ever seen. It is simply written, brilliantly illustrated, and beautifully printed. For so modest a price, the reproduction of the illustrations is excellent; and their selection plainly owes much to the admirable artistic taste which Mr. Rawlinson displayed to so marked a degree in his *Cultural History of India*.

To write a book of this kind is never easy; to write it in a fashion attractive to juvenile readers is harder still. Mr. Rawlinson has admirably discharged this difficult task, and I am not sure that we have not in this book something which English schoolmasters have long been looking for. Gradually our educationists are awakening to the fact that the history of India does not begin with Clive and Warren Hastings, and that a knowledge of the cultural record of Britain's great dependency is an essential part of the background of every well-educated person. But the study is difficult. Names are unfamiliar; the geography puzzling; the "atmosphere" remote. In these circumstances, almost everything depends upon a suitable textbook, for even the masters cannot be expected to possess expert knowledge of Indian history. Mr. Rawlinson's book should enable the public school class in England to study Indian history not only with profit but with pleasure.

History of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. By Henry D. Roberts. (*Country Life.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* Dorothy Fooks.)

On September 7, 1783, George Prince of Wales visited Brighton for the first time, and his colourful personality continued to influence the town during the ensuing thirty-four years.

In his comprehensive and very interesting book, Mr. Roberts tells of the creation of the Royal Pavilion, on the site of which was originally a modest house and farm. This was leased and finally bought by the Prince, who entrusted the work of rebuilding and alteration to Henry Holland, archi-

tect of Carlton House. He had no easy task, for the Prince was not too particular about the settlement of his accounts, and he continually changed his mind while the work was in progress.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century he decided to build new stables, and the architect William Porden undertook the work, which resulted in the building known as the Dome. This was the beginning of the Prince's incursion into Oriental architecture, for while it was in process of being completed he heard of a magnificent building "in Hindu style" which had been built at Sezincote, Gloucestershire, for Sir Charles Cockerell, by his brother Samuel Pepys Cockerell. The gardens were designed by Humphrey Repton, and in 1805 the latter was commanded by the Prince to go to Brighton and advise as to what style of architecture would be suitable for the contemplated alterations to the Pavilion. He submitted designs of an Eastern character, for, to quote his own words: "I could not hesitate in agreeing that neither the Grecian nor the Gothic style could be made to assimilate with what had so much the character of an Eastern building. . . . If any known style of architecture were to be adopted, no alternative remains but to combine from the architecture of Hindûstan such forms as might be rendered applicable to the purpose." However, as no funds were available, the matter was left in abeyance until 1815. In that year it was John Nash, and not Repton, who was engaged for the work, and it is he who is responsible for the appearance of the Pavilion as it stands today, though he was undoubtedly influenced by Repton's original designs. After 1820, Nash fell into disfavour, and a few years later the Prince, now King George IV., having satiated his mania for interior and exterior decoration, seemed to lose interest in the Pavilion, for after 1827 he never visited Brighton again.

In 1850 the Pavilion Estate was purchased by the town of Brighton, and after being put to many uses became a hospital for Indian wounded during the Great War. The sequel to this was the erection of a memorial to Indian soldiers who gave their lives in the service of the King-Emperor. This took the form of a Chattri on the Downs, and was designed by a young Hindu architect, Mr. E. C. Henriques. A few months later a memorial gateway was erected to the south of the Pavilion, a gift from the Princes and peoples of India. It was designed in the Gujerati style of the early sixteenth century, and merges in well with the Oriental character of its background.

This noteworthy book is most authoritative, as its author was for many years Director of the Royal Pavilion Estates, and wrote it at the request of the Brighton Corporation. There are many chapters dealing with the furniture and fittings, and Mr. Roberts succeeds not only in stimulating our interest in a stupendous building scheme but presents a very clear idea as to the appearance of the Pavilion in Regency times. He gives the interesting theory that the reason for the Chinese interior was not the fanciful whim of the Prince but a fashion which had been in existence for a long time.

The book must have entailed a formidable amount of research, and there are a number of excellent illustrations.

FAR EAST

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR TARIFF AUTONOMY (1843-1938). By Stanley F. Wright. (Shanghai: *Kelly and Walsh.*) $(Chinese)15.

(*Reviewed by* EDWIN HAWARD.)

The romantic story of the rise of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service can be told to demonstrate the accident which, by the genius of Sir Robert Hart, transformed a foreign-directed, internationally manned organization for the collection of revenue into a permanent civil service essential to the development of China's national institutions under the strain of modern impact with the West. How that service today is responsible for the lighting and buoying of China's coasts and rivers, how it acts as a statistical barometer of trade, how it casually created the Postal department now functioning as a separate concern, magically indifferent to political, natural and geographical vicissitudes, how it laid the foundations of quarantine and port sanitary administration, how it has taken the initiative in conservancy and the disciplining of China's unruly rivers, how it has provided China's credit with a magnificent buttress—all this challenges the expert knowledge of a man like Mr. Wright, whose capacity for lucidly attractive exposition of Customs problems has been annually proved in successive official reports and is now evident here.

He has not taken up the challenge, for he devotes himself severely to such matters as will help in understanding China's tariff history. So the Customs Service comes into the picture only in respect of its fundamental origin as the instrument of an impartial administration of China's tariff devised by treaty "at a moment when civil strife, lawlessness on land and sea, mercantile defiance of authority and corrupt practices of both traders and officials had made that tariff and the Customs procedure enjoined by the treaties 'more honoured in the breach than in the observance.'" Having thus satisfactorily discharged an important if, despite the allure of Mr. Wright's literary gifts, highly technical duty, it will be hoped that he will complete the education of the world by becoming the true historian of what may fairly well be called one of its modern wonders.

Meanwhile it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of his book. It throws an authoritative light on China's relations with the foreigner. It emphasizes principles which directly bear on the eventual solution of the problem now developing from the bitter conflict between China and the great neighbour with whom she should, on geographical, economic, political and cultural grounds, be on terms of close and mutually profitable friendship. To anyone acquainted with the economic nationalism of today it must seem astonishing that for ninety years a great and proud people had to submit to outside regulation of their fiscal occasions and that the eventual recovery of tariff autonomy led surely, if indirectly, to the most formidable attack ever launched by one nation on the independence of another.

That tale Mr. Wright tells.

> Autonomy was lost (by the Treaty of Nanking, 1842)—unwittingly one might say—through a treaty imposed by a victor, and was regained after almost ninety years, not by one but by a series of treaties, born of the spirit of China's national renascence and the slow-moving spirit of restitution of her foretime exploiters. Those ninety years were fraught with greater changes—political, economic, and social—than any that had taken place in any previous century of China's age-long history, and in those changes this rigid treaty tariff, the revenue derived from it, and especially the conditions which maintained that tariff played no insignificant a rôle. The treaty tariff, devised as a measure of relief from what were felt to be intolerable trade conditions, became as time went on the symbolic expression of a policy.

Unsettled conditions made the administration of a foreign inspectorate beneficial to China's immediate needs. Yet, as time went on, the treaty rights bound up with that tariff were used by foreign merchants and their Governments to maintain political privileges quite inconsistent with the interests of China herself as an independent sovereign power.

In support of this "treaty-port" view grew up a mass of journalistic and other literature expressly designed to hamper China's release from foreign tutelage:

> Having forced the gate, and having become acquainted with the conditions obtaining within, they decided that the interests of their trade demanded not only firm adherence to a low standard tariff, but also insistence on the concomitants of privileged taxation of transit trade, and of privileged protection of the foreign trader from the law of the land in which he traded.

Is it surprising that, with this example before her, Japan's early efforts in extending the Manchurian adventure to China Proper should include the launching of a frontal attack on the Chinese tariff by the institution in East Hopei (shamelessly converted under the protection of Japanese bayonets from a demilitarized zone into a defiant rebel-enclave) of a large-scale smuggling enterprise for the entry into China of Japanese goods in conditions which shattered the trade of other nationals and gravely damaged Chinese revenues? That imperialist freebooting was one of the main causes of China's determination in 1937 to call a halt to the process of yielding to Japanese pressure.

China's resolution to break her tariff bondage was sealed at the Peking Tariff Conference of 1925-26. Mr. Wright devotes to the recital of the discussions of that landmark in China's tariff history a whole chapter which, occupying 140 pages, or nearly one-fifth of the book, he warns the reader may be found "heavy going." That Conference directly arose from the Washington Conference of 1922, at which the Chinese delegation had given notice of the intention to bring up the restoration of their country's tariff autonomy for consideration at an early date.

The Powers taking part were: China, the United States of America, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands,

Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. The Conference dissolved without formal decision on any of the points referred to it, but it was not a failure. Mr. Wright points out:

> On the contrary it had been from several points of view a triumphant success. In the first place it was a convincing demonstration to China that the Powers wished her well and were not so utterly the imperialistic tyrants that their detractors were so busily representing them to be. Here, in spite of all the chaos caused by opposing militarists, were the representatives of twelve foreign nations all of them animated by a sincere desire to help China. . . . In the second place it was just as convincing a proof to the Powers of the unanimity among the Chinese of all parties that the terms granted by the Washington Treaty were no longer adequate. Torn as China might be by civil dissension, she was yet solidly united in the conviction that the day of fettering her liberty by unilateral treaty tariffs and trade arrangements was irrevocably past, and united too in the determination that all existing cramping restrictions of this nature must be forthwith swept away. Thirdly, although the Conference did not result in the immediate abolition of these externally imposed restrictions, yet it succeeded in securing from the assembled delegates the all-important declaration that China should enjoy tariff autonomy and in fixing January 1, 1929, as the date on which such autonomy should become effective.

Despite the domestic chaos of the time, China's national spirit held to a clear unity on foreign relations. So tariff autonomy came. The sinister consequences of the Manchurian affair and its present aftermath, the outcome of which has yet to be determined, briefly receive attention from Mr. Wright, who, after scathingly recounting the East Hopei smuggling ramp—a "shoddy swindle," in the words of *The Times*—asserts that China's tariff autonomy is a stumbling-block in Japan's path.

On one by no means unimportant point Mr. Wright's account calls for criticism. This is where he deals with the closing events of the term of office of Sir Francis Aglen. The error is rather one of omission than commission, but material facts cannot be suppressed without exposing the reader to misguidance. The refusal to collect the surtaxes was not the real cause of the Inspector-General's dismissal in January, 1927. The issue was really one of the principle governing the Inspector-General's relations with the Government, of which he was the servant. Aglen, misinterpreting perhaps the political signs of the times, assumed that he could successfully create a position in which he held the balance between the Chinese Government (of whatever kind) and the Western Powers. The strength of the nationalist movement altogether discounted such a notion and that brought Aglen to grief. In February, 1927, a circular issued by him declared that "no matter what action the Government might decide to take the Customs must stand aloof." This had relation to the collection of surtaxes, and it may be added that an attempt was made to break up the surtax organization as the result of an injudicious initiative by a certain foreign consul.

When that effort failed—the then Shanghai Commissioner of Customs (Mr. [now Sir] Frederick Maze) stood firm—an even more astonishing proposal was made to put the Shanghai Customs House in the hands of a committee of consuls. Mr. Maze received from the Chairman of the General Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai formal support for his action as contributing to the maintenance of the integrity of the Customs free of political controversy. It may be somewhat ungracious to draw attention to an omission from a book so generous in information, but perhaps Mr. Wright himself will agree that this elaboration of an often misinterpreted passage is desirable and equitable.

AVENTURES INTELLECTUELLES. By Tran Van Tung. (Hanoi: *Imprimerie du Nord.*)

(*Reviewed by* C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

In the course of an extended literary experience I have often reviewed books written in English by Indian pens. This, however, is the first book written by a citizen of the French colonial empire that I have been privileged to criticize. Monsieur Tran Van Tung has already one book to his credit, *L'école de France*, which has been reviewed in flattering terms by no less a judge than M. Jean Roussel. In the book before us M. Tran Van Tung has written a series of essays on modern writers of different countries. Naturally the writers are mostly French, but Gabriele d'Annunzio, Aldous Huxley and other foreign authors are also examined by this penetrating and competent critic.

So excellent is M. Tran Van Tung's French that it is hard to remember always that he himself comes from Annam, not Paris. Yet there is a passage in the foreword that might have been written by Tukaram, the famous Marathi poet of the seventeenth century:

"I never stop asking myself why I exist, who I am and above all what I shall be.

"My God! it is absolutely impossible for me to accept Life as it is and my own life as it is. I repudiate, and without a shadow of remorse, him who was me. I am angry at being the man I am."

M. Tran Van Tung's first essay is on Gabriele d'Annunzio, whom he rightly praises as the greatest of Italy's modern poets; but he also admires him as a mighty hunter of women *devant l'Eternel*. Here I cannot agree with our author. If one is sufficiently virile there is no great merit in tracking down frail women and seducing virtuous ones. On the other hand, Gabriele's cruelty in breaking off his love affair with Leonora Duse by the words "Non ti amo più" stamped him as rather a sorry creature for all his genius.

Of Mr. Aldous Huxley's works M. Tran Van Tung has selected *Counterpoint*. I cannot but think that our author has taken Mr. Huxley as a philosopher too seriously. The Persian poet Sheikh Sadi once wrote that every line he had written he had contradicted somewhere else. Much the same may be said of Mr. Aldous Huxley. I do not think that the following passage can really be said to sum up Mr. Huxley's beliefs:

"Un homme, retenez bien ça. Ni ange, ni diable. Un homme, c'est un être sur une corde raide, qui marche délicatement, en équilibre, ayant à l'un des bouts de de son balancier l'esprit, l'âme et à l'autre bout le corps, l'instinct de tout ce qui est inconscient, tout ce qui touche à le terre, tout ce qui est mystère."

German literature is represented by Thomas Mann. He has inevitably written against the Nazi Government. On the side of the Nazis there is no literature at all, with the exception of the dreary, uncouth *Mein Kampf*. Thomas Mann, whose property was confiscated, whose pension was stopped and whose degree at Bonn University cancelled, is naturally embittered against the Nazi administration.

"Modern German youth is on a bad road, it is idle, indolent, pragmatic, materialist in the deepest sense of the word. It likes nothing. It hates nothing. No faith, no mysticism. It lets itself be guided by chance governed by Fate. Its religion is pleasure, its goal drunkenness."

I can follow M. Tran Van Tung no further, for his essays are very numerous. He has given us not only a charming collection of critical essays on many widely differing subjects, but he has also shown us, by the perfection and distinction of his French prose, both the superlative skill with which the French colonial universities teach and the intellectual brilliance of the students who attend them.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION. By Cecil Roth. (*Macmillan.*) 7s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by* LADY HARTOG.)

The Archbishop of York at a recent meeting stressed the contribution of the Jews to universal fellowship by their combination of loyalty to the Jewish community with their loyalty as citizens of their various countries of domicile. The modern anti-Semite seeks to make all fellowship between Jew and non-Jew impossible even within the bounds of a single country, and to force the Jews into nationalism without nationhood.

It was to examine the new anti-Semitic assertion that the Jew is not productive, and has had a negative if not destructive effect on Western culture, that Dr. Roth undertook the task of compiling the present volume, a task to which he has brought his great scholarship, unremitting labour and, as far as possible, an objective outlook. The result is an impressive and valuable record, and if in a few places it is a little in the nature of a catalogue of names, this was probably inevitable in view of the mass of material dealt with in one short volume.

Beginning with a chapter on the Hebraic Heritage, Dr. Roth goes on to summarize, from the early centuries of the Christian era to the present day, the Jewish contribution to letters, art, music and the stage; to science, medicine and philosophy; to economic and public life and to philanthropic effort. Particularly interesting to readers of this Review is the connection between

Jews and Moslems in the world of Arabic scholarship in the so-called Dark Ages. Another section deals with the contribution of Jews to the great voyages of discovery of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the large part played by them in the provision of the technical equipment, improved astronomical instruments and tables, maps and charts, which made the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama possible. The final chapter on "charity" describes not only the wide benefactions of Jews to all kinds of charitable and educational effort, but the share they have taken in the furtherance of progressive humanitarian movements in general and in the cause of peace.

Dr. Roth has abundantly proved that in every country of their settlement the Jews, in so far as it has been permitted to them, have contributed in full measure to the culture and civilization of their times, and more intensively during the past century, since the gates of the Ghetto were broken down. But it cannot be said that there is anything specifically Jewish in these contributions, unless the frequent combination of a vigorous intellect with imagination and human sympathy be regarded as such. Of world-famous names, like those of Spinoza, Disraeli, Einstein, they have not produced since Biblical times a very great proportion, save perhaps in science and medicine in that very country which has now denied them the rights of citizenship, for nine of the thirty-eight German Nobel prize winners have been Jews. "In the long run," says Dr. Roth, "their contribution has become interwoven inextricably with the common stock by a thousand different strands. Disintegrate these, and the tree of Western culture would be mutilated."

The one outstanding and distinctively Jewish contribution to civilization remains the contribution of the Jewish religion, the foundation of the religions and ethics of the Western world.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT WAR

I

INDIA'S RESPONSE

By Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
(Formerly Governor of the Punjab)

To those of us who were in India during the last war there now come memories of the India of those days. How India met the crisis and what India contributed towards the final victory have been recounted in detail in various books and reports, and much of the story comes back to us at this time. The chief feature in India's attitude, which implanted itself on the public imagination of the day, was the fact that, apart altogether from the merits of the conflict, there was a remarkable revival of the martial instincts underlying the character of so many of the peoples of India. Within a month of the declaration of war offers of help of every character were received from every class in all parts of India. Within that month a trained Indian corps had sailed for France, and during the ensuing winter it helped gallantly to fill the gaps in the Allied lines. Subsequently the activities of the Indian combatants were transferred to the Eastern theatre, and they upheld the name of their country in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia, and in the final triumph of Palestine. During all the years of the war—both in tracts formerly connected with the Army and in unexpected areas—recruits came pouring in, and even when the last great effort was made in the spring of 1918 the supply of recruits continued. There was, no doubt, in circles otherwise well disposed, a breath of questioning criticism, and among men who were frankly ill-disposed there were here and there plots and treasons; but in India generally there was a feeling of confidence, an assurance that the war had captured the spirit of the people. By the time hostilities had ceased no less than 1,300,000 men had been despatched overseas.

What has been the reaction in India to the present crisis? Our newspapers present us from time to time with items illustrative of the trend of feeling, and from these we can gather the general attitude of the country. Although it may be somewhat early yet

to draw final conclusions, yet from the information available there seems reason to expect that India, as a whole, is ready, as in 1914, to adopt and to support the cause espoused by Great Britain.

It is, of course, the case that the India of today is politically very different from that of 1914. In 1921 and again in 1935 the country went through important changes in her political development. The machine of government is now, to an extent undreamed of in 1914, in the hands of the people themselves, and the desire that India should adopt an independent point of view is much more prevalent than it was twenty-five years ago. The Congress, which looks forward to full Home Rule, is now in control in eight provinces, and there is a considerable section of the Congress which hesitates about lending its moral support to the war until it is assured of the further development of its own ultimate objects. The Congress Working Committee has accordingly asked for a declaration of the aims of the Government in regard to democracy and imperialism, and a statement as to the manner in which such aims are going to apply to India.

How far this attitude reflects a genuine sentiment, and how far it may affect the civil support so necessary for war organization, it is difficult at present to descry; but it is in any case essential to note that, so far as the real underlying causes of the struggle are concerned, there is no sort of *rapprochement* between the political mind of India and the enemies of this country. This has been ensured by the action of the German Government itself, for the war has not come suddenly as in 1914, and for months past the German Government has provided a series of spectacular exhibitions of a frame of mind which is radically opposed to all that is best in Indian thought. There could be no greater contrast than that between the force politics of Germany and the *ahinsa*, or non-violence, preached by the school of Mr. Gandhi.

We have recently learned that Mr. Gandhi wrote to Herr Hitler on July 23, appealing to him to prevent a war which, as he said, "may reduce humanity to the savage state." He has since expressed his horror at the prospect of destruction due to war, and he adds: "I am not just now thinking of Indian deliverance; it will come. But what will it be worth if England and France fail or if they are victorious over a Germany ruined and humbled?" In a recent interview with the Viceroy he explained that, speaking for himself, his sympathies, from the purely humanitarian point of view, were with England and France.

Other leaders of political thought, both inside and outside the Congress, have the same feelings, and it would be difficult to find any class of Indian politician in whom the German point of view excites any sympathy. To Pandit Jahawar Lal Nehru, who inspired the pronouncement of the Congress Committee, Naziism

has no attraction, and the fate of Poland excites his compassion. Others, actuated by similar feelings, are more explicit in their support of this country. Mr. M. N. Roy, of the left wing of the Congress, declares that all freedom-loving people would congratulate the Government on the decision to put an end to Hitlerism. Mr. N. C. Rajah calls on the Depressed Classes "to come out boldly and unhesitatingly at this hour of crisis and offer their services." The veteran Liberal leader, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, appeals to India to stand by Britain unconditionally, for "it would be disastrous," he says, "to offer our help subject to conditions." On September 12 the Council of State passed a resolution expressing "profound admiration for Poland's heroic struggle against wanton aggression, and complete confidence that the undaunted spirit of the Polish people and the unflinching determination of their allies will ultimately lead to victory." And among the two thousand Indian students in Great Britain there appears to be a similar spirit, for we hear of many applications on their part for the various forms of national service in this country and for employment on medical duties in the hospitals for the wounded.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has condemned unprovoked aggression and expressed its sympathy with England, France, and Poland. Indeed, Muslim opinion generally appears to be strongly in favour of genuine and wholehearted assistance. "This is not the occasion," says Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, the Premier of Bengal, "to think of our differences: Muslims should remember that they have a duty to the Empire." The Central National Muhammadan Association calls to Muslims to rally round the British flag, and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, has issued more than one stirring appeal for loyal support, pointing out that "India must in her own interest participate, but in so participating she will serve also the interests of the Oriental nations bound to her by friendship and culture." The Nizam of Hyderabad, in a special *firman*, has called on the people of India, and especially the Muslims, to sink their differences and to do everything in their power to assist the British Government. The Aga Khan, the spiritual ruler of the Ismalian Muslims, has exhorted those who look to him for guidance to give "unstinted service to the cause for which Great Britain fights," and has called on the Ismalias of Zanzibar for "heartfelt, loyal, and unstinted service." Afghanistan has declared her neutrality, and Turkey being no longer an enemy, the Khilafat being now dead, and a break having already been made with Germany by Egypt and Iraq, there should be much less now to distract the loyalties of Indian Muslims than there was during the war of 1914-18.

Of the Indian soldiers enlisted in the last war, nearly a half

were recruited from one Province, the Punjab, where there was already a close connection with the Army and where recruiting was efficiently and energetically fostered by the authorities. There can be little doubt that on this occasion also the Province under its present Premier will rise to its old traditions and join the great adventure. From the Sikhs, who as soldiers are among the bravest representatives of a brave Province, we have had already a manifesto declaring that the Sikhs are determined to uphold their martial traditions and to assist the British against aggressor States.

Turning to other Provinces, we find that the large landowners have not been behindhand. In Bengal the Nawab of Murshidabad has been forward in offers of help, and from Bihar the Maharaja of Darbhanga, as President of the All-India Landholders' Association, has appealed to the landowners of India to place all their resources unhesitatingly at the disposal of Government.

And what of the Princes? There have been differences of opinion between many of the Princes and the Central Government regarding the proposed terms of Federation. But in a moment all this was forgotten, and Prince after Prince has come forward with offers of personal service, men and money. War was declared on September 3 and by the 7th of the month messages of fidelity and offers of service had come in from eighty-three of the Indian States. Among them are all the old grand names, names bound up with the history of India, and still redolent of the sacrifices made in the last war. Hyderabad is there, and Baroda, Gwalior and Kashmir, Mysore, Bhopal, Indore, Udaipur, Travancore, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, the States of Bombay and the Punjab, and scores of others equally significant —Rajputs, Mahrattas, Mughuls, Sikhs, Pathans—men of all creeds and of all races, from every part of India. Not even in 1914 was there a demonstration so spontaneous and so magnificent. The Maharaja of Bikanir, whose name is so closely connected with events during and after the previous war, has offered the services of his one surviving son, and, although his State is in the grip of famine, has contributed a lakh and a half of rupees towards the cause, in addition to increasing his armed forces and providing for enlistments of his subjects in the Indian Army. The Maharaja of Kashmir has promised immediately two battalions and a mountain battery, and is prepared to raise three more battalions if necessary. And so through all the fine procession of these Indian rulers. One and all have thrown themselves with a noble chivalry into the arena, and, as one of them has said: "The proven loyalty of the Princes and people of India has no price." May we not sing with the prophetess, "My heart is towards the governors of Israel, that

offered themselves willingly among the people. Bless ye the Lord"?

And lastly let us notice a proffer of help which is in some ways the most impressive and the most valuable of all, inasmuch as it comes from a country which is of independent status and owns no feudal obligations to the British Crown. Nepal has for more than a century been a good neighbour, and has shown her friendship on more than one occasion in the most practical way by deputing to us regiment after regiment of her Gurkha soldiery. Once more she has extended the hand of fellowship, and has placed at the disposal of the King a large force of these inimitable troops.

From what has been narrated, we can, I think, form the conclusion that in the war Britain may safely look to having India, as a whole, solidly behind her. There is every justification for the attitude adopted by His Majesty the King-Emperor in his message of September 11 to the people of India, in which he says:

> "I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian continent in the face of the common danger."

In delivering His Majesty's message to the Joint Session of the Central Legislature in Simla, the Viceroy added—

> "Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—Princes, leaders, great political parties, the ordinary man and woman—or of their political contributions—and the offers of personal service which have already reached me from the Princes and people of India. There could not be more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues now before us."

One learns that on hearing these words the Legislature "cheered them to the echo."

September 19, 1939.

II

THE RESPONSE OF THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

By Eric Rice
(Overseas League)

During the first two bitter weeks of a new war, while the world still staggered at the thought of bloodshed and terrorism once again let loose, the response from the British peoples of the Empire has sounded like a clarion call of encouragement to the old country and to her French ally whose kinsmen are to be found among our own in territories that range from Canada to Mauritius. We now know the truth, the mutual inspiration that binds nearly a quarter of this harassed world's territories and peoples into one Commonwealth of Nations, firm believers in freedom and individual justice, fearless opposers of brute force and aggression.

There are still unimaginative people existing on our own limited shores, and, perhaps more excusably, in other countries, who picture the British Commonwealth of Nations as a great achievement of world-wide power, but representative of only limited interests, colours and creeds. The unstinting messages of loyalty and support that every colonial territory has hastened to contribute to His Majesty the King-Emperor, spontaneously as the great Dominions, and the Princes and peoples of India themselves, must have opened their eyes to the fact that Indians, Africans, Asiatics, Chinese, Arabs, Jews alike, all have hastened to declare their unity with Britain in a common and righteous cause. They are willing to set aside their own problems, genuine and difficult as we know them to be, and to let no domestic issues hinder the struggle to uproot once for all a deadly enemy to the peace of mankind.

The Colonies and Dependencies, not only in official messages from their Governors but through non-official Legislative members and groups of private citizens, have expressed their determination to give the fullest measure of help that lies within their power. Each one of them has its vital part to play, by holding and defending key positions on the Empire trade routes, or by providing the bulk of such essential commodities as rubber, minerals and foodstuffs that will help Britain and her allies towards victory.

The full story of the response of the past two weeks from Asiatic Colonial territories alone has already grown too long for

full justice to be given to it, but the following few examples may pay some tribute to the epic story of an Empire's rally.

In Palestine, most of whose recent tragic problems may well be laid at the Nazi door, the entire Jew and Arab Press have urged public support of all Government measures. Lavish German propaganda has done its utmost to stir up strife and disagreement, even declaring that Arab support of the British cause has been obtained by bribery and intimidation. These efforts have fallen upon barren ground; the two Arab papers have expressed the general feeling in noble phrases. "The war has put all relations with Great Britain on a new basis," says *Falastin*. "We are now beginning with them a new problem more serious than our own . . . the Arab and Moslem peoples have already made up their minds to side with democracy . . . no single Arab who has the interests of his country at heart is willing to be an enemy of Britain." The *Aldifaa* says: "The Arabs of Palestine will not deviate from the path taken by their brethren of Egypt, Iraq and other Arab countries. They have publicly expressed their loyalty to the British Government, and stressed their traditional friendship with the British nation." The two Chief Rabbis of Palestine immediately cabled to the Lord Chamberlain their "heartfelt blessings to His Majesty the King and the fervent prayers of Palestine Jewry for Britain's victory." The Emir Abdullah, son of the King Husein who fought with Britain in the last war, ruler of Trans-Jordania, the Mandated territory that fringes on the Syrian desert and is divided from Palestine by the Dead Sea and the Jordan, drove from his capital of Amman to offer to the High Commissioner in Jerusalem the adherence of himself and his peoples. He was met at Allenby Bridge by military and R.A.F. escorts, and a flight of R.A.F. machines accompanied him.

As with the Arab peoples, so with the other Muslims. The Aga Khan, spiritual ruler of 10,000,000 Ismalian Muslims, scattered throughout Western India, Central Asia and East Africa, said, in his message to the President of the Ismalia Executive Council in Zanzibar: "It is the first religious and secular duty of all my spiritual children to co-operate loyally and do all in their power. Heartfelt, loyal and unstinted service must now be given to the cause of the Empire, which is the protector of our faith and liberty. This should be read after prayers and published."

From the Aden Protectorate, His Highness the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, premier Chief of the eastern section, has given 20,000 rupees from his State Treasury and placed it at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, premier Chief in the western districts, and the Kathiri Sultan, whose peoples alone number one-tenth of the total popu-

lation of 600,000 in the Protectorate, have placed all resources of their domains in support of "the noble attitude of Great Britain."

Further north, along the arid stretches of the Persian Gulf, whose trade consists largely in the export of pearls to India, the chief rulers have not forgotten, and are not unwilling, that for three centuries England has held the lion's share of trade and shipping. The Sheikh of Bahrain, an independent Arab state whose lands have been in treaty relations with the Government of India since 1828, and whose country ranks twelfth among the world's oil refineries, cabled to reaffirm his "steadfast loyalty and friendship towards the British Crown." 550,000 subjects alone are represented in the message sent from the Sultan of Oman (Muscat); and the Sheikhs of Koweit and Dabai expressed the unanimous feelings of the "Trucial" Tribes of the Pirate Coast, so-called in memory of the treaties they signed with the Indian Government over a century ago for the prevention of piracy and slavery, and for peace at sea.

Far away in the Indian Ocean the fertile little islands of the Seychelles, and Mauritius, among whose 400,000 inhabitants French ancestry and the French language still predominate, have sent their generous messages. Mauritius "puts at the disposal of King George the eager services of all sections of the community, and the entire resources of the Colony." And so the story repeats itself. The self-governing colony of Ceylon, whose population is some 5½ millions, disregards its local differences of political opinion and signifies wholehearted support by a unanimous resolution of the State Council. From Malaya, again a land of over five million peoples, the Governor has received from the rulers of the Malay States, and from the immense Chinese and Indian communities, the assurance of their full support. The Sultan of Selangor, on behalf of himself and many other rulers, asks that his loyal message should be delivered to the King.

From farther still, from Fiji, where thousands of Indians associated their sentiments with those of the Fijians; from Sarawak, whose far-reaching broadcast stations help all communities to cooperate by relaying news and advice in English, Malay, Chinese and Dayak; and from Hong Kong, whose steep and narrow streets teem with a varied but contented populace, Chinese, Portuguese, Indian and Japanese merchants, Sikh policemen, English "Peak" residents with their children, Government officials, soldiers and sailors, the rally to our cause is proclaimed. The Queen of the Tonga Isles, ruling, under British protection, her happy community of 32,000 subjects on a Pacific coral island; the Sawbwas of the Shan States in Upper Burma, rulers whose tradition of loyalty stands very high, have added their voices.

No wonder that Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Secretary of State

for the Colonies, was able to say in his message issued to all Colonial Territories on September 4: "Our knowledge of the feelings of 60,000,000 of our fellow-citizens in Colonial territories has sustained us in Great Britain in our efforts for peace, and steeled us in our own preparations for war." It is Hitler who has given the British Empire a unique opportunity to show its true feeling. British reserve has been broken down. The vote of our peoples has been heard and acclaimed in nearly every country of the world.

September 15.

FRANCE'S COLONIAL EMPIRE AND THE WAR

By B. S. Townroe

The French authorities in Paris have been very touched by the many marks of absolute loyalty shown by the native populations of the French Empire after the declaration of war on September 3 last. The spontaneous expressions of unity with the French Government on the part of over 68,000,000 inhabitants of French Colonies in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America have a particular significance at this moment, and will be of undoubted importance in influencing the course of the war.

In order to appreciate the significance of these messages of loyalty it is necessary to bear in mind not only the size of the native population, but also the history of the French Colonial Empire. The numbers in the various French Colonies are over 20,000,000 in Indo-China and 36,000,000 in the African Empire. The African populations are thus divided: In Algeria nearly 6,000,000; in Tunisia 2,000,000; in Morocco 4,500,000; in the Sahara 500,000; in French West Africa 12,000,000; in Togoland 750,000; in Equatorial Africa 1,500,000; in the Cameroons 3,000,000; in Madagascar 3,000,000. There are also the inhabitants of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and New Caledonia, regarded as French, and in Syria. These Colonies, and particularly Western Africa, are considered by the French General Staff to be a potential reservoir of troops who may be used not only in their own Continents, but in Europe. It must not, of course, be assumed that the fighting value of native regiments, except in the case of certain crack troops, can be equal to that of highly trained white battalions under efficient officers. But their services will be invaluable in the next few months.

The Great War of 1914-18 showed how France, following the traditions of the Roman Empire, used her native populations for the defence of the country. In recent months it is an open secret that the naval arrangements both in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic have been based on the necessity to maintain lines of communication between the African and French ports.

Apart from the military aspect of the French Colonial Empire, it has an economic side, which may prove to be of considerable influence in case of a protracted war. The area of the French Empire is at least twenty-two times that of France, and, as will be shown later, the French Colonies produce such materials as cotton, wool, timber, cereals, oil, coffee, sugar, rice, and furs,

which will be of great assistance to France during the present period of strain on foodstuffs and raw materials.

French Colonies in the Eighteenth Century

History gives a warning to the French of the danger of losing her Colonial Empire if France is defeated on the battlefields of Europe. As long ago as the fourteenth century French pioneers were establishing outposts in all parts of the world. Seamen from Dieppe in 1365 were active on the coasts of Senegal and of Guinea. The Canaries were occupied in 1404 by a Norman, Jean de Béthencourt. There were French settlements in Brazil at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while the colonization carried out by Jacques Cartier in Canada is famous. The French in the eighteenth century had occupied Guinea, the Antilles, and Madagascar, and were in India. Then came the wars in Europe, and France had to leave her overseas Colonies, unprotected either by fleets or ships. It is one of the ironies of history to recall at this time, when Great Britain and France are knit together in the closest alliance, fighting for their ideals of freedom of thought, of religion, and of individual life, that in the past a writer declared that the British Empire was largely "a present from the French."

France bargained away her Colonial Empire, ceding Canada to England in 1763, and in due course Louisiania, the last of the great French Colonies, to the United States. There was a short Renaissance when Napoleon conquered Egypt, but after the battle of Waterloo France was stripped of all her possessions overseas with the exception of a few small islands, a part of Senegal, and she retained limited trading rights in India.

Just over a century ago France for a third time began to establish her Colonial Empire, basing her policy on the watchword of the Molé Ministry of 1838, that "France is going to revive the heritage of Roman Africa." Little by little under the Second Empire France strengthened her position in Tahiti, in French West Africa, in Cambodia, and in New Caledonia. Under the Third Republic Tunisia became a Protectorate and Indo-China was conquered. This is not the place or the time to discuss how far the economic resources of all these Colonies have been fully developed, but the work of such men as Marshal Lyautey and General Mangin has shown what can be done under a firm and wise ruler to develop agriculture, industries, and commerce. It is, however, of particular interest to recollect at this time of war the words used by Marshal Lyautey, who had such intimate knowledge of the Muslims of North Africa, when he declared that "Islam is a sounding-box, and the slightest vibration at any one point is immediately transmitted to the whole."

Marshal Lyautey's nephew, M. Pierre Lyautey, in a speech which he made in London last April, stated from his personal experience his belief that the Arab population were now much more favourable to France than they were to Germany a year ago. One of France's war aims today is that history may not repeat itself and her Colonies again be lost on the European battlefields.

The Economic Importance of the French Empire

Although France's Colonial Empire cannot equal the wealth of the British Empire or the United States, or to a more limited extent that of the Soviet Republic, its productive capacity assures France an important place in world economics. Her mineral resources take the fifth place in the world's supplies, after the United States, England, Russia, and Germany. France furnishes 32 per cent. of the world's production of phosphates. She produces 700,000 tons a year of bauxite, and the production of crystalline graphite from Madagascar is equal to that of Ceylon. Algeria and Tunis last year provided nearly 4,000,000 tons of iron ore. The cobalt of Morocco represents 20 per cent. of the world tonnage, while New Caledonia produces chromium. From Indo-China came rubber to an extent of over 58,000 tons last year, enabling large quantities to be exported to the United States.

In Indo-China, which has an area of 500,000 square miles, there is a rich soil and an abundance of man-power. Cattle are bred in large numbers in Cambodia. The production of rice in Cochin-China, Tonkin, and Cambodia now amounts to over 7,000,000 tons in the year. As well as this, maize, coffee, tea, sugar cane, and cotton are grown in Indo-China, which has enormous resources so far only partially tapped.

Some idea of the economic strength of the French colonial Empire can be gathered from the following official figures showing the value of the exports from various Colonies in francs:

	Fr.
Exports from Algeria	5,650,000,000
„ „ West Africa	1,531,000,000
„ „ Equatorial Africa ...	256,400,000
„ „ Indo-China	2,589,000,000
„ „ Madagascar	589,700,000
„ „ French Morocco ...	1,502,000,000
„ „ Syria	2,571,000,000
„ „ Tunisia	1,141,000,000
„ „ Cameroons	252,000,000
	16,082,100,000

The New Colonial Outlook

It would be misleading to suggest that all has been perfection in the French Colonial Empire. For many years past in France itself there was general apathy to the idea of Colonies, and in certain quarters even hostility. It is, indeed, only in recent years that there has been a general realization of the richness of her heritage. The Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931, inspired by Marshal Lyautey, brought home to the French public not only the economic and military potentialities of her Colonial Empire, but her moral responsibilities. Writers like Albert Sarraut, Professor Labouret, General Mangin, Fernand Rouget, and many others have played their part in convincing the French public and her politicians of the necessity to cultivate and develop her huge Colonial territories.

Further, it would be painting the picture in the wrong colours if some reference were not made to the riots which occurred in Tunis in 1938 and the agitations which have taken place both in Algeria and in French Morocco. There have been serious Colonial problems, but nothing was more striking, as I learned on first-hand evidence, than the reception given to M. Daladier, the Prime Minister of France, when he visited North Africa a few months ago. The native population had been listening in on the wireless to the propaganda being poured out from both German and Italian stations, and had weighed up for themselves the evidence of events in Europe and Abyssinia. They had decided on which side their true interests lay. Details of the curious change which took place in the autumn of 1938 in French North Africa were thus described by M. Pierre Lyautey in the address which he gave to the Royal Empire Society on April 19, 1939. He said:

> "Whereas in 1935 it seemed as if the Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda would find a response among the Muhammadan masses and that Herr Hitler would obtain a certain popularity through this and through his campaign against the Jewish merchants, and whereas in 1936 and 1937 French internal policy had somewhat upset the natives, to whom a chief is someone above discussion, and thus given rise to uneasiness in the Muslim world, in September, 1938, without any order being given, without any political moves having been made by us—I can bear faithful witness to this—we noted in the towns as well as in the country districts, by the sea coast as well as in the Sahara, a change of attitude in the entire Muslim population. Men who, before, might have been regarded as antagonistic, since they had resigned their posts

as Councillors-General, now sought out officials and officers to tell them that if war broke out they wanted to march side by side with us. Young men who had written somewhat fiery articles declared of their own accord that they were ready to enlist in our regiments."

M. Lyautey asked what was the cause of this sudden change, and said it was due to the fact that Islam perceived the danger of the racial policy of Nazi Germany, and realized that Herr Hitler's deep-seated intention, hitherto carried out in the most minute detail, meant that the Muhammadans were destined to become an inferior race, held in a sort of bondage. He described his interviews with Muhammadan ex-servicemen in Tunisia, and also in Algiers, and declared that the relations between the Muhammadans and the French had never been so friendly for twenty years, "that the heart of Islam had never beat so nearly in unison with that of France."

The Loyalty of Today

This background of the history and of the recent changes in the outlook of the French Colonies must be appreciated in order to understand the significance of the manifestations of loyalty shown in the first week of September, 1939. The message of the Sultan of Morocco to the President of the Republic was written in the most moving terms and had a direct effect on all his people as far as Tangiers and Spanish Morocco. Other warm messages of loyalty were received from His Majesty Bao Dai, the Emperor of Annam, from the Sovereign of Luang Prabang, from Sisowat Monivong, King of Cambodia, from the King of Laos, and from the Parliament of Syria.

In Syria an excellent impression was made owing to the prompt measures taken by the French authorities to provide ample reserves of food supplies. A business man in Damascus stated that no one would die of hunger while France was there. There was a rallying of opinion to France in the Mandated Territory of Syria, well expressed at the outbreak of war by M. Mardan, the late President of the Council, who declared that there were deep and lasting bonds with France. He said that former differences of opinion were like quarrels in a family, and that those States who counted on Syrian opposition in order to create difficulties for France would find themselves completely deceived. "The Syrians of all parties will be united for the defence of the cause of liberty."

During the month of September there were widespread popular demonstrations, manifesting loyalty to France in all parts of the French Empire, as far afield as the Cameroon Islands and Togo,

in the old Colonies which come under the Ministry of the Interior, and also in the Protectorates such as Annam and Tunis, and in Madagascar and West Africa. The entire native population, whom pessimists regarded as lukewarm in their attachment to France, showed without any reserve their intense loyalty. These are not empty demonstrations of popular fervour. Men are volunteering to die for France if necessary.

Voluntary Recruiting

M. Pierre Lyautey stated that if war had broken out in September, 1938, France could have counted on a large number of Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian divisions, and these men, like those in the 1914-18 war, would have furnished shock troops of incomparable military value. His views have been confirmed by the facts a year later. On September 4 the Minister of the French Colonies published the following communiqué:

> "Il résulte des nouvelles reçues des diverses parties de notre empire colonial que la mobilisation s'effectue partout avec un ordre parfait et dans le plus grand enthousiasme patriotique. Au même moment, de très nombreux indigènes coloniaux qui résident dans la métropole ont demandé à s'engager et se sont adressés à cet effet au ministère des colonies. M. Georges Mandel a donc décidé de constituer, rue Oudinot, un service spécial, où ceux-ci pourront trouver toutes indications et toutes facilités pour contracter un engagement dans l'armée française pour la durée des hostilités. Ce service a été ouvert dès ce matin. It a été placé sous les ordres d'un chef de bataillon et un médecin commandant lui a été adjoint pour examiner les volontaires au point de vue de leur aptitude physique."

No figures have yet been published as to the results, but photographs sent from Paris show how the recruiting offices were surrounded by recruits.

It may confidently be expected that the French Colonies will, if required, furnish more troops than during the Great War. In 1914 the population of the French Colonies numbered 55,000,000, and there were recruited 518,638 fighting men and 200,000 workmen in labour units. Today the population of the French Colonies is approximately 68,000,000, and they have reached a higher stage of physical well-being and of education than twenty-five years ago. Compulsory military service, apart from voluntary recruiting, with certain exemptions, is in force in North and West

Africa, in the West Indian Colonies, in Madagascar and Indo-China.

Both in man-power and in materials the French Colonies constitute today a power on behalf of France of the utmost importance. As in 1914, their value will be more and more appreciated during the course of the present struggle.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

AUTONOMY ON TRIAL IN BURMA

By F. Burton Leach, C.I.E.
(Former Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma)

In the time at my disposal, I cannot attempt to give any introductory sketch of the state of affairs in Burma before separation from India in April, 1937, except to say that the only political parties had been those in favour of and those opposed to separation. The latter, who had never been able to give any clear reasons for their attitude, rapidly accepted separation when it was decided. There was therefore no real division on matters of policy at the first general election, and candidates stood as members of different groups, led by and often named after certain individuals who had attained political prominence, or as members of the various minority communities who had been granted separate representation. These minorities—Karens, Indians, Chinese, Anglo-Indians and Europeans—had between them 37 seats out of 132, so that any Burmese leader who wanted to depend entirely on a Burmese nationalist majority had to command at least 67 out of the 95 Burmese seats. It never appeared likely that this would be the case, and the United Party, which had always favoured separation and was, as had been expected, the strongest, could only win about 45 seats.

The Governor did the only thing possible and asked U Ba Pe, the leader of this party, to form a Ministry, and the first event of importance in the new régime was his failure to do so though he was allowed nearly three months' grace. Few political leaders have ever had a better chance. The Europeans with 9 votes were ready to support him or any Chief Minister who would make a reasonable effort to run the new Constitution, and he could easily

have secured the 12 Karen votes by giving them one Ministership, and only needed a handful of independent Burmans to get a reasonable majority. What the exact causes of his failure were it is difficult to say; but he could not even hold his own party together, let alone obtain other adherents. Unpleasant things were said about his relations with his principal lieutenants, one of whom was defeated at the polls, and another (the present Premier, U Pu) almost immediately left the party.

Eventually a Coalition was formed under the leadership of Dr. Ba Maw, who had been the most prominent anti-separationist, had expressed his determination to wreck the constitution, and had preached doctrines of advanced socialism, which had not received much support at the polls. It included some 40 to 45 Burmese members, and the Indians and Karens, about 12 each, so that it had the barest majority, and it soon became apparent that it depended largely on the support of the Europeans, who maintained an independent position. The fact that the Government depended on the support of the Indians and Europeans, and the inability of the Premier to carry out his promises at the election, did not add to its popularity, and votes of non-confidence were a regular feature of every Session. Party disputes and the distribution and remuneration of official posts occupied so much of the time of the House during the first two Sessions that it had little time to consider any constructive legislation. The Government did, however, take one decisive step, to abolish the unpopular Capitation Tax and Thathameda, or Household Tax—40 per cent. at once, and the rest within five years—and they appointed two important Committees to consider the problems of Land and Agriculture and Fiscal questions generally. This was clearly better than rushing into hasty legislation, but it did not placate the Opposition, and it soon became apparent that the Ministry was in for a stormy time, the personal unpopularity of the Premier being one of the outstanding features.

The Opposition was outwardly as disunited as the Government; the United Party split up, a few seceded and joined the Coalition, and the more advanced Members formed a new party called the Myochit—which may be translated Patriotic—but the bitterest

opponents of everything were the handful of Labour Members and the Thakins, the latter a recent development, but one of which a great deal more is likely to be heard in the future, as they have a widespread organisation, and their policy, which has Communistic leanings, though purely destructive, is more coherent than most policies in Burma, and both it and their methods appeal to the less responsible element of the Electorate. They are avowedly out to wreck the Constitution and they stick at nothing to attain their end.

The Rangoon Riots

The country generally was quiet for the first year of the new régime, though there was a serious strike in the oil fields in the early part of 1938, which, if not actually political in origin, was made a subject of political dispute in the Legislature.

In April, 1938, there were disturbances in Rangoon started by a strike of bus-drivers, but they did not last. In July, serious riots broke out in Rangoon, which rapidly spread to other towns in half the districts in Burma and lasted off and on for two months. They were directed against the Muhammadans, and resulted in 240 deaths officially recorded, of whom 164 were Indians killed by Burmese rioters, and 56 were Burmans shot by the police. It is obvious from these figures that the Burmese were the aggressors in the great majority of cases. The ostensible cause of the riots was a book published by a Burman Moslem, containing very offensive remarks about Buddhism, but the book had originally been published seven years before, and had attracted no attention. A second edition was published in 1936, and again attracted no attention until a Burmese writer got hold of it and published extracts as an appendix to a book of his own. The Burmese Press then took it up and published intemperate articles calling on Burmese Buddhists to defend their religion. A mass-meeting was held at the Shwe Dagon pagoda on July 26, which ended in a procession through the town and attacks on Indians. For several days Rangoon, except for the main streets, was practically out of control by the police, and in some of the up-country towns the situation, though on a smaller scale, was even worse.

Though the anti-Muhammadan riots ended in September, there was a general feeling of unrest all over the country, which broke out in December in open civil disobedience, school and university strikes being a prominent feature, and schoolboys being led out into the streets to picket not only their schools, but Indian shops and Government offices, and generally to defy authority. When the Legislature met in February things came to a head. The Forest Minister, U Pu, who had seceded from the United Party in 1937, had resigned his post in August, 1938, and the Opposition was now re-formed under his leadership, and at last a vote of non-confidence in the Ministry was passed by a large majority. The European Group, who had previously supported the Coalition, now voted against them, and in this they were influenced not only by the riots and general disturbances, but also by the policy of Government in commercial matters. A remarkable example of this was the statement by the Commerce Minister that it would not matter to the Burmese whether India continued to import Burma rice or not. Considering that India imports between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 tons of Burma rice every year, the value of which to the cultivator is not less than six or eight crores of rupees (say £5,000,000) this was, to say the least, a rather amazing specimen of economics. Another event which must have shaken the Europeans was the resignation of the Chairman of the Public Services Commission. Though he resigned for private reasons he delivered a public speech afterwards in which he made serious allegations of graft and nepotism against some of the Ministers.

The New Ministry

A new Ministry was then formed under U Pu; it was again a Coalition. Two of the late Ministers remained; there was still a Karen, and the other three all came from the late Opposition. U Saw and U Tun were vocal leaders of the Myochit and United parties, and the last was U Ba Pe, the former leader, who, since his failure to form a Ministry in 1937, has not played a very prominent part, though his experience and ability are much more than those of most members of the House. At the start,

this Ministry did better than might have been expected, and they at any rate restored some kind of order and put a stop to open disturbances, but how long they would succeed in maintaining their position was a matter of doubt. U Saw was the leader of the Civil Disobedience Movement, and has always been an outspoken and even violent supporter of extreme nationalism, and as a private member sponsored some of the most inequitable attempts at discriminatory legislation against non-Burmans.

Office may have a sobering effect on him as it has had on many advanced Radicals in other countries, but one weakness of the Ministry was that the previous relations between several of its members have been extremely bad. In a country where the Press is apt with impunity to rake up the murkiest episodes in the past careers of politicians in terms which, in England, would lead either to immediate resignation or an action for libel, the prospects of the present Ministry holding together were not of the best. At the end of May there was a Cabinet crisis. Apparently U Tun, the Commerce Minister, was called on by the Premier to resign and refused to do so, whereupon the whole Cabinet resigned and the remaining six members were reappointed next day, U Tun being left out. What was behind this unusual manœuvre is not very clear, but it shows that internal dissensions exist, and it will add another discontented ex-Minister, with possibly several followers, to the ranks of the Opposition.

In addition to this the new Government has some difficult problems to face. Though it has succeeded in passing two important Acts on Tenancy and Land Alienation, which make a belated attempt to do what should have been done long ago, the Lower House also passed at least two very undesirable Bills—one to amend the University Act so as to increase political control over the University, and the other to repeal the Press Emergency Powers Act. Considering the frequent occurrence of university and school boycotts in Burma, and the scandalous use of schoolchildren by political leaders for purposes subversive of law and order, the first measure is at least very risky, and considering the intemperate attitude of the Burmese Press over the riots, which was the subject of the strongest comment in the recently published

Report of the Riot Enquiry Committee, the second is even more dangerous. Fortunately, the Senate rejected the Press Repeal Bill, and the Governor has not yet given his assent to the University Amending Bill, and, if he refuses, the Ministry will be in a difficult position.

They also have to face the question of expenditure on defence, which is directly controlled by the Governor, and is not subject to the vote of the Legislature. As in other countries, this expenditure has increased and may increase more. There is, as in India, a good deal of bitterness at the whole subject not being under the control of the Legislature, and the Burmese have the additional grievance that until separation their own race had not for several years been recruited to the Regular Army at all. Though they do not as a rule dispute the need for adequate defence of the country, they are apt to let nationalist sentiment and political pride overrule their better judgment, and to take every opportunity of bringing up the subject of defence and making it a method of attack on the Constitution.

In addition to this, the new Government has to face the continued trade depression, the effect of which on the revenues and general prosperity of the country has certainly not been improved by the riots, and the problem of allotting their resources equitably among the nation-building services—education, agriculture, etc.—some of which are admittedly inadequately provided for, and among the essential but unpopular security services, particularly the police, who proved quite insufficient in numbers and equipment to deal with the riots.

An Analysis of Causes

In every direction, therefore, Ministers are faced with difficulties serious enough to daunt the most experienced and most united Government. It is impossible to regard the future of the new Constitution without considerable anxiety, and it is desirable to try and analyze the real causes of the present troubles.

In the first place, I wish to make it quite clear that the new system has not broken down, but it is no good pretending that it

has worked altogether satisfactorily. The dreadful riots of last year, the Civil Disobedience movement, and in particular the part played by the *pongyis* and the use of schoolchildren in open demonstrations of disorder have not only had a serious effect on the trade and revenues of the country, which will be felt for a long time to come, but have left a feeling of restlessness and a contempt (I use the word deliberately) for the forces of law and order which is not healthy, and it will not be easy to restore normal conditions. What are the reasons underlying all this?

The extreme Nationalists would have us believe that it is all due to the presence of foreigners in Burma, to the fact that the commerce of the country is nearly all in the hands of Europeans, Indians, and Chinese, who "exploit" the country in their own interests, and that the working-class Indians have made it impossible for the Burmese to earn a living in many walks of life, and that they and the moneylenders have, in addition, dispossessed them of half of the best land in the country.

These allegations are far from being baseless, but they give a very one-sided and incomplete picture of the situation. In the first place, the word "exploitation" begs the question, and assumes that if a country cannot or will not provide the capital required to develop its own resources, it is better that it should remain undeveloped than be developed by foreign capital. I once discussed the question with a Burman politician who frankly took this view, but I cannot agree with it. When we consider the crores of rupees which the revenues receive every year from the industries developed by foreign capital, and the much larger sum received direct by the cultivators for their export surplus of rice, and by workmen as wages, it is impossible to believe that the average Burman is worse off materially than he was eighty years ago, or would be today if the country had not been opened up.

As for the land question, I regret as much as anyone the passing of the small Burmese owner-cultivator, and I do not deny that steps should have been taken thirty years ago or more to check this; but it remains a fact that the Burman is not by nature thrifty, and it is largely due to his own temperament that he has fallen into such a state of chronic indebtedness.

There are, however, other reasons more fundamental which make Burma a difficult country to govern. In the first place, there is the question of geography. Burma lies off the map. It is cut off by land from all its neighbours by some of the most impenetrable country in the world, and Rangoon is not on any through route by sea. Consequently its people have never come into contact with other countries to any extent, and they have developed an instinct of isolation which recent tendencies have converted into an acute outbreak of nationalism. This development has, I think, been fostered by their religion. I do not for a moment wish to disparage the ethical spirit of Buddhism, and I hold Buddha to have been one of the greatest religious teachers who has ever lived, but the doctrine of Buddhism that each individual must work out his own destiny through a series of lives on earth leads to a feeling not exactly of deliberate selfishness, but of indifference to the lot of others and of lack of interest in matters which are not of direct personal concern.

Monks in Politics

Speaking of religion naturally leads to that very delicate question of the part played by a section of the *pongyis*, or Buddhist monks, in politics generally and in particular in the recent riots. It is true that there was a time in Europe when Christian bishops rode into battle, and not only against pagan enemies; but it is a serious shock to find Buddhist monks who by their vows are supposed to have renounced interest in worldly matters, and for whom taking life is an even deadlier sin than for the layman, not only leading crowds of credulous villagers to the polling-booth, but with weapons in their hands, leading crowds of rioters and taking an active part in murder and looting. I am convinced that the vast majority of good Burman Buddhists in their hearts deplore this, but the monastic order is so much an essential part of the religion, and has so strong an influence over the people, that hardly a single Burman dares to criticize it in public, and the howl of execration with which the Press received the Riot Enquiry Committee's Report as an insult to Burma and an insult to Buddhism shows

how difficult the solution of this problem is going to be. It is one which can only be solved by the Burman Buddhists themselves, and I am convinced that it is the gravest problem of all those facing the country.

Another cause of trouble is undoubtedly the top-heavy educational system of the country. Burma used to be a country where elementary education through the monastic schools was (by Oriental standards) very widespread, and higher education was almost non-existent. Since the foundation of the Rangoon University eighteen years ago things have changed very much. Literary courses being the easiest road to a degree are much more popular than any others. There is a glut of graduates with a purely literary education, more than are needed for the most popular professions, Government service and the law, and with no training and generally no leaning to scientific agriculture, commerce, and the technical professions such as medicine and engineering, in which there are any number of openings. This has created a discontented class of English-educated young men from whom have come most of the obstructionist leaders. The problem is not peculiar to Burma, and it is not the fault of the new Government, but it is one of the most serious problems to be faced.

Democracy and the Burman

After the effects of geography, religion, and an unsuitable educational system, I would like to make a few remarks on the suitability of democratic government to the Burmese temperament. I hope that what I say will not be misinterpreted or give offence. The Burman is often accused of being lazy, which is not altogether a fair accusation. If the English farmer or farm labourer could live on the proceeds of one crop, which entailed two spells of about two months' work each, it is very doubtful if he would work nearly as hard as he has to do to wring a living out of our soil in our capricious climate. That the Burman is not more industrious is due to the fact that until recent years he could, as a rule, earn a living with far less work than most people have to do in other countries, and, cut off as he was from the rest of the world, he had little incentive to raise his standard of living by doing more

work. He is, however, by no means an ascetic, and when the modern world offered him amenities on easy credit terms he could not resist the temptation. Like many other people who had much more reason to know better, he thought the prosperous times were going on for ever. When they came to an end, he resented it, and looked round for somebody on whom he could place the blame for his misfortunes. The foreigners in the country were the obvious target, and the main question was whether the European capitalist or the Indian moneylender, middleman, and labourer were to be Public Enemy No. 1.

I have sometimes thought that the relations between Burmans and Indians in Burma are not dissimilar to those between Prussians and Jews in Germany, and, though I have no sympathy with the treatment meted out to these minorities in either case, I can appreciate the grievances of the people of the country. There is, however, one great difference between the two cases: India is twenty-five times as big a country as Burma, and that alone makes it impossible for Burma to dispose of the Indians as the Führer has disposed of the Jews. The problem must be solved by discussion, not by violence, and I refuse to believe that it is insoluble.

That the Burman has many gifts, all who have lived in the country know well; he has a full share of the artistic talent and the ready intelligence of most of the Mongolian race, and he has a keen sense of humour. Even in the most acrimonious debates in the House an apt witticism will be greeted with roars of laughter from both sides. Where he fails against the Indian is in the aptitude for sustained effort, and here again it is largely because he has never had to face the desperate struggle for a bare existence that the Indian cultivator as a rule has to face. Famine, which used to be so common in India, was of the rarest occurrence in Burma, even before the rich rice lands of the Delta were brought under cultivation.

Inexperience

Finally, there is the fact that not only is democracy new to Burma, but politics of any kind have only attracted attention since the War. The great majority of politicians are therefore young

and inexperienced; there are no real parties with clear differences of policy, and no political organizations worthy of the name, and, above all, there is no real public opinion in the country. The vernacular Press is in a rudimentary state, and the papers have a very small circulation; broadcasting, though it has been started, is still negligible. In addition to this, the Burmese have a rooted distrust of all officials, whom a Burmese proverb classes as one of the four great evils. It is not surprising, therefore, if Ministers should think of the permanent official as a person to be regarded with the gravest suspicion. Of all officials, the police are the most unpopular. I remember that in the early years of my service, if an advocate in cross-examination could get a witness to admit that he had once been in the police, this was thought enough to discredit the whole of his evidence.

The Riot Enquiry Committee remarked on this feeling, and it is undoubtedly a serious drawback to the administration of law and order. The tendency of the Burman to take no interest in matters which do not directly concern himself, which I remarked on before, is another difficulty. How often have I heard a witness, when asked to describe some event of which he was an eye-witness, say: "I didn't notice; I didn't look particularly; it had nothing to do with me." In many cases this is due to the desire to avoid trouble for himself or somebody else, but it is an attitude of mind which is typical of the instincts of the people, and which does not accord well with democratic government, which requires for its success that the man in the street should take an intelligent interest in public affairs.

Lack of Responsibility

The great drawback of the constitutional system in India and Burma up to the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms was that the Government not being responsible to the Legislature, there were no prospects for a political aspirant except in opposition. As their votes could not overthrow the Government, the Opposition was apt to become completely irresponsible and to vote against Government measures, not from conviction, but merely because they were Government measures. Even under the dy-

archial system the elected Ministers were largely restricted by the fact that finance was still a reserved subject, and factious opposition continued, in the knowledge that a Government defeat had in most cases no practical results. It could not be expected that the political methods engendered by this system would be abandoned at once, and opposition was bound to remain irresponsible to a considerable extent. One of the lessons which Burma still has to learn is that the business of the Opposition now is to have an alternative policy, and not merely to chivy the Government in season and out of season, by fair means or foul. There is no doubt that one object of the agitators whose actions were responsible for the recent riots and general disturbances which have so profoundly affected the life of the country was simply to oust the late Ministry. The new Government have now to face the results of their action, and it is most sincerely to be hoped that the precedent thus formed will not be followed by the discontented persons who have lost their positions and are now in Opposition themselves.

As in all countries where the democratic system of government has been suddenly introduced, there is no tradition of constitutional methods; what tradition does exist is of much more violent and revolutionary changes of personnel. There is a story told of King Mindon that, when he heard that Mr. Gladstone's Government had been defeated, he said: "Poor fellow! I am sorry. I suppose he is now in prison." A Minister or official under the Burmese régime who fell from power had short shrift at the hands of his successors unless he could escape and become an outlaw, and the recent history of China has been largely the story of quick changes from the position of Governor to that of bandit chief and *vice versa*. Opposition leaders in Burma have not yet gone so far as to lead rioters or rebels in person, but there is good reason to believe that they have in some cases instigated methods of violence. Members of the Government are not anxious to take drastic measures to stop this sort of agitation. Their distrust of executive officers, their fear of the Press and of the Church, which will always abuse them for any strong preventive measures, the lack of any public opinion in the country, and the difficulty of persuading their own followers to vote for the necessary measures, and their

fear of losing their position, as well as their natural instinct for clemency, at any rate in public, all combine to deter them from using their powers to the full. There is no doubt that executive officers in the district did not last year have from Government the full support which they should have received. All this has led to a weakening of the administration, a loss of respect for law and order, and a general upheaval of the life of the country, which, if not taken in hand with determination, may end in the complete breakdown of the constitutional experiment now in progress.

It is most sincerely to be hoped that the new Ministry will keep up the good start it has made and will remain in power long enough to overcome the ill-effects of recent events.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 20, 1939, when a paper entitled "Autonomy on Trial in Burma" was read by Mr. F. Burton Leach, C.I.E. Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, K.B.E., M.P., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I can assure you that it is a very great privilege and honour for me to be asked once again to take the Chair at one of these very important meetings of the East India Association. I am particularly glad to be able to introduce Mr. Burton Leach to the meeting, because I think there is, you will all agree, no part of our Eastern Empire that we are more anxious to know something about at the present time, or that is more important, than Burma, and it is not always easy to get first-hand information about that country. As you know, Mr. Burton Leach was in the Government of Burma as Chief Secretary, and afterwards was good enough to go back to Burma and do very valuable political work there in connection with the Chamber of Commerce and the European Association. Work of that kind is very valuable, as all of us know, and it is often difficult to find people to do it.

Mr. F. BURTON LEACH then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will agree with me that we have heard a most interesting address. I hear from your energetic and venerated Secretary that it is usual for the Chairman on these occasions to make a short speech. I am going to cut my remarks very short indeed, especially as there are many here who are much better qualified than I could possibly be to discuss the very interesting facts which Mr. Burton Leach has put in front of us. But there are one or two things I would like to say.

In the first place, I am very much struck with the difficulties which have been described in connection with the start of the new régime in Burma, and I am bound to say my sympathies at once went out to my old friend and colleague who is now the Governor of that country. He must have a very difficult time indeed.

I was very glad to hear that the lecturer thought that on the whole the new Constitution had not broken down, although he will forgive my saying that as he went through his description of the situation it was a little difficult to follow his optimism that it still was functioning. (Applause.)

On the other hand, what struck me particularly in his remarks was how much like some other places the situation in Burma seems to be. I was a member of the original Burma Round-Table Conference, and I had the privilege and duty of meeting a large number of the members of that Con-

ference coming from Burma. I can certainly endorse everything that Mr. Burton Leach said regarding the charmingly disinterested and apparently non-responsible attitude of a good many of the Burmans who came here.

Also I am glad to say that we found, too, that on occasions the fact that they liked to joke was a distinct help in getting out of difficulties. They were a very interesting people to deal with. I have very vivid recollections of some difficult afternoons in that Conference, in which some witticisms, not from me, but from some member of the Conference, enabled us sometimes to skate over a difficulty.

Also I was struck with the fact that the problems in Burma are not so very different from the difficulties we know of elsewhere. Mr. Leach, it seemed to me, expects a good deal of democracy. He seemed to think—I know he will not look upon this as criticism—but he seemed to me to expect that the Opposition in Burma would have a definite policy, would not spend its time chivvying the Government, would be perfectly responsible people. Mr. Leach, I hope, will devote himself to politics here. He may find that we have not advanced very far ahead of Burma.

It is also true that it is not only in Burma that the people blame the Government for want of good times. The Government of this country—I do not mean this particular Government alone, but most of them—has been blamed for everything, including the weather, and I have no doubt that in Burma the same sort of thing will go on.

But there are two difficulties especially which he brought out which I would like to say a word about, which do not occur in the same way here: two things that to me are outstanding difficulties both in India and in Burma. One is the terrible hold of the moneylender, and the second is the system of education which creates a vast army of what I may describe as failed B.A.s. These two things are peculiar in a sense to the East. I do not know what the solution of the moneylender problem is going to be in the East. I often wonder, looking back to the days when I lived in India and knew more about it than I do today, whether a strong Government of many years ago could not have confined in some way the power of the moneylender by limiting the rate of interest or by legislation on other lines. At any rate, these are to me two of the three outstanding problems which hamper progress in the East. The third is the subdivision of land.

It is quite evident to me from this interesting address that the two to which Mr. Burton Leach referred particularly in connection with Burma—*i.e.*, the grip of the moneylenders and the large number of educated or semi-educated young men for whom there is no opening in the professions—are difficulties which it will be a very tiresome and long business to get over in Burma.

I was delighted to hear that on the whole Mr. Leach was optimistic. I am afraid before we get a perfect democracy working even in the West it may be many years, and perhaps still longer in the East. Whether Burma will throw up people capable of getting political parties together, forming a Government, and having a sense of responsibility is a matter of very deep interest and importance to all of us.

I hope you will agree that we have learnt a very great deal from what we

have heard today. I am very grateful to Mr. Leach for what he has told us. (Applause.)

Sir IDWAL LLOYD: I should like at the outset to add my congratulations to Mr. Burton Leach on his admirable sketch of the history of the opening years of the new régime in Burma and his thoughtful survey of the present position of affairs in that somewhat distressful country. By his long experience of Burma in the Indian Civil Service and the importance of the posts which he held from time to time in his later years in that service, and subsequently by his study of conditions under the new régime from an independent viewpoint, Mr. Leach is particularly well qualified to make such a survey, and I am sure you will agree with me that the paper he has read this evening in no way falls short of our natural expectations based on his career and experience.

In the few minutes available it is impossible for me to touch on all the points on which Mr. Leach's paper might provoke reflection. I wish, however, to refer in particular to the harmful effects of the intrusion of the Buddhist monks in politics, which Mr. Leach, following the recent able report of the Riots Enquiry Committee, has stressed as one of the most unfortunate features of political developments in Burma. I agree entirely in the view taken by Mr. Leach as to the importance of this matter.

To the best of my recollection, ecclesiastical interest in politics in Burma began at the time of the so-called "political awakening" of the people, which came in the years immediately following the Great War, under the apparent necessity of their fitting themselves for the rôle which the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms thrust upon them. My impression is that the friendly and tolerant attitude of the monks towards the British Government and British officials, which was such a striking feature of the early years of our Service, continued without noticeable change until about that time. But the conditions which led to the rise of the political monk had begun before then. In the old days the monkhood had wielded great popular influence by reason of the fact that the monastic schools formed the backbone of primary education, but by the time of the Great War that influence had been gradually impaired by the growing attraction of urban or village lay schools. A section of the monastic order, less unworldly than their vows strictly required, realized and chafed under their inability to regain their authority by competition with the more modern methods of the State-aided and State-inspected lay schools; and, given their failure in unworldliness, it is not surprising that they should have turned to a new sphere of activity by which they might hope to regain their lost influence.

So came the political monk. He still retained the simplicity, in a sense of worldly ignorance, of former years; but his piety was overlaid by a veneer of shallow political teaching based mainly on blindly hostile misrepresentation of all the works of the British Government. So influence of a sort among the faithful but not too deep-thinking Buddhists was restored, at the expense of a good deal of their previous friendly acceptance of British rule; and the authority of the monkhood in political life has in no way been allowed to lapse with the substitution of a Burmese Ministry for the old

bureaucratic Government, but has rather gone from strength to strength. I think I am right in saying that now each political party has an ecclesiastical caucus behind it, to dictate its platform and methods and sometimes to administer solemn oaths to secure their faithful adoption and pursuance by all candidates elected on the party ticket.

A blatant illustration of popular acceptance of the authority of such a caucus appeared in August last year, when U Pu, the present Premier, resigned from Dr. Ba Maw's Government in the premature expectation that it was about to be defeated on a vote of no confidence in the Legislature. Naturally, he could hardly give public expression to *that* reason for the resignation; but as an alternative he thought it sufficient to explain baldly that the step had been taken at the bidding of the group of *Sayadaws* (that is, leading *pongyis*, or monks) which guided his political destiny. A similar phenomenon was observable again in the recent Ministerial crisis which arose out of the refusal of U Tun to resign. I learn from the latest *Rangoon Gazette* that U Tun, in a letter to the Governor, explained his refusal to resign in exactly the same way.

I do not wish it to be understood from what I have said about ecclesiastical politics in Burma that I am out in any way to belittle the Buddhist religion or to condemn the whole body of the Burmese Buddhist monkhood. Buddhism as a religion has always commanded my very deep admiration and respect; and I am convinced that a large proportion of the monks themselves still adhere devoutly to the spirit and letter of the rule of their order, and, in so far as relations with laymen are necessary, are actuated only by a selfless desire to promote the real good of the people. Mr. Leach will no doubt remember as well as I do that, if turbulent individuals from among the monkhood took at any rate a considerable share in promoting the unrest which led to the rebellion of 1931, in some cases even themselves preaching bloody resistance to authority, the Sayadaws' Peace Mission later rendered very devoted service in convincing the misguided villagers who had joined or sympathized with the rebels of the wrongfulness and uselessness of the struggle, and very valuable help in bringing the disturbances to an end. The pity of it is that *pongyis* of that type are in ordinary life debarred by their very reverence for their vows from active opposition to the more harmful and vociferous elements.

I agree with Mr. Leach in thinking that the great majority of good Burmese Buddhists deplore the activities of the political monk; and I agree with him in thinking that it must lie with the Burmese Buddhists themselves to find means of overcoming the difficulties that stand in the way of purging the monkhood of its unruly elements. One might have hoped that a Ministry under the new régime, composed mainly, if not entirely, of Burmese Buddhists, would be in a position to make some move in the direction of reformation; but the hold over the electorate which the political monk has established is such that no Government working on the narrow margins of support so far realized could hope to survive the opposition to any such move. We can only await the growth, in this as in other matters, of a sounder and more articulate public opinion and the establishment of a ministry with more assured stability than has ever yet been realized.

Mr. W. J. C. Richards: I presume that the justification for inviting me to supplement the remarks of Mr. Burton Leach is the fact that I am one of those Burma politicians to whom he referred whose murkiest past has been the subject of articles in the Burmese Press. Nevertheless, I speak without prejudice, as I should, of incidents which—as long as they were kept within bounds—gave me some amusement at times when there was little other reason for light-heartedness.

Mr. Leach and the Riots Enquiry Committee have faithfully traced the obvious causes of the trouble in Burma and the reason why the new Constitution has not worked satisfactorily. They resolve themselves into the fact that so far no Ministry has accepted its responsibilities. Ministers have given greater heed to popular clamour than attention to the duties imposed upon them under the Government of Burma Act; and, speaking broadly, the elected representatives of the people have by their speeches and actions added to the difficulties of a Ministry entrusted with the working of an untried Constitution rather than taking care to avoid them.

But the reactionaries could not have met in the country with the success that attended their efforts had they not had popular opinion behind them. The fact is that the Ministry formed by Dr. Ba Maw was dominated by a Premier who was returned at the polls with 14 seats out of a total of 132, and who gathered round him in the Ministry men of all shades of political opinion, wearing anything from blue tickets to the deepest scarlet. His policy failed to find support at the polls, and the extravagant promises he made when he was in office failed to attract the people of Burma. The Dr. Ba Maw Ministry clung to office long after the red light was burning. In older democracies Ministries resign when they see the electorate running away from them. It will be a long time, I think, before any Burmese Ministry vacates, short of a vote of no confidence from the Legislature. It is doubtful if the system of government would have succeeded in any democratic country in the circumstances in which Burma found itself, and I think that fact is worth while bearing in mind when we consider the chances of success for the present constitutional system in Burma.

The people of the country were promised heaven on earth as the result of the constitutional reforms and from the separation of Burma from India, but it was not long before they felt with good cause that they had been duped. They were led to believe they would be relieved of the burden of taxation, but beyond a partial alleviation of the capitation and household tax, to which Mr. Leach has referred, there was no other relief. In fact, fresh taxes have been introduced, and the taxpayer in Burma wonders where he is being taken.

The financial burden which Burma has now accepted is far beyond its capacity to bear. Under the settlement with India it was anticipated that Burma would redeem its debt in 45 years; but by overestimating expenditure and underestimating revenue there have been large surpluses, and the taxpayer in Burma in the first two years of the reforms has had to pay Rs. 145 lakhs (say, one and a quarter million pounds sterling) more than was required to meet all obligations and balance the budgets. If the present pace is continued, Burma will be free from external debt and have all its

internal liabilities covered by liquid securities in less than 30 years, with all its assets and resources unencumbered—all at the expense of the present generation of taxpayers. That, I hold, is one of the causes, and a main cause, of discontent in Burma.

Another is that the heavy import duties on iron and steel, piecegoods, and other essentials still remain when it must be apparent that cheap imports are a crying necessity for any agricultural country.

Vast sums are spent on education in Burma—speaking from memory, I think annually a crore of rupees; and yet the Department of Agriculture only receives Rs. 11 lakhs. The Agricultural Department, to my mind, is the most beneficial of all the social services, and it is a fact today that sons of farmers who have already made up their minds what career they want to follow—that of farming, in which they have inherited skill—clamour at the doors of the farm schools for admission and are turned away because there are not sufficient schools to accommodate them. That is a source, and a justifiable source, of agrarian complaint.

In the condition of lawlessness in which Burma found itself the social and economic development of the country for the good of the people could make no progress, and the European Group had no option but to support the vote of no confidence which was moved in the Ba Maw Ministry. The group's action was principally due to the fact that the Government was unable or unwilling to fulfil its responsibilities, and because the Premier would not retract his statement that, given an opportunity, he was out to wreck the Constitution.

Mr. Leach remarked that the new Constitution has not broken down, although it has not worked satisfactorily. It has not worked as it was intended by those who framed it. The transfer of responsibility for decisions from the members of the services to a Ministry responsible to the Legislature, usually a hostile Legislature, has retarded the machinery of government, and interference by Ministers with matters of day-to-day executive routine has resulted in serious deterioration. Vacillation is the keynote of the Government's attitude in its transactions with the public, and in a country such as Burma, where the natural resources are owned by the State, development is impeded.

Mr. Burton Leach concluded his address with the hope—which, I am sure, is shared by all of us here—that the new Ministry will remain in power long enough to overcome the ill-effects of recent events. In order to succeed, it will need the support of the Legislature and public opinion. Already there have been defections from its ranks, with no compensatory accretions in strength, and since that vivid personality, Dr. Ba Maw, went into opposition he has only contributed to the debates in the Legislature when he has scented a cause for constitutional trouble. I am glad to say that so far his efforts have proved abortive, but his campaign to wreck the Constitution and his proved ability to consolidate people of diverse political views must be taken into account whenever the future of democratic government in Burma is assessed.

There are, happily, more favourable aspects of the present situation. The Burmese Press in the last week or two has been more moderate in its tone.

Abuse has been less frequent in its columns, and there has been discussion of economic problems and examination of fiscal questions; generally the Press appears to be turning its attention to its proper sphere.

U Ba Pe, the Minister for Home Affairs, stated at a meeting in Toungoo that the Thakins have deceived the public inasmuch as they have belittled the measure of self-government which the Government of Burma Act provides. U Saw, to whom Mr. Burton Leach referred, has stated—and he is a man who keeps his word—that he is not anti-Indian, but pro-Burman; and nobody can quarrel with that.

It is necessary, I think, for all of us to go on persevering to make the reforms a success, and we can all do something in our own sphere. At this stage we should not let our faith in government by free institutions or our fear of their extension to countries formerly under the control of Whitehall lead us to premature judgment. In the meantime we must make up our minds to face a period of patient anxiety and bear in mind, in the well-chosen title of Mr. Leach's address, that autonomy is still on trial in Burma.

Professor G. S. Beasley (University of Rangoon): I wish, in the first place, to add my tribute to the clarity and detachment with which Mr. Leach has presented his views. That, I think, is at this stage an exceedingly valuable service. I just want to make what you may think a slightly irrelevant contribution to this discussion, and that is to suggest that there is no real break in continuity with the adoption of the new Constitution. Mr. Leach has shown us how the intrigues of politicians have led to sometimes amusing and more often tragic results in the country.

I suggest that actually there were at least three main causes of tension in Burma, and the only difference the Constitution has made has been that it has led these tensions to express themselves openly. We do not get suddenly a real break in the life of the community merely by changing the political vista.

The three causes of these tensions, I suggest, are, first of all, the undoubted racial tension between the Burman and the Indian, a tension which is based on a diametrically opposed philosophy of life. However much we may admire and speak of the philosophical achievements of the Indian people, the Indians in Burma are a very hard, materialistic people, whose qualities are diametrically opposed to those of the Burman. That is a fact which has been present all along.

Then there is a second cause of tension, and that is the new Constitution has given political power where there is no economic power. This is so familiar to the people with experience in Burma that one does not stress it enough in discussions on Burmese problems. The Burman has no real business acumen, as we understand it, speaking in terms of directorates of large firms. You have a country in which the political power is transferred to a very large extent to people with economic power, and with very little ability to acquire that power in any reasonably short space of time.

You may even put the same fact another way round: that the present Constitution, although transferring the bulk of the political power, is hemmed about with safeguards in the shape of minority seats, which act as

a kind of running sore; or, to change the metaphor, act as a kind of spear to drive political power into those people who have not the ability to transfer that political power into economic leadership. That is the fundamental antagonism in Burmese life, which has been there all the time, and which has become more acute since the British connection with Burma, and which has now boiled over.

The third source of tension has been adequately seized on by Mr. Leach. It refers entirely to the very acute agrarian problems, to the whole group of problems with regard to land alienation, insecurity of tenure, and this overriding problem—the burden of debt and heavy interest rates to the moneylenders. Some of you will remember so recently as 1929, in the *Provincial Banking Quarterly*, an estimate was made that the agricultural indebtedness in Burma was as much as Rs. 60 crores. It has certainly not got less with the depression that has intervened, and when you remember the high rate of interest and the survival of the most extraordinary systems of financing agriculture, which amount to quite staggering rates of interest, it is clear that this dead weight of interest charges alone is an oppressive factor, rendered all the more bitter when it is opposed by an alien Power.

Underlying this you have tensions which are developing all the time, and it is not possible to expect that they will resolve themselves immediately a change of political constitution gives them an outlet.

One last suggestion I should like to make is this: Burma, in common with practically every country, has exaggerated the value of a stereotyped education. You get the same problem in London in a rather different way. In Burma you need much more in the way of technical training for the particular agricultural activities of the country. But a discussion of this kind must be carried on on the supposition that the Constitution is meant to work, and there is a fundamental dilemma there. There is not much point in giving people a Constitution which depends on a large supply of educated people to work it if you neglect to educate them.

Mr. W. E. V. Abraham: I should like to add my appreciation of Mr. Leach's concise summary of recent events, and even more of his analysis of the causes underlying and influencing these events. I am myself more interested in the search for fundamental causes than in the events themselves, but I should make it clear that in any comments I may make I am speaking, not from the point of view of a Government servant or a Rangoon business man, but from the point of view of a European who has spent some fifteen years either in the jungles of Burma or in small up-country stations, and who therefore knows, in a general and unofficial way, the jungle Burman as opposed to the city Burman.

I think the most important point made by Mr. Leach was the obvious one of the happy-go-lucky nature of the Burmans themselves, their laziness—if you wish to call it that—their lack of any real ambition in a financial sense. If you wander through a jungle village anywhere in Upper Burma, you will find the people on the whole quite happy, the children well fed, and everyone ready to laugh with you if you know enough Burmese to crack a joke with them. The real reason for this easy-going happy nature is, as

Mr. Leach has said, the fact that food for all can be obtained without much trouble and without much work.

But, to go a step further, I suppose the degree of want or plenty must in the last analysis be dependent mainly on the number of mouths that are to be filled per acre of cultivatable land. And I have often wondered why it is that in Burma those birth-rate laws, of which I know very little, but which I have always understood to operate in the direction of increasing the population in areas where food is for any reason plentiful, do not in fact operate. If the populations of these little Burman villages of which I have been speaking were doubled or trebled, there would be want instead of plenty, or people would have to work much harder, and in either case the character of the people would in the long run be essentially altered. Conversely, if the population of India were only half as great as it is, India would be a more pleasant country to live in and the people there would be very much better off. I wonder if Mr. Leach could give any explanation of the great difference in this respect between over-populated India and what we may perhaps call comfortably populated Burma.

Another point made by Mr. Leach was the complete absence in Burma of political parties separated from one another by definite cleavages of opinion. This has clearly been a difficulty in the working of the new Constitution, but the fundamental reason for it (apart from petty jealousies and conceits) is, I think, that Burma is the most democratic, in the sense of equalitarian, country in the world. There are no castes as there are in India, and no classes as there are here, and with comparatively few exceptions all Burmans have much the same level of education, wealth, and standard of living. This being so, there is no cleavage between Burman "haves" and Burman "have-nots," such as would normally form the basis of a Party system, and I myself cannot help thinking that we in this country have something to envy in this particular aspect of Burman society, and that the question we ought to ask is not so much why the Burmans have not made the Party system work better as whether it was wise to impose a Party system on a society of that kind. (Applause.)

Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham: I have one general point to make, and that is that if there is any part of Mr. Leach's admirable paper with which I am inclined to disagree it is the title. I think possibly that in Burma the fact that he talks about the "constitutional experiment" now in progress may mean something different from what it means to us. I do not see how you can say that the Constitution is on trial, because the Constitution is there; and the fact that in certain circumstances the Governor is given certain powers to deal with the situation if the Constitution breaks down does not mean that there is a period of probation to prove whether the Constitution will work, such as the title of Mr. Leach's paper might give us to believe.

The fact is that it is astonishing, considering all the difficulties which Mr. Leach has brought out, that things have worked so comparatively well. The Constitution is functioning, and it seems to me that we have got to be patient, as Mr. Richards pointed out.

After all, the troubles and difficulties of Burma are growing-pains. They are acute and they are alarming to the parent, but the parent has given to the child the inestimable privileges which appertain to membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and I think that we ought to be careful to avoid saying or doing anything which might give the impression to our Burmese friends that we are sabre-rattling.

We have to do everything possible, as Mr. Richards pointed out, to help and not to hinder, and everything that we can do to help the Governor in his most difficult task must be a thing well done. There are things that are being done, as everybody home from Burma knows. We are helping the educated Burman to find posts in businesses which have hitherto not been open to him. In that and many other ways it is in our power to help, and I do think that the emphasis should be laid, not on the question of the Constitution on trial and the constitutional experiment, but on making the Constitution—which is there and which will almost undoubtedly remain—work as well and as quickly as possible.

Mr. F. Burton Leach, in reply, said: I am extremely grateful to everybody for the kind remarks that they have made, and I am also more grateful to them for having limited their speeches to comments and asked so remarkably few questions. I do not think I have ever been asked so few questions.

There was one thing that did rather strike me. The first two or three speakers got up and criticized me for saying that the Constitution had not broken down, and then going on at great length to explain the various ways in which it had broken down. Then Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham said he could not think why I had any complaints about the Constitution, as it had worked admirably.

I notice the same trait in people when they are driving a motor-car. The lady who drove me here this afternoon calls it a breakdown if the engine is failing to fire on one cylinder, whereas her son does not think anything is worth calling a breakdown unless the big end and back axle both fall out at the same time. I suppose people have similar opinions about a constitutional breakdown.

The Constitution in Burma has not broken down. It is still functioning. But it cannot be said that it has functioned without a very considerable amount of difficulty.

The only direct question which was put to me was by Mr. Abraham. He apparently wants to know why Burma does not breed more bonny babies. My answer to that is, I am afraid, quite frankly that I do not know.

Sir James MacKenna: I am sure we are all much indebted to Mr. Leach for his very clear exposition of the state of affairs as they now exist in Burma—very different from what they were during my thirty years in that country and when he began his service. He has given us a vivid picture of the political position, and it has had various sidelights thrown on its efficiency or otherwise by Mr. Richards and other speakers. I propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Leach for his paper.

Secondly, I propose an equally hearty vote of thanks to Sir John Wardlaw-Milne for so kindly coming and presiding over this meeting. After a long commercial career in India he is now the very energetic and popular Member of Parliament for Kidderminster and a most devoted Member of the House, as you know. The East India Association are therefore particularly gratified that he has spared time at this moment from the House of Commons, where they are working at high speed, to come and give us the honour of his presence as Chairman.

I propose a very hearty vote of thanks to both these gentlemen. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have no authority from Mr. Burton Leach to thank you, but I propose to do it in his name as well as in my own. I think we have had a most interesting address from Mr. Leach and a most valuable discussion.

THE SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

For the Year ending April 30, 1939

Provincial autonomy operated in its second year without interruption, but the slowly maturing plans for introducing the Federal provisions of the Act of 1935 met with increasing hostility, and there was unrest and clamour for reform in many Indian States. The position was clarified in December by expositions from the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of the policy of the Paramount Power.

The situation was followed with close attention by the Association, and its members were provided with frequent opportunities to be informed upon the course of events. The first meeting of the year was called to hear the impressions made on one of Britain's elder statesmen, Lord Samuel, by a three months' visit to India, undertaken for the purpose of forming some estimate of the working of the new Constitution. His conclusions were encouraging on the whole, and, broadly, similar to those which had been expounded a few weeks earlier by Lord Lothian, now H.M. Ambassador-designate to the United States. His expression of the conviction that it is essential that India should be granted Dominion status under the Statute of Westminster—though accompanied by no indication of his ideas as to the date for such a change—was one of the many pronouncements made at the meetings of the Association which attract much attention in India and influence the course of events.

The late Lord Stanley, then Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma, was in the chair, and this was one of the various services which he rendered to the Association before his lamented and premature death. His successor at the India and Burma Offices, Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Muirhead, at a social meeting at the Rubens Hotel in February, gave an account of his unofficial tour in India and Burma in the closing months of 1938. Though he was precluded by his ministerial office from speaking without

reserve of the political situation his acute comments on all he had seen and heard were of real value. Lord Goschen, who was in the chair, justly complimented him on putting his finger upon the spot of so many of the problems which confront India and realizing how they impinge one upon the other.

A good many of these problems were discussed by Miss Cornelia Sorabji in a lecture in January on "Stocktaking in India." The paper showed her grace of literary expression and her background of intimate knowledge of the domestic life of the people. In the words of the chairman, Sir Gilbert Hogg, she made a sharp and rapid survey covering almost all aspects of the political situation, and set out for consideration both the liabilities and the assets of present-day India.

The Indian States

The prominence of the States in the news of the day led the Council to welcome in October an exposition of the new Cochin Constitution by Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Dewan of the State. He outlined the steps taken by H.H. the Maharaja in entrusting the administration of certain departments to a Minister chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, and responsible to that body for his actions. This was stated to be the first occasion of the partial grant of responsible government to the people of an Indian State. Sir Shanmukham said that if what had been done in Cochin facilitated the starting of the All-India Federal Constitution, he would feel proud that it had fallen to his lot to expedite the process.

In an informing discussion initiated by the chairman, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, Mr. Rushbrook Williams, speaking with wide knowledge of the Indian principalities, expressed the hope that the Council would arrange for other papers from men who could speak at first hand of affairs in individual States. The suggestion was not overlooked, and in March Professor R. K. Bhan, holder of the Chair of Economics at the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, gave an informed survey of the economic progress and potentialities of the great State of Jammu and Kashmir. While Sir Edward Blunt from the chair, and other speakers, expressed

satisfaction that so much advance has been made under the rule of H.H. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, voice was given to sentimental regret that the lovely Vale of Kashmir cannot in this industrial age remain entirely unspoilt.

Minority Communities

The Indian scene comprises not only many independent States in various stages of general and economic progress, but also many distinct peoples, and the outlook and needs of three of the minority communities were brought under consideration. In March, soon after return from the World Christian Conference at the Madras Christian College, Tambaram, the Rev. William Paton, one of the secretaries of the International Missionary Council, lectured on the assembly with more especial reference to its bearing upon India. The Indian Christians, some six and a half millions in number, constitute the second largest minority in the country, and Mr. Paton dwelt on the need for the Christian Church in India to be more and more racy of the Indian soil and of genuine Indian quality. The Bishop of Guildford, who was a delegate to the Conference, presided, and a feature of the meeting was the generous and sympathetic way in which Sir Abdul Qadir, a staunch Muslim, spoke of the useful part Indian Christians are playing in the developing life of India.

At the last meeting of the year, held in April, Mr. Oliver Stebbings, lately Secretary to the European Group in the Indian Legislature, surveyed the situation of the non-official European in India under present-day conditions. While noting the rapid growth of Indian production, and a consequent falling off of British exports to India, Mr. Stebbings did not take a melancholy view of the future. He pointed out that the European in India is a producer as well as a merchant, and claimed that his interests are indistinguishable from the wider interests of India. But he dwelt on the vital importance of European groups in the Legislatures being well organized and supported. His view in this respect was confirmed by the chairman, Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham, and other speakers.

Educational Problems

Last but not least in this group of lectures was that on Anglo-Indian education delivered by Sir George Anderson at a joint meeting with the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who had some time before launched an appeal for Church Schools in India, presided, and the Association had the privilege of hearing the views of one of the most accomplished speakers in our public life. His Grace spoke with eloquence of the great and loyal contribution of the Anglo-Indian community to British administration in India and of the pressing need for financial support of their schools. A feature of the meeting was the ardent pleadings of Sir Henry Gidney, the leader of the Anglo-Indian community.

A wider question of educational effort was considered at a joint social meeting with the National Indian Association at Rubens Hotel in June, when Mr. Banning Richardson, General Secretary of the All-India Adult Education Conference, spoke on the social implications of that movement in India. The meeting had the advantage of hearing the views from the chair of Mr. S. H. Wood, Director of the Department of Intelligence and Public Relations, Board of Education, from the standpoint of his experience in investigating, at the request of the Government of India, with Mr. A. Abbott, late H.M. Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, England, the possibilities of vocational education in Northern India.

At another social meeting at the Hotel Rubens in October, Dame Edith Brown, the veteran founder and Principal of the Ludhiana College for the Medical Training of Women, made the important suggestion that the problem of rural advancement might be solved in large measure by the establishment of colonies of women workers, each in a central village covering a group of hamlets, and including a doctor, a teacher, a health visitor, and nurses. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., was in the chair, and mention was made of the fact that the College had supplied 360 fully qualified Indian women doctors, and over 1,200 trained nurses, compounders and midwives of various grades.

Public Health

Questions of public health figured largely in the programme of the year. At a joint meeting with the Over-Seas League held in June at Over-Seas House we were honoured by the chairmanship of H.E. Lady Linlithgow. Major-General Sir John Megaw, President of the Medical Board and Medical Adviser to the Secretary of State for India and Burma, lectured on "Tuberculosis in India: a Key Problem." Before coming to this country for a brief holiday visit, Her Excellency had inaugurated the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund for India. By the end of the year a total of more than Rs. 80 lakhs (£600,000) had been raised, and included a substantial amount collected by a London Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Firozkhan Noon. Sir John Megaw spoke of the rapid increase of the disease in India and its extension, under modern transport conditions, to rural areas which were formerly free from the infection.

In November the associated subject of the Indian medical profession was presented by Major-General Sir Cuthbert Sprawson, late Director-General of the I.M.S., India, who discussed various ways of raising the status of the profession and expressed his confidence in its future. The difficulties in the way of improved status and of bringing medical aid to the villages were discussed by the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firozkhan Noon, who presided, and various distinguished members of the medical profession.

Empire Films

A matter of great importance to the Empire was brought to notice in January at a largely attended joint reception with the National Indian Association held at Grosvenor House, with Lord Hailey in the chair. Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute, described the valuable educational work of the Empire Films Library, which circulates films to schools and societies in the United Kingdom, of whom about 3,500 are recorded on the registers as borrowers. The regret he expressed that the contribution of India to the Films Library does not correspond to her importance, variety and charm was confirmed

by certain defects in the two films shown and by Lord Hailey's statement that India is inadequately represented in the type of films prepared by authority for exhibition in the outside world, with the exception of those prepared by the Railway Board.

In the following month Mrs. Marguerite Milward gave some charming lantern slides describing her visit to "Nepal: the Land that leads to Paradise," which is the rendering by M. Silvain Levi of the meaning of the name, derived from Chinese and Tibetan sources. To the charm of that closed land and the fatherly wisdom of the rule of the Prime Minister and his two predecessors tribute was paid by Sir Frederick O'Conor from the chair, Sir Louis Dane, and other speakers.

A subject of practical interest in Indian industrialization and agricultural progress was considered in July, when, under the chairmanship of Colonel Muirhead, Sir William Stampe spoke on "Some Aspects of Cheap Power Development under the New Constitution in India." Sir Joseph Clay pointed out that though the lecturer was not the originator of the idea of harnessing the falls on the Upper Ganges Canal, the conversion of the latent power there developed by falling water into a gigantic scheme for benefiting a large part of the United Provinces was entirely his work.

Co-operative Efforts

The continued co-operation of the Association with other organizations having similar aims has been indicated. The Council accepted a unanimous invitation for the Association to be a permanent member of a body of representatives of non-political Empire organizations which seeks to promote opportunities for personal contacts and exchanges of ideas between the peoples of this country and other parts of the Empire.

The Association again participated in the arrangements for the Empire Day Banquet, which was held at Grosvenor House under the chairmanship of Lord Athlone on May 24, when the guests numbered over 1,100. Among the speakers was Lord Zetland, who dwelt on the "crowning achievement" toward which we were moving in India—"that of giving in all its completeness to

the people of India a unity which they had never before possessed." There remained, he said, the supreme act in the story of such unification, that of "bringing together beneath the dome of a single political edifice, the new democracies of the provinces of British India and the ancient autocracies of the Indian States."

Social Gatherings

As already indicated, the social side of the work of the Association has been well maintained. Members and their friends to the number of nearly 400 spent a delightful Saturday afternoon in June as the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Ezra at Foxwarren Park, near Cobham. A memorable feature of the occasion was the tour of the aviaries and zoological specimens which Mr. Ezra has collected in his park, some 300 acres in extent.

Another occasion of hospitality was the reception in April at the Rubens Hotel given by Sir Hubert Carr and Mr. Hugh Molson to meet Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar on the eve of his departure for India to join the Viceroy's Executive Council as Member for Commerce and Industry. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Zetland, Colonel Muirhead and our President voiced the general feeling of regret that Sir Ramaswami was leaving London, where he has served as an Adviser to the Secretary of State, and of good wishes to him in his new and important appointment.

In the course of his reply Sir Ramaswami spoke of the great advances made by the Association since he first knew it twenty years ago. He said that its platform had been broadened and widened; that its appeal was now almost universal. It embraced among its members men of all shades of political thought, men with varying political creeds, and the discussions were on a very high plane. It was a very much bigger body today, not only numerically but in every sense of the word, than it was two or three decades ago.

Membership

The Association has to deplore the loss by death of many distinguished men. At several of the meetings and social gatherings

of the year the venerable Maharaja Gaekwar Sayiji III of Baroda was present, and his last public utterance was made at one of the lectures. He had been a senior vice-president for many years, and was a generous supporter of our work. While the Maharaja was of ripe age, Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bengal, had still his best years before him, and he had acted as Viceroy in the previous summer. Two former Governors in India, the Right Hon. Sir George Stanley and Sir Laurie Hammond, also passed away. Distinguished Indian members similarly lost were Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir Nowroji Saklatvala and Sir Krishnan Nair. The name of a valued member of the Council and also a Trustee, Sir Montagu Webb, also those of Sir John Batten and Sir John Bell, are in the list of deceased members given in Appendix C.

With resignations and revisions the total losses of the year were sixty, while the new elections number seventy. The uncertainties of the international situation have affected adversely the membership of many societies and institutions; so it is a matter for satisfaction that, as invariably in recent years, there is a net advance, though a smaller one than usual. Its quality is also again notable. The newcomers include Captain the Hon. Arthur Hope, Governor-designate of Madras; Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Muirhead, Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma; H.H. the Maharajrana of Jhalawar, and the Maharajkumar Madan Sinhji of Kutch.

The Council

The Council received with regret the resignations of Sir Charles Armstrong, a member of many years' standing, due to indifferent health; Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, on account of many public commitments; and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Shadi Lal on their return to India. There were co-options to the Council of Sir Herbert Emerson and Sir Thomas Smith. The two Vice-Chairmen, Sir James MacKenna and Sir Atul Chatterjee, were re-elected for a further term of three years, and the former was appointed a Trustee in the place of Sir Montagu Webb.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election at the Annual Meeting to vacancies

in the Council, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the honorary secretary. The following members of the Council retire by rotation and are eligible for re-election: Lady Bennett, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh and Mr. John de La Valette.

His Highness Maharaja Pratab Singh, Gaekwar of Baroda, who was already a member of the Association; His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, and Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode were elected Vice-Presidents.

Finance

A generous contribution of £100 was made to our funds by H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala. The social work of the Association had the renewed support of H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, in grants of £50 each over a series of years for hospitality purposes. It has been found convenient to show the Hospitality Fund account separately.

It will be seen from reference to the accounts that the subscriptions received from members are well maintained. The payments made for life membership are placed to the credit of capital account by deposit in the Post Office Savings Bank.

The Council desire again to express their thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, for his unremitting and successful work on behalf of the Association. The Report shows the unusual range and scope of the year's programme. The organization and arrangement of the discussions and of the social activities represent much hard work, while the enrolment of new members gives gratifying evidence of his success in bringing our work to the notice of people interested in Indian affairs and qualified to contribute to our strength.

Lamington,
President.

Frank Brown,
Hon. Secretary.

May 16, 1939.

SEVENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

THE Seventy-Second Annual General Meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, June 20, 1939.

The PRESIDENT, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair, and in opening the proceedings said:

I have the honour and pleasure to present the seventy-second Annual Report of the East India Association to you. We have just passed through a year of great anxiety; one crisis after another has developed, and now we have a very dark international cloud over us, so we do not know what may be the future of civilization itself.

However, despite these ills, our Association has carried on very successfully. We have well maintained the number of our membership, and we have had very interesting lectures and valuable discussions. I may say that these not only bear fruit in this country, but are widely read in India itself. Some three weeks ago an article in the *Times of India* referred to the variety and value of our lectures and also to the welcome brevity of the speeches in the discussion. I think you will agree with me it is better to get as far as possible opinions of a number of authorities on a few definite matters than to have one or two long speeches, however good they may be in themselves.

As regards India, she has been passing through a period of great anxiety, but I think it may be said that the Ministries have met with a very fair measure of success. At the same time there is doubt as to the future of Federation. The Indian Princes have expressed misgivings on the draft Instrument of Accession. We can only hope that the unity of India, which has so far been accomplished under our rule, will be maintained, and also that a strong India will be established on the basis of the All-India Federation.

I should like to express to the members of the Council my great gratification at their constant and regular attendance and the continued interest they always take in the progress of our Association. There is one regrettable circumstance I have to refer to, and that is our impending loss of Sir Abdul Qadir. He has been a most valuable member of the Council and the Association. He has taken part in our discussions and dealt with the subject in hand in a very enlightening manner. I shall feel his loss very greatly, for as it happens I am the president of three or four Indian societies, and I always turn to him with full confidence that his judgment will be sound and unbiassed. We only hope, when he gets back to India, he will find Lady Qadir well. No doubt he will find many opportunities there to apply his great industry and for the exercise of his many talents. (Applause.)

We have sustained a great loss in the death of H.H. Sayaji Rao III., Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who has been a very good supporter of this

Association. The present Maharaja, I am glad to say, is following in the steps of his grandfather in exercising a very enlightened rule. The same may be said of H.H. the new Maharaja of Patiala. Both these young men are determined to set a good example of progress for the benefit and welfare of the people in their respective States. I am happy to say that both of these Princes are Vice-Presidents of the Association.

We are grateful to the late Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and his successor, and to H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, for the subsidies they give so that we are able to extend hospitality and social advantages to our members and their friends. It is a significant feature of our work that we have not only our papers and lectures, but also we are able to provide social occasions. However, this example is not confined to them. We have British members who have also been very kind in entertaining members. You are aware that Sir Thomas and Lady Smith have invited us to a garden party at Weybridge in the near future. (Applause.)

Before I sit down I should like to refer, as I have done year by year, to the ability and zealous work of Sir Frank Brown. (Prolonged applause.) I need not say any more after the applause that has greeted my reference. I think he will agree with me that he has a very good lieutenant to assist him in Mr. King. (Applause.) We are very fortunate indeed in having these two to conduct so well the work of the Association.

With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I present the Report, and I will ask Lady Pentland to propose its adoption. (Applause.)

Lady PENTLAND: It is a pleasure to propose for your adoption the record of such a successful year's work. We congratulate the Chairman and the Council on securing all these experts to describe and to discuss so many subjects; the very list of the titles reminds us of the inexhaustible variety and interest contained in that short word "India." It also makes us feel how lucky we are here in London in this hall to have these new glimpses of India's philosophy and life, and to recall from our own experience some of its beauties, its difficulties, and its achievements.

We also have the great advantage of hearing about the practical progress which is going on in India. Nobody calls India or the East unchanging now, although we hope we shall not see quite such rapid changes there as in Europe. Perhaps if we had Sir Frank Brown to run an Association for Europe like this one for India, we should understand each other better. (Applause.) It is this intercourse and these opportunities for meeting each other, for making acquaintance and re-acquaintance, that are one of the chief contributions of our Association.

We value greatly the high compliment paid to the Association by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, a distinguished representative of Madras, at the party which was given in farewell to him on his leaving London, which you will see referred to in the Report. He and Lady Mudaliar often took part in these gatherings; we are glad to feel that they enjoyed and approved them.

The party to which Lord Lamington has alluded, that is to be given so kindly by Sir Thomas and Lady Smith at Weybridge, will, on the other

hand, give us an opportunity of offering our good wishes to the new Governors who are going out to Madras and Bihar.

We have a new member in Captain Hope, and you will see in the Report quite a large number of new members. It is, as the President has said, a particular advantage to the Association to have so many of our members resident in India, reading the *Review* and joining in these meetings when they are over here.

I should like to refer to what Lord Lamington has said about our loss in the death of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who with the Maharaja of Gwalior kindly provided for some of our enjoyable social gatherings. I had the pleasure of being a guest of T.H. the Maharaja and Maharani of Baroda at the celebrations of their sixtieth anniversary, and it was delightful to realize the affection and respect felt for His Highness by all his subjects, and his wonderful benefactions to the State in education, in health, and in rural development; also to hear the enthusiastic support he gave on that occasion to Lord Willingdon in speaking of Federation at the official banquet there. We would express to H.H. the Maharani our heartfelt sympathy in this parting after fifty-four years' companionship. I remember how that winter Her Highness came in the middle of a busy time across to Calcutta to preside at the International Council of Women. It was the first international gathering of women which there had been in India, and Her Highness presided with great ability and wisdom. I particularly valued it because I think she came partly out of regard for my mother, the late Lady Aberdeen, who had taken a keen interest in the founding of the National Council of Women of India. It was a great pleasure to her to watch its development and to see the number of Indian delegates who came to attend the Jubilee Conference in Edinburgh last year.

The Association shows itself up to date again in the place on your programme given during the year to questions affecting women and to women speakers. We know how much women matter to India, how much women have done for India, and what splendid work has been and is being carried on by leaders and workers all over the country. One of these of whom India should be proud, and for whom I am sure many here as well as myself feel affection, is Mrs. Subbarayan. I had a letter from her only last night. All who have followed her career must regard her as a gallant heroine in all she has achieved, for the wisdom and helpfulness she showed at the Round-Table Conferences, and now as a member of the Legislative Assembly, the one woman out of 141 members.

We should like to offer to the President and Council, and particularly to the Hon. Secretary, our best wishes for the continued prosperity and usefulness of the Association, and I have much pleasure in asking you to adopt the Annual Report.

Sir Philip Hartog: The task of seconding the adoption of this Report is only difficult because it is too easy. It is quite obvious to anyone who looks at it how entirely satisfactory it is and how much we owe to your efforts, Lord Lamington, to the efforts of the Committee, and to those of Sir Frank Brown, known to all of us.

I should like very emphatically to endorse what Lady Pentland has said of the value of this institution as a meeting-place for those who are Europeans and interested in India, and for our Indian fellow-citizens; a meeting-place in which indeed, however much we may differ in opinions, our differences have no personal acuteness, because we all feel that this is a centre for mutual understanding. As a centre of this kind it has, in my judgment, been extraordinarily valuable during the years that I have known it. If you look at the list of new members, you will get an idea of how wide a field we have covered and continue to cover.

I join with Lord Lamington in regretting the departure—the temporary departure, I hope—of Sir Abdul Qadir, who served with me for many months as my colleague on the Public Services Commission. I also join in deploring the death of H.H. the Gaekwar, whom I had the pleasure of knowing. I remember spending one Christmas—I think it was 1925—as his guest at Baroda, when he had long talks with me on the general situation, especially the educational situation. One day he asked me to read a Report on Compulsory Education and give him my opinion of it. It was a report which criticized very severely the local administrations for not making "compulsory education" as compulsory in fact as it was in theory, and commented on the large amount of fines that had been inflicted for non-attendance, but had never been recovered. I have never read a franker report. When I met the Maharaja Gaekwar next morning I said: "This is a very frank report." "Yes," he said. "If I want a compliment, I ask for a compliment. When I ask for a report, what I want is the truth, and I have got it."

Then, following Lady Pentland, may I say one word with regard to the progress of women in India, which to my mind has been the outstanding feature of the twenty years or more which have elapsed since I first went to India. I think far too little attention has been paid to that in this country. I remember finding myself by chance next to Mr. Rudyard Kipling at lunch, and, after talking about many subjects relating to India, he said: "I want to ask you one more question. Is it true that Indian ladies of position now welcome European ladies at their own homes?" I replied: "I can tell you one thing, Mr. Kipling. My wife has not only a very extensive acquaintance among Indian ladies, but many friends." To which he rejoined: "When I was in India that would have been unthinkable."

Now we see Indian women taking a great share in all the public activities of India. There are many things in which Indians criticize the policy of the British Government, but I think they all recognize that this new birth is due very largely to British influence; and I believe that the action of the women in India will bring new hope and happiness in almost every department of social life in that great country.

There remains nothing more for me to do than formally to second the adoption of the Report, which has been so charmingly moved by Lady Pentland, and informally to express our great gratitude to the officers and Council for the way in which they have conducted the business of this Association.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Re-election of President

Sir Louis Dane: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The next item on the agenda is the re-election of the President. It is not necessary for me to refer to the qualities which Lord Lamington has for the post which he has held so long and so ably. Like myself, he is not as young as he was, but he does not show any sign of age, and, though he has more than once at these meetings said that he wonders whether he ought to stay on for another year, I feel sure that you will agree with me that at the present time it is particularly desirable that we should not have any change in the constitution of the Association.

I venture to suggest that we should ask Lord Lamington to agree to stand for another year as President to see us through these troublous times. (Applause.)

Mr. H. H. Hood: I wish to second this resolution, and, while warmly endorsing everything that Sir Louis Dane has said, I should just like to say a word about the wide range and activities of our President, Lord Lamington.

For instance, he is the Vice-President of the Pedestrians Association, in which I am keenly interested, a body which is trying to reduce the appalling slaughter and maiming on our roads. I was in the House of Lords the other day and heard him make a good speech in regard to that very important work. I mention this to show how keen Lord Lamington is in other directions and to illustrate his conscientiousness and painstaking devotion to duty, from which we have benefited so much in the past.

For these reasons I feel it a privilege to second this resolution, and I do so with very much pleasure. (Applause.)

Sir Louis Dane put the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Chairman: I am very human and therefore very susceptible to flattery. After the speeches I have heard today, I feel—although my better judgment says that I ought to decline the office—that I cannot resist, and I have very great pleasure in accepting again to be your President.

But I honestly do feel that in the future it may be well for you to look for somebody else who will carry on the work of your President in a better fashion and with greater skill and potency. After all, the years do accumulate, and I fully realize that you might have a much better occupant for this very honourable post of President of the Association. It is quite a distinguished society now, as you have heard this afternoon. Our meetings are so often dignified by ex-Viceroys and others who have held high positions in India. Therefore it is a distinct honour to be your President.

I accept this year, after the kind way in which it has been proposed that I should occupy the office, but I still hold to it that you would be very wise in the interests of the Association to find somebody younger and more competent than I am to preside over its work in the future. I beg to thank you very much for the honour you have done me this afternoon. (Applause.)

ELECTION AND RE-ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF COUNCIL

Sir ABDUL QADIR: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my privilege to place before you the next resolution, and it is a resolution which does not really require any speech. Therefore with your permission I will just say a word or two about the references that have been kindly made to me before I propose the resolution. I am very grateful for the generous remarks that you have made, sir, from the Chair, and also for the kind things said about me by my friend Sir Philip Hartog. I am also very thankful to the East India Association for the kindness they have always shown to me. I thank you on behalf of my wife also. She is not here, but as long as she was here she was very much interested in the work of this Association and used to attend its functions. She misses them a great deal now that she is in India, and I, too, shall miss them when I go back.

My connection with this organization has not been only for these five happy and pleasant years which I have spent in London, but it has lasted much longer than that. When I was a young student studying for the Bar I was a member of this Association. (Applause.) It is kind of you to express your regret at my going. If I visit England again it will be a great pleasure to visit this Association and to attend its lectures and other functions. Now the resolution I have the honour of proposing is the election of some and the re-election of a number of the Members of the Council. There are two names for election and six for re-election.

The two members for election are such outstanding personalities that I do not think any speech is needed to commend them for election as Members of the Council. They have been co-opted by the Council, and they are Sir Herbert Emerson and Sir Thomas Smith.

When you hear the names of the six gentlemen who have retired by rotation and whom it is proposed to re-elect, you will agree that they all should be requested to come on to our Council again. We have heard so much today about the excellent work that the Council has done that we would like to have the benefit of the experience of those among them whose work has contributed so much to the success of the Association. They are: Lady Bennett, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh, and Mr. John de La Valette. I think there can be no two opinions about the necessity of asking them to serve on the Council again.

I have great pleasure in formally proposing the re-election of all these members and the election of the two who have already been co-opted.

Mr. KENNETH KEYMER: First may I say how very pleased I am to be associated with Sir Abdul Qadir in this resolution, especially as it is so near his departure, which we so much regret. On the score of their distinction in Indian circles, it is quite unnecessary for me to make any comment on these names. When I look down this list, they are all people whom we find most intimately connected with all our doings. I deem it a great privilege to be asked to second this motion.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

Sir GEOFFREY WINTERBOTHAM: I have much pleasure in proposing as a Life Member H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar, and as Members Lieut.-Colonel Sir Donald Moyle Field, C.I.E. (Chief Minister, Jodhpur State), Sir Ardeshir Rustomji Dalai, I.C.S. (retd.) and Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao (Adviser to the Secretary of State for India).

I will only say that it is to be hoped that these distinguished gentlemen will derive as much pleasure from their membership of the Association as we do in welcoming them as members.

The resolution was seconded by SADAR BAHADUR MOHAN SINGH and carried unanimously.

HAVELI: A NEW DEPARTURE IN INDIAN IRRIGATION

By J. D. H. Bedford, C.S.I.
(Late Chief Engineer, Punjab)

There are few districts in the plains of India where artificial irrigation is not required to enable crops to be matured successfully. Rain is restricted to a few months each year, and in some parts of India is very heavy, but even in such districts there are several months quite devoid of rain, when crops require some form of irrigation. The monsoons in the Punjab are capricious, and there are large variations of rainfall from year to year. Rain is more copious in the eastern parts of the Punjab, increasing towards the hills in the north and east. In the western districts rainfall is scanty, varying from four inches to twelve inches per annum.

Canal irrigation has been practised in India for countless years. In the Punjab there are many traces of such canals—*e.g.*, in the Shahpur district there are traces of the Ranewah canal, *i.e.*, the queen's waterway. Tradition says that a prince excavated it so that the princess of his choice could come to him by water, a method of travel that she favoured. The Bari doab canal taking out of the Ravi was originally the Badshahi canal—*i.e.*, the king's waterway of Mogul days constructed by a Mogul emperor primarily for the irrigation of his gardens in Lahore.

Irrigation by private enterprise has been in vogue in India since the dawn of time; such irrigation took the form of lifting water from wells. In periods of keen demand wells are worked day and night, the whole family taking it in turn to drive the relays of bullocks required to lift the precious irrigation water.

The laws of inheritance in India favour the subdivision of land between all the male heirs, hence there are usually several part owners to a well, and to the land which it serves; labour for working a well is therefore plentiful and free and the standard of living is low, and if disease carries off the cattle, the owners seldom have ready cash to purchase new cattle, so have to resort to the money-

lender. Indebtedness is therefore a serious problem in India, and owing to the fragmentation of areas the pressure on the land is very heavy. It may surprise some of my listeners to hear that the total annual irrigation in India is 50 million acres, out of which 26½ millions is from Government-owned canals. India irrigates annually as big an area as the six next largest irrigating countries—*e.g.*, U.S.A., Russia, Japan, Egypt, Morocco, and Italy combined.

Egyptian irrigation has received so much publicity that it looms large in the public imagination, yet the total Egyptian irrigation is only one-eighth of the total Indian irrigation and little more than half of the irrigation done by Government canals in the Punjab alone. The Punjab, consisting mainly of flat plains, is watered by seven large rivers that rise in the Himalayas and are snow-fed. During the summer these rivers carry enormous quantities of water, but in the winter months the supplies are inadequate to feed the canals that have been constructed. The combination of scanty rainfall, flat plains, and large rivers, makes the Punjab peculiarly suitable for big irrigation schemes requiring capital.

The Emerson Barrage

The Emerson Barrage is built immediately below the junction of the Chenab and the Jhelum rivers at a place called Trimmu. The Ravi joins the combined river 60 miles below the Emerson Barrage.

The Indus is an immense river as large as all its tributaries combined, and for some years it has been a matter of regret to me that we, in the Punjab, allowed Sind to steal a march on us and build the first barrage across the Indus, so it has been a source of satisfaction to know that a project, made in my administration for a barrage across the Indus, and a canal taking out above it, has been sanctioned recently and work started shortly before I left India.

When we took over the Punjab, the eastern districts, having most rainfall, were the populated areas, and naturally we started developing the existing canals in the east. The Jumna and Badshahi canals taking out from the Jumna and the Ravi were developed first, and then the Sirhind canal, taking out of the Sutlej, was constructed. This canal went a long way towards

settling the turbulent Sikh tribes in peaceful pursuits. It was not easy for the administrators of the 'eighties and 'nineties to visualize the immense wealth that lay in the millions of acres of virgin soil in the western districts; their fear was that, if a canal were constructed, nobody would go to colonize the desert areas, but eventually a small start was made with a canal from the Chenab, until at present this canal utilizes the whole winter supply of the Chenab, commands 3½ million acres, and annually irrigates 2½ million acres.

The Punjab was awakening now to the possibilities of irrigation in the west, and the Jhelum canal, irrigating the area between the Jhelum and the Chenab, was next constructed. There is a small canal that takes out of the Ravi a few miles above its junction with the Chenab and downstream of the Emerson Barrage, but owing to the winter supplies of the Ravi being exhausted by the Badshahi canal taking off upstream, the irrigation from this lower canal is unsatisfactory, and there are large areas that do no irrigation at all. The Haveli canals have been constructed to supply water to such areas.

The Beas River Irrigation

The Government of India ruled that the waters of the rivers must be used for the greatest good of the greatest numbers, and in accordance with this ruling the Punjab surrendered two-thirds of the Beas water to Bahawalpur and Bikaner States, with the result that the Beas water left to the Punjab for the irrigation in the Nili Bar canal is insufficient, and the development of this colony has been slow. Although the Sidhnai or Lower Ravi canal had not sufficient water for its needs, there were appreciable supplies in the Ravi. Former Haveli projects substituted Chenab water for Ravi water, but found no use for the Ravi water set free, and consequently the forecast showed that the revenue would not pay the interest charges. It occurred to me to utilize the Ravi water set free in the Nili Bar canal, and the additional revenue obtained from this use of the Ravi water was sufficient to make the Haveli project productive, and, incidentally, it will make the Nili Bar canal prosperous also.

The Haveli project provides for a barrage across the Chenab to head up water so that it can flow in a canal to be constructed from the Chenab to the Ravi. It is natural to enquire from whence the Chenab water was to come, seeing that the whole winter supply was already used in the Chenab canals. It is true that both the Chenab and the Jhelum are dry 100 miles upstream of the barrage, but some of the water extracted by the upper canals finds its way back into the rivers by percolation through the soil, and at the Emerson Barrage site there are winter supplies in the Chenab which, in conjunction with the ample summer supplies, are sufficient to do 1½ million acres of irrigation annually.

The 1935 Project

The 1935 Haveli Project estimate was based on the previous project of 1932 and on actual post-war costs of constructing similar canals. The cost was estimated at £4,000,000 against £4,300,000 in 1932. The work was done for £2,500,000, but this is anticipating. Within twenty-four hours of the formation of the new Government the project was sanctioned on April 2, 1937. The opening ceremony took place on the same date two years later.

The organization of the project was on lines novel to the Punjab. Previous construction experience had convinced me of the inefficiency of making each construction executive do the calculations and drawings of every work he would have to build—*e.g.*, on the Haveli construction there were seven executives. A bridge is still a bridge whether it is built by A, or B, or C, and to allow seven men to do seven calculations and designs for essentially the same structure is to do seven times as much office work as is necessary. Such repetition enhances establishment costs, delays construction, and as each man tries to show his own individuality, the seven bridges are different in design and price; finally the head office has to examine scores of such estimates perfunctorily instead of giving careful and detailed thought to one type design for each class of structure. So I decided on a central design office at headquarters. And all the masonry designs and estimates were made in that office. This relieved the executives of a large amount of office

work, with the result that construction progress more than doubled; and, as the designs office was under the charge of a specialist of real ability, the cheapest and most efficient designs were produced in the minimum time, but the central designs office was most receptive and encouraging to any suggestions from the executives. This central organization was the chief cause of the large savings in cost, as will become more apparent as I proceed.

The most up-to-date and modern methods were introduced in the central designs office. The drawing establishment did not waste time adding and multiplying: this was done by calculating machines. The various items that go to make up a detailed estimate were printed up in thousands, so that no unnecessary copying work was done. Plans were printed by electric light, so there were no delays in producing prints at any time of the day or night. General letters of instructions were cyclostyled, and so on. The central designs was staffed with a devoted body of men who seldom took a holiday, and worked most Sundays as well, toiling to produce the enormous mass of drawings and estimates required to keep up with the accelerated construction programme.

It is one thing to decide on a central designs office and another to get sanction of funds for it. It had not been tried out in the Punjab before, there was no allowance for the establishment in the project estimate, and all past irrigation projects estimates had been exceeded.

A bureaucrat may be inclined to distrust a popular Government in India, but experience of its working in the Punjab has convinced me that it has many advantages. Ministers have more power, decisions are made quickly, and, as I was able to convince my Minister of the soundness of a central designs, my path was made smooth and the central designs staff was sanctioned forthwith. A free hand was also given to select the staff of officers and subordinates, and, with a sound knowledge of the capabilities and reputations of the staff, it was possible to collect a bunch of knowledgeable youngish men. I am a firm believer in youth; it is possible to persuade a young man to hitch his wagon to a star, but it is a weary business instilling enthusiasm into most older men.

Contract Control

The next problem was the control of contractors. Canal work in the Punjab is done on a piecework system—*e.g.*, a contractor is given a works order to lay concrete or brickwork, etc., at so much a unit, both the contractor and Government having the right to stop work at any time without compensation. The quality and accuracy of the work is watched by a Government staff of engineers and subordinates. This is a cheap method of construction provided the Government staff is good. It is usual to maintain a schedule of rates for various classes of work; this schedule is liberal to allow for exceptional conditions, and executives are given considerable latitude in varying the rates.

Now it is clear that if executives were given this latitude on the Haveli, an unhealthy competition in rates would result and the rates in the project would go on rising—I had seen this happen before—so the work was widely advertised and India-wide tenders were called. 400 replies were received, and a schedule of rates was fixed a little higher than the lowest tender for each class of work. Out of the 400 contractors a suitable number were chosen, whom we considered capable of carrying the work to completion. The contractors were chosen without favour on their record and reputation. A list of these contractors, and a copy of the schedule of rates, were supplied to each executive, with orders that work was to be given to the contractors on the list only, at the rates in the schedule, and that no additional items of work were to be paid. If any item of work was not on the schedule, sanction for its inclusion was necessary before payment could be made. The Accountant-General was kept informed of all such orders, and pulled up anybody who contravened them. The result of this control was that excesses were almost unknown. It was a great help to the executives and their assistants.

The next move was to tackle the wholesalers—*i.e.*, Associated Cements and Tatas Steel, and the North-Western Railway as carriers for cement and steel. The Punjab has a running contract with Associated Cements, and the Government of India with Tatas. The railway receipts go to the Government of India, and

the Punjab gains if the freights are reduced. We put it to Associated Cements and Tatas that our demands would be heavy and additional, and we asked for reduction for quantity. They both fell into line, and the cement and steel were received at rates appreciably cheaper than the existing contract rates. The railway also co-operated and gave substantial reductions. The savings on these items were about £70,000, and would not have been obtained but for the pressure brought to bear by the head office through the medium of the central designs office. The gates and superstructure required for the barrage are a large single item of work; world-wide tenders were called for this, and the contract was awarded in open competition to the Government shops at Amritsar. So the work was kept in the Punjab and was done at a fixed price.

I would like to stress the importance of employing business methods when dealing with large sums of money on behalf of Government. Even when all your colleagues are beyond reproach, why put temptation in their way by lax and inefficient control? Efficient and intelligent control is essential both for rapidity and cheapness. Lax control delays production.

Salt Efflorescence

The construction of every canal in the Punjab has created a waterlogging, or, rather, a salt efflorescence problem. The rise in the subsoil water levels after the advent of a canal causes salts to collect on the surface of the earth, rendering it unfit for agriculture. The Punjab plains are water-formed, and consist of a few feet of loam lying on unplumbed depths of water-bearing sand. Before the advent of canal irrigation the water in this sand varies slightly in the summer and winter, but the mean level remains unaltered. When canal irrigation starts, a progressive rise occurs in the subsoil water level until the whole sand reservoir is full; as soon as this happens salts are drawn to the surface and land deterioration sets in. Water percolates through the surface crust with difficulty, but once the water is trapped in the sand reservoir it is removed with great difficulty. The trenches made in the soil crust to carry the

canals form what may be described as holes in the outer covering, through which water pours into the sand reservoir below.

Tests carried out in connection with the Haveli canals proved that evaporation was sufficient to dry off all the rain and canal water put on the soil, provided the water is in contact with the atmosphere, so it follows that to control the rise of water it is only necessary to stop the direct accretions due to absorption from the beds of our canals, more particularly the bigger canals, as they carry more water and their channels have cut more deeply through the loam covering.

So far the Punjab has relied ineffectually on surface drains, because lining of existing canals was considered impracticable. Recently I have suggested that digging lined canals alongside existing canals is practicable, and that in addition to curing the salt efflorescence problem the water saved from absorption would give sufficient revenue to pay the interest charges on the capital expenditure. The deterioration of lands, in spite of considerable expenditure on drains, has caused serious alarm in the Punjab, so that Government has created a special post to investigate the matter. The deterioration is so alarming that the construction of lined canals to take the place of the existing canals is only a matter of time.

Lined Canals

The Haveli canal transferring Chenab water to the Ravi, passes through a narrow tract of country between two rivers; the area is impregnated with salts, and it was very probable that the whole area would be destroyed by salts within a few years of the opening of the canal. In 1935 I was unable to convince the authorities that lining was essential, so the provision for it was cut out; but, when the work started with the new construction organization, it became apparent that there would be substantial savings on the estimate, and I was able to go to the Cabinet with the proposal to line the canal within the estimate. As deterioration of land on other canals had reached alarming proportions the proposal was accepted at once. This was a great step forward, as it showed that public opinion was being educated to look upon lined canals as feasible and productive propositions.

Sanction had been obtained to lining, but a perfect lining had yet to be found. There was only one example of lining in India—*e.g.*, the Bikaner State canal. This canal, with half the capacity of the Haveli, was lined in about 80 miles length in five years. The lining was made of a nodular limestone concrete and stopped about four-fifths of the absorption losses. The lining had been a great financial success, but the limestone is only a semi-permanent material.

As nearly six months of the Haveli construction had elapsed, it was necessary to find a lining without delay that could be constructed in 45 miles of the Haveli canal in one and a half years. The lining must be watertight, permanent, and cheap.

Cement was cheap and, being an enduring material, had to be used, but cement concrete is prone to temperature cracks. In addition, concrete to be good must be mixed mechanically. Mechanical mixers sufficient to do the lining in eighteen months would be prohibitively expensive; besides, owing to the rearmament programme, they could not have been obtained in the home country in time, hence concrete was ruled out. Concrete floors crack unless expansion joints are provided, but brick masonry floors do not have temperature cracks. This was a matter of observation originally, but has been proved mathematically since. Masonry does not require any machinery; speed of construction is limited only by the number of kilns. Kilns are easy to burn.

Experiments carried out on a small scale showed that masonry was as watertight as the best concrete. The problem was solved; but there was a deal of hard work involved in thinking out constructional details. After careful consideration it was decided that one and a half miles of lining could be done at one working face in the time available. This meant 30 kilns for 45 miles. 31 kilns were burnt, one extra as a factor of safety. Tenders were called for brick burning and masonry. This was additional to what had already been done, because the lining work had been decided on after the tenders for other works had been received; all this took time, but the work was completed on the day of the opening ceremony.

One subordinate engineer was placed in charge of each working

face, so there were 31 of them under the charge of five fully qualified college-trained engineers in the 45-mile reach of this canal. We were lavish in our engineer staff, yet the cost of establishment was less than half that of previous works owing to the rapidity of construction.

Brick lining was new, and so was fiercely attacked by some folk. There is a fairly common type of mentality that instinctively rejects anything new. A 45-mile length of the canal was being lined without any expansion joints. It was predicted that the lining would crack and fall to pieces. It was stated that the tests for watertightness carried out on a small scale were flattering, etc. So two separate reaches of the canal, each 1,000 feet in length, were bunded off and filled to capacity, and daily observations of absorption made for some months. The results obtained closely followed the small-scale experiments. These showed that the absorption losses were about 1 per cent. of the normal. Our critics were invited to examine the reaches of the canal where the lining was complete, and no temperature cracks were found. Meanwhile it was proved mathematically that cracks would not occur.

This brick lining was the one work in the Haveli construction where rates were probably too liberal. The work was new, and, although I believed that the original rates were sufficiently high, I was not quite sure. There was no time to be lost, and the contractors, taking advantage of the situation, joined hands and forced me to put the rates up. This incident shows the importance of practical first-hand knowledge of costs, which every engineer should acquire. However, at the opening ceremony, when rewards were handed round, no recognition was given to any one of the contractors who worked on the lining. The lining, including steel reinforcements, cost 32s. a hundred square feet, but the work could be done for 30s.

Utility and Beauty of Design

The Emerson Barrage is a fine, handsome structure which many people would go out of their way to see. Serious thought was given not only to utility, but also to beauty, and the Government architect was co-opted to help in this matter. His advice

was followed in fixing the sizes of the artificial stone that was used for the surface treatment of the piers. He also designed for us handsome pylons in the Greek style that guard the approach to the arterial road bridge which crosses the river on this barrage.

Previous barrages were faced with hammer-dressed stone of small size; this stone was obtainable at one quarry only, where I was not sure of my control over rates. So an entirely new quarry was opened for this project, and although this entailed heavy expenditure on new railway track and buildings, the stone for the project cost £60,000 less. The new quarry stone was excellent for ballast and concrete, but it was not suitable as a building stone, so it was decided to face the barrage with artificial stone made with the ballast from the quarry. The railings of the road bridge are of ornamental ironwork made in the workshops at Trimmu.

The Emerson Barrage is designed to hold up the waters of the combined Jhelum and Chenab rivers a height of 29 feet above low water levels, so that the river can be forced to flow from the Chenab to the Ravi via the lined canal. At the same time the barrage is big enough to allow 250 million gallons of water to pass through it per minute, this being the flood discharge of the combined Jhelum and Chenab rivers. To pass this huge supply of water, 37 spans of 60 feet and 14 spans of 30 feet have been built, the overall length of the barrage is about 3,000 feet. The 60-foot spans are in the centre and the 30-foot spans are on the sides, 8 on one side and 6 on the other side. A barrage may be likened to a massive bridge with the piers extending upstream and downstream of the bridge. On the upstream side a steel superstructure is supported on the piers, and huge 60-foot span gates are slung from the superstructure, the gates sliding in grooves cut in the piers; when fully lowered, the gates rest on a concrete floor. Staunching devices are provided so that when the gates are lowered the flow down the river is closed off completely, and the water heads up against the gates. The barrage is designed to withstand a head of 29 feet with an empty river downstream.

In previous barrages, each pier was supported independently on its own foundations, and between the piers a heavy floor of con-

crete was laid. The water pressure, due to water headed up against the gates, is transmitted through the earth to the floor below, and if the concrete floor is not heavy enough, the water will crack and even lift the floor bodily and rush below the gates, scouring very deep holes, into which the independently supported piers and superstructure will disappear. As each pier and bay is independently designed it is possible for some bays to disappear, leaving others probably shaken but still standing. Such an accident happened to one of our barrages built a few years back: some 60-foot gates and superstructures fell into the river and a few of them have not been seen again. Recently the executive in charge of the Emerson Barrage construction, an Indian named Khosla, provided an improved theory based on a series of observed data, so that our theory of transmitted water pressure has been strengthened.

It was necessary also to keep before our eyes the limitations of cement concrete. It is in some respects a dangerous material. These barrage floors are several feet thick, so what is more natural than to lay the floor in layers. But cement sets so quickly that by the time the succeeding layer comes to be laid, the surface of the concrete in the first layer has glazed hard, and no amount of scraping will make a watertight joint between the two layers.

In addition to layering there is the danger of temperature cracks in cement concrete, and, curiously enough, the stronger the concrete the wider and deeper the cracks. A weak concrete will have several cracks close together because, being weak, it cannot withstand stresses, but the cracks will be fine; a strong concrete withstands greater stresses, the cracks are fewer but wider and more deep-seated, and water finds its way more easily through wider cracks; the earth below the floor may be sucked out and the floor may fall in, bringing with it the piers and superstructure. Further, the piers and the steel superstructures and gates represent a tremendous weight which was not utilized to weight the floor. Our programme was to avoid layering, to control temperature cracks, and to utilize the piers and superstructures to hold the floor down.

Layering was avoided as far as possible by laying the concrete

to full depth in one operation, keeping vertical and step joints for each day's work. The concrete was laid in one continuous mattress 3,000 feet long; this mattress was reinforced or strengthened with heavy steel bars placed in the mass of the concrete; these steel bars, in addition to making the concrete one homogeneous mass, ensured that the temperature cracks would not be wide. On this mattress of concrete the piers and superstructure were built, so that there is no wasted weight anywhere, and the barrage, being tied together with steel, is safe from partial failures. The floor mattress is embedded in three or four rows of steel piles driven 15 to 20 feet into the bed of the river; this ensures that the earth below the floor mattress is securely boxed in, so that it cannot trickle away gradually from under the floor. The Emerson Barrage, although the biggest in the Punjab, is the cheapest of the modern ones.

Upstream of the barrage but connected with it are the head regulators of the canals, one on each side of the river. The regulators are designed on the same principles as the barrage itself.

Material and Plant

When the project estimate was being made, the mechanical engineer working in my administration was instructed to make a thorough inventory of all machinery and plant available on the canals under my charge. It was fortunate that this charge consisted of the post-war canals where most of the machinery and plant lay. All the plant was examined, repaired and listed, and the equivalent of a mobilization scheme worked out, so that from the word "go" the plant required was on the move without delay. The barrage is 8 miles from the railway station, so a railway line of that length was built, together with 20 miles of sidings. We had our own trucks, and in addition marked down a rake which was purchased from Delhi. It was realized that modern power units could not be obtained from the home country in time; in fact, the one ordered arrived at its destination one month before the opening ceremony. It will come in useful for the Indus canal construction now commencing. Three 160 kilowatt sets which had been in use since 1923 were installed, and in

addition two 140 kilowatt sets that had been discarded by an electric company were purchased (the synchronizing of these five sets was not easy), and then the country was scoured for second-hand portable steam engines. As they came to Trimmu they were passed through the workshops and were rushed into the river works. The foundations of the barrage were 30 feet below the river water level and the pumping was heavy. For months we pumped 20,000 gallons of water per minute day and night. If the pumps failed the foundations rapidly filled with water. It was remarkable how few the failures were, considering that all the machinery was practically scrap.

As already mentioned our stone and ballast came from the new quarry; on most days two full rakes of 64 trucks were received at the Emerson Barrage site, and there was seldom much stone in reserve. The staff dealt with as much as four rakes in one day, including the incoming steel and cement. Many Punjab records were broken, as much as 52,000 cubic feet of reinforced concrete being laid in one day. This entailed a deal of organization, as all the concrete was mechanically mixed, and much of it was mechanically wriggled.

When we entered into the contract with Associated Cement we did not know how long the work would take; the wording of the contract allowed us to vary our indents for cement over a wide range at short notice. The variations took the form of increasing indents until we exhausted all the reserves of the Wah factory while using up in addition the full output of the factory, and the company was put to considerable expense in meeting its market commitments from down-country factories.

The barrage was built in the dry in a loop of the river, and during construction detailed attention was given to the problem of diverting the river. The floor level of the 30-foot span bays built at the end of the barrage were made $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet lower than the floors of the bigger spans and was kept at the existing bed level of the river itself; this made it easy for the river to flow through the barrage. A study of the daily discharges of the river for several years showed that the river discharge was always low and floods seldom occurred from the 10th to the end of December.

With luck it is possible to get a low river any time from November to March, but it is only in the December period that the odds are in favour of a low river; so this period was fixed for the diversion of the river, because during it the barrage defences must be lowered to the river. Very careful planning was necessary months ahead to ensure that the diversion would be done at the optimum period. The land levels both upstream and downstream of the barrage although riverain were relatively high, so it was necessary to cut trenches to lead the water from the river bank through the barrage and back again downstream to the river. Although we expected the river to fall to 500,000 gallons a minute, it was impossible on the score both of time and expense to construct a trench big enough to carry this supply. So channels were dug to pass 30 per cent. of this supply in the hope that the water flowing through this small channel would rapidly scour out a channel to take the whole supply. In any case it had to scour out a channel to take 250 million gallons per minute, the maximum flood discharge of the river.

There were three main streams of the river, so as soon as the floods ceased in September, the smaller streams on the far side were closed first, and all the water concentrated in the main stream flowing alongside the barrage. At the same time the embankment which was to close off the river was built from the far bank to the edge of the main stream. The method employed to close off the smaller streams was simple. The apparatus was a Merryweather fire-extinguishing pump, complete with power unit and hose-pipe and nozzle, mounted on a barge, and floated to the head of the arm of the river to be closed, where poles 30 feet long had been stacked in anticipation; men in a second barge floated a pole out into the stream, and the hose-pipe of the pump was secured to the pole with the nozzle along the end of the pole; the pole was then lowered until it rested on the bed of the river, and the pump started up. The jet of water acting on the bed of the river digs a neat hole, into which the pole gradually slips. When the pole is sunk 10 feet into the bed, a diver goes down and releases the hose from the pole, and the process is repeated. With skilled labour it is a matter of minutes to sink a pole into position,

and in a few days two rows of poles were in position across the river. Between the poles brushwood was woven; the idea is not to try to close off the water entirely, otherwise the water will rise and scour a breach through the line of poles—but the object is to increase the velocity of the water flowing through the brushwood just sufficiently to move the sand and deposit it again a few feet lower down causing a natural bar to grow across the river. Done skilfully, a river 6 feet deep in a few days will be reduced in depth to a few inches, provided there is another arm of the river down which the water can flow. When the depth of the arm was reduced to a few inches an earthen bund was rushed across and the arm of the river was closed.

The final closing of the main river was a more difficult job. In previous barrages the closing was done by constructing a masonry regulator on the edge of the winter river big enough to pass the winter supply, and then by edging the river through this, after which an earthen bund is put across the river channel; the regulator is then closed down and the river forced to flow down the leading cut and through the barrage. Such a diversion is what a Rolls is to motoring—good, but expensive. There was also insufficient time to build such a temporary regulator, so this is what was done. A number of wooden trestles and brushwood mattresses were made. The mattresses were floated out to the chosen site and sunk in position with boulders; the object of the mattresses was to prevent sand from scouring out from under the boulder bund. On this mattress the wooden trestles were placed in two rows and sunk in position with sandbags. Large quantities of bags and boulders were collected in advance. Sandbags and stone boulders were thrown against the trestles on the upstream side. The object of this stone bund is to reduce the velocity of the river water as much as possible and not to close it off entirely. The complete closing is done by an earthen bund under simultaneous construction immediately upstream of the stone bund but clear of it, the boulder bund reduces the velocity of the water sufficiently so that the earth of the earthen bund is not washed away.

An Initial Ceremony

The floors of the 30-foot spans of the barrage had been built as low as the river bed, so there was nothing to stop part of the river supply from flowing down the leading cut and through the barrage. A small dowel of earth was left between the river and the leading cut, and the stage was set for the river diversion ceremony. All Trimmu motored upstream and floated down the river to the chosen site; thousands of labourers collected to watch the fun; cameras clicked and cinés whirled. My wife held a bottle of champagne in one hand and a miniature spade in the other; two small cuts with the spade made the water flow down the diversion; she dashed the bottle of champagne against a rock, mixing the wine with the water, saying at the same time, "God bless the water that passes through the Emerson Barrage." Rockets soared, bombs burst, labourers cheered, and the whole staff and their wives beamed with happiness.

The diversion was commenced on time (December 8), but the river had not yet been diverted from its old course; most of the water was going down the river through the boulder bund. Trimmu barrage had lowered its defences to the river, but at the period of the year when the risk was least. A flood down the river at this stage and we were sunk; but the past records showed that the flood would not come. And now came the final rush; the boulder bund was covered with tarpaulins to further reduce the flow of water which increased the water going through the barrage and reduced the velocity in the river; men and donkeys worked feverishly on the earthen bund pushing it across the river. This work went on day and night with relays of men and animals; by December 20 the earthen bund was across. The river had been diverted at a fraction of the cost of previous diversions. The position on that date was that the river was flowing to the extent of 500,000 gallons a minute through the barrage; the channel was big enough to pass one five-hundredth of the maximum river discharge, and the whole of the remaining river channel was bunded by a low embankment.

A Dream Warning

At this stage I had a most vivid dream. In my dream I stood on the superstructure of the barrage surrounded by roaring floods. I woke up sweating with fear, and was down at the office very early issuing orders to augment the leading cuts on to the barrage so as to give the floods, which I felt sure were coming, a chance to scour a waterway. An additional £12,000 was spent on these precautions. Our hope was that the floods would increase slowly enough to allow the water to scour a waterway for itself without piling up to a dangerous extent. Men were working on the bund across the river making it strong enough to withstand a very high river; the top of the bund was 6 feet above the maximum flood level and the bund was 80 feet wide at maximum flood level; none of the older barrages has so strong a bund. The weeks rolled on, and we were six weeks from the opening ceremony when unusually heavy winter rains started and flood warnings were received from the meteorological department; water to the extent of 37 and 20 million gallons per minute was coming down the Jhelum and Chenab rivers about 100 miles above the barrage. Still the river was very low and dry, so we waited for the flood to reach the barrage without being unduly anxious. The flood at Trimmu only reached the 10 million figure, and rose sufficiently slowly to give the river time to increase its waterway without excessive heading up above the barrage. The rush of waters did not come up to my dream and I was puzzled.

But in two weeks heavy and general rains again occurred both in the plains and in the hills, and I knew that we were for it this time. Flood warnings told of very heavy floods rushing on the barrage down full rivers; the flood came quickly, the river gauge rising a foot every hour, but that 80-foot wide bund across the river would take some shifting, so better the flood now than in the summer. The water rose upstream of the barrage two feet above the maximum summer flood level, thousands of acres of wheat lands and some villages were submerged. The villagers had been warned, but perhaps all had not gone, their cattle might have been left behind, the river was scouring rapidly; huge banks

of earth were falling into the swirling waters. How much more was the water going to rise? So far the flood was passing through half of the barrage only, while men worked up to the last minute in the dry half, removing the railway track and the machinery.

The gates for the lined canal were not erected at that time, but a brick wall was hastily built across the bays. An assistant rushed up saying all was clear. Orders were given to cut the bund segregating the second half of the barrage; the waters came through the cut like a wall, and rose up against the gates of the barrage and against the green masonry walls closing the canal regulator. These walls were pushed over in a minute and the uncontrolled waters rushed down the lined canal at express speed, throwing waves in the air. A railway embankment lay across the path of the oncoming water two miles down the canal. As we ran for the embankment the one thought of all was: Would the embankment hold and stem the onrush of the river? My designs director was confident; and happily the embankment held. Had the river gone all the way down the lined canal the damage would have been incalculable.

Upstream of the railway embankment two silt ejectors were under construction in the lined canal. The river burst through these two works, flooded the station area and found its way back to the river downstream. My dream had come true; standing on the superstructure the barrage seemed surrounded by water; but although the river was at a tremendous height the water was all going through the barrage. At 1 a.m., as all the staff had been working for three days on end, I decided to call it a day, and sent them off to bed, after seeing that a proper watch was kept on our two lines of defence—namely, the 80-foot-wide bund across the river and the railway embankment across the lined canal. Next morning the river began to fall, and we closed off the bays of the regulator through which the river was flowing. There was one month left for the opening ceremony. The time to be generous had arrived, so I put up the rates of work on rebuilding the silt excluders by 20 per cent. In forty-eight hours there was a swarm of activity once more, pumps and portable engines were dragged to the silt excluders and bunds thrown round the works; when

the partially completed works emerged from the water they were found to be undamaged. Although the flood waters had risen feet above the top of the lining in the canal it was undamaged; soundings were taken along the stone protection of the barrage, everything was intact. The barrage had been tested as it may never be tested again, and those few days of tension when the river was cutting a channel for itself had removed all our anxieties during the coming flood season. But had our timetable of work broken down, and had we tried to divert the river later than we did, the river would not be flowing through the Emerson Barrage today.

Other Features

There was a great deal more to the project than the barrage and the lined canal. An unlined canal was constructed on the right bank of the Chenab river to irrigate a narrow strip of land lying parallel to the river for 90 miles, where it meets two small canals taking out of the Chenab. As the river is not harnessed at their offtake, these two canals only flow when the river is in flood—*i.e.*, for three months in the year. Owing to the offtaking canals at Trimmu this supply was likely to be further reduced, so it was decided to link them up with the Haveli canals.

This right bank canal was not lined because it will flow for six months in the year only; during the remaining six months the land has a chance of recuperating. A canal system consists of main and branch canals and distributaries; the former two are feeder canals. Outlets for water to flow on the land are fixed in distributaries only. Outlets are capable of discharging 350 to 1,100 gallons per minute; so the work on this right bank canal consisted of the construction of the feeder canal with its masonry works and the construction of the system of distributaries. When I left the construction and excavation of the field water courses had commenced, so that water could be served to each half acre of land on the project. The executive in charge of these works held the record for maximum output of earth excavation.

On the left bank we have the lined canal leading water from the Chenab to the Ravi above an existing old barrage. En route some new irrigation is done. In the earlier projects the dismant-

ling of the old Ravi barrage was considered essential; but, owing to the improved methods of design, we were able to utilize much of the old structure without loss of efficiency at one-sixth of the cost of rebuilding. £230,000 was saved on this one item alone. The water is taken out of the Ravi through the Sidhnai canal regulator, which has been enlarged. The enlarging of the canal while in use was also a tricky piece of work. A few miles down the Sidhnai canal a new branch canal offtakes and links up the flood canals on the left bank of the Chenab, so that they also will have controlled irrigation in the future.

During the summer, with a shade temperature of 115° or so, the coolie labourer made a habit of sleeping below railway trucks, using the rails as pillows. A few human heads were amputated owing to the sleeping men not hearing the whistle of the engine; men were then kept on duty to wake up such sleepers before a train moved. The Pathan and his donkey make a wonderful earthwork machine. Their method of work is to dig a trench and then undercut the sides until the overhanging cliff falls in, when the loose earth is removed on the backs of the donkeys. It frequently happens that the cliff falls in unexpectedly. This occurred on one occasion, killing two Pathans and two donkeys. The contractor put in a claim to the executive for the two donkeys, saying that all men had to die, so he would make no claim on their behalf, but the donkeys had cost money and he thought that the Government should compensate him for their loss. Sad to relate, he got no compensation at all.

The Staff

With the exception of one executive, one superintending engineer, and myself, the whole staff, officers and men, were Indians, and were chosen as far as possible from the three communities—Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Within the framework of the Haveli construction, communalism had no place. No men could have been keener on the success of the work, and this good trait was visible in their wives as well. This spirit came to the surface on the night of the flood, when the river flooded the canal station area. The accident occurred at 6 p.m., when the wives of the

officers were on the barrage watching the flood. In the next few hours of anxiety the women remained quietly on the headworks without panic. The officers gave no attention to their families during the rush hours. Eventually in the early hours of the morning the women and children were housed in railway trucks for the night. Throughout the greatest summer heat the officers were on the work in the sun all day and every day. These Punjabis of all creeds are loyal, courageous, and grand workers. The thing to which they most readily respond is sympathetic control.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A Social Meeting of the Association was held at the Rubens Hotel, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 28, 1939. After tea had been served a paper entitled "Haveli: A New Departure in Indian Irrigation" was read by Mr. J. D. H. Bedford, C.S.I.

Sir Louis Dane: We were to have had Sir Herbert Emerson to preside this afternoon, but he is on the Continent as High Commissioner for Refugees and unfortunately he has not been able to get back in time. He is the man who has been honoured by having this great barrage called after him.

However, we have a very valuable substitute in Sir Arnold Musto, who was responsible for the building of the great Sukkar Barrage, and what he does not know about barrages is not worth knowing.

Sir Arnold Musto then took the chair and said: It is my pleasure this afternoon to introduce to you Mr. Bedford. I am sure he does not need much introduction to most of you. He was Chief Engineer in the Punjab, and as such was responsible for the initiation of this Haveli project.

Mr. J. D. H. Bedford, C.S.I., then read his paper.

Sir Louis Dane: I am not an engineer, but it has been my good fortune to have been associated with construction of practically all the canals of the Punjab except the two old ones—the Western Jamna and the Upper Bari Doab. I stood by at their second birth, because I saw their reconstruction with heads of the main rivers higher up. So I have sat at the feet of the great engineers of the past—Sir Thomas Higham, Sir John Benton and others—and absorbed through the pores a certain amount of rough-and-ready knowledge about the difficulties of irrigation and how to set about it. Therefore I can quite appreciate the work Mr. Bedford has done. He is an innovator, and I am a bit of an innovator myself, so I thoroughly approve what he has done.

The marvellous thing about his construction is this: Ordinarily, in my time at least, and I think up till quite recently, a great deal of our time was expended in explaining why the cost of the work had exceeded the estimate. He completed the work for about two-thirds of the estimate. That is an almost superhuman achievement. Not only that, but he did it in about half the time that was estimated, and that means an enormous saving of cost.

You have heard his very graphic description of how the river came down in flood before things were quite ready and very nearly wrecked the canal, and altogether it looked as if chaos would ensue. That is the lot of the courageous man. A cautious engineer would have done the head works in the old way by making a regulator at the end of the barrage and a dam

across the rest of it and have done it gradually. He decided to put his reputation at stake and to do the work in one jump. He did it, but I am not quite certain that I should recommend everybody in this room to do the same thing.

There are several points that Sir Arnold Musto will have noticed more particularly, but I may mention that higher up on the Ravi I had the duty of arranging for the opening by myself of the Lower Bari Doab Canal. It was the month of July. I was down there examining the works, and there was a question as to how to clear out the diversion cut for the river in time. There was a cut across a bend of the river which had to be cleared out to allow the river to take its new course past the head. Whilst I was there the first flood of the season came down. I noticed that the flood hit the right bank of the Ravi and came off at a sharp angle on to the regulator of the barrage which was completed.

I said to the superintending engineer: "Why don't you save some money and let the water do its own work? Open the gates."

"It cannot," he said. "The old bed of the river is 14 feet lower."

I said: "The river is making a dead set on the regulator. Let us try it." We opened the gates, and the force of the current was such that it created a backwater on the far side of the water, and it poured through this regulator and excavated nearly the whole of the channel which had to be excavated. I think that saved nearly £70,000. Again I do not recommend everybody to do that. I may mention that in the case of the Lower Bari Doab Canal we were confronted with a problem somewhat similar to that of Mr. Bedford. All the water in the Ravi is taken for the Upper Bari Doab Canal, but by the time the river reaches Lahore a certain amount of water gets into it by seepage in the autumn, and continues to run down to the head of the lower canal. This was to be fed by water from the Upper Chenab Canal, and this was to be carried under the Ravi by a syphon. We had used syphons freely in Peshawar to carry canals under hill torrents dry for most of the year, so I recognized their value. But I also saw that with a syphon under the Ravi we could not use this cold weather supply or even the hot weather supply in the lower canal. I asked, "If the syphon was to blow up or be injured, how long would repairs take?" and I was told about 18 months. "Well," I said, "that settles the question, as such a long break in supply would ruin the whole colony and the canal. We must give up the syphon and have headworks of the old type so that we may avoid this serious risk and be able to use the Ravi water also."

We then found that Sir John Benton, Inspector-General of Irrigation, was of the same opinion, and so the plans were changed. Owing to the dam there is now a small lake at the head of the canal due to the change in levels, but we were able with the help of my friend Sir Ganga Ram to use this for hydro-electric power for raising water for irrigation.

This recurrence of considerable seepage in both the Ravi and Chenab and, I believe, in the other Punjab rivers as well, lends force to the argument that extensions of irrigation in the Punjab would not harm Sind but would even benefit that Province by increasing the flow of water in the

Indus in the cold weather, which is the only season when there was risk of a shortage, by underground flow down the river valleys.

I am not quite certain about the explanation of salt efflorescence. It is one of those subjects for which every expert has a different solution. I was in the Jhang district before the canals were made, and enjoyed a temperature of 120° in the shade. I thought I would solace myself with a little sailing and got a small centreboard boat, and where Mr. Bedford has made his barrage below Jumna at the meeting of the three waters was a very favourite place for my sailing. What was good land before the canal was made was sometimes ruined by efflorescence coming up from below. But where the land was absolutely hopeless to look at, covered with salt, after the canal was opened, in about two years that efflorescence disappeared and the land became excellent for wheat growing. Canals can do damage in two ways: firstly, direct leakage on to adjacent lowlands thereby causing swamps. This occurs in the upper courses of the canals and has led to great losses of supply in the canals in the past. Then there is the damage caused by slow seepage through the beds into the subsoil causing saline efflorescence, to which Mr. Bedford refers.

The real point undoubtedly is that canals ought to be lined in all places where there is risk of seepage. When I was still Lieutenant-Governor we were thinking of lining the canals, but the cement we got out from England was not strong enough. Three large consignments came out and they had lost their tensile quality entirely. I cast about to see if we could not make hydraulic cement in India. Mr. Barratt, one of the superintending engineers, said they had used this Kankar or nodular limestone with clay on the Sidhnai Canal and made a fair hydraulic cement. I put an officer on special duty for fifteen months. He went round the cement works in England and America, and we made experiments. We found we could make perfectly good and reliable cement in the Punjab and at a quarter of the cost of the imported stuff. Our discovery was so valuable that our plans were stolen from the Punjab Secretariat.

The result was that the thing was given out to private enterprise, and I am very glad to say that it has been an enormous success in the Punjab. The principal works are at Wah, and so the family of my old friend Muhammad Hayat Khan have benefited. I hoped to use that cement for lining the canals, but now I hear there is some difficulty about it because it cracks.

However, if Mr. Bedford had not had that cement he would not have made his works so cheaply or so quickly, so I can claim a small share in his very successful results. We are the heirs of the generations that have gone before us. If it had not been for the work of these great pioneers in the Punjab, Mr. Bedford would not have had the results he had. He also was working with modern time-saving inventions, which did not exist in the early days. The Punjab is the great Province it is now because of the work that the irrigation engineers have done in that Province, and in that they have been helped to the best of their ability by the revenue officers.

Mr. Roger Thomas: I have been very interested in the illuminating lec-

ture to which we have just listened. That part of the lecture which interested me most was a reference to waterlogging, salinity and associated problems. As a zemindar in India I was comforted to hear that those responsible for the Emerson Barrage and Haveli Irrigation Project, and in particular Mr. Bedford, had courage and vision enough to render watertight the bed of large portions of the main canals of the Haveli Project, instead of leaving to posterity the unenviable task of reclaiming lands that had become useless through waterlogging.

When the irrigation engineer has built his barrage or his dam with its attendant canalization system he has proceeded only one step. The second step is the maintenance of his canals and irrigation works and the equitable distribution of the available water supply. The one is as great as the other. But there is a third step, the importance of which is not always fully realized, and that is the preservation of the natural fertility of the land in so far as it can be preserved by the prevention of waterlogging, of increased salinity and alkalinity.

During the few years I spent in the Punjab in association with Sir William Roberts—a greater farmer than I am—I was faced with these problems in an incipient form. Some six years ago I went to Sind to farm on my own, and I took with me some personal knowledge of drainage problems on most of the major irrigation projects of the world. I have learnt a great deal since I arrived there, and I am still learning.

One of the gravest problems with which I am faced in Sind is that of the dangers which are threatened by waterlogging, and this applies in particular to my freehold lands of a few thousand acres which constitute a relatively small proportion of the lands which I manage. The subsoil water table on the freehold lands has reached an average depth of less than 10 feet below ground level. This is within the danger zone for crops other than rice. I have been apprehensive about it. Latterly I invited the Research Section of the Public Works Department in Sind to collaborate with me in undertaking an intensive and comprehensive study of the subsoil water. This we are doing by installing a large number of observation pipes over an area of about 3,000 acres.

The data already collected have proved to be of considerable interest, and I am sure that a good deal will be learnt from these data both in my interests and in technical interests in so far as the Public Works Department is concerned. Thanks to the data I am making modifications in my agricultural practices as regards intervals between successive irrigations, the quantity of water applied at each irrigation and in my cropping schemes. Therein, I believe, lies the solution in part.

That leads me to a plea which I venture to make—though I am not at all sure that I am making it in the right place—for a greater degree of collaboration between the zemindar and the engineer. The reason why I raise this particular issue of waterlogging is because of the enormity of the potential damage to productivity of irrigated lands. An irrigation project which promises an economic return on the capital invested in major works may well prove to be a wasting asset once waterlogging is out of control. Waterlogging results in part from what I would call leaky canals, but it

also results from wasteful use of irrigation water by the farmer. The need is an urgent one, that the fertility of irrigated lands should not be allowed to deteriorate owing either to defective canal construction or to lax and uneconomic methods of irrigation.

I am aware of the fact that much has been done in recent years by the Research Sections of P.W.D. in the Punjab and Sind and also in other countries on waterlogging problems, but I am not satisfied that the approach to the subject in the Punjab and Sind is the one most likely to lead to economic improvement.

Intensive study of the agricultural aspects of the problem in restricted areas which are threatened with waterlogging will, I believe, provide more useful results than extensive study concerned primarily with soil physics in areas already waterlogged.

There appears to me to be scope for a greater degree of collaboration between the irrigation engineer, the agricultural expert and those growers who have the desired facilities for observing and collecting the necessary agronomic data, and who are in a position to put into practice more economic methods of using irrigation water. Preventive measures are of greater consequence than remedial measures, and the results of lining some of the Haveli canals by Mr. Bedford and his staff will, I am sure, be watched with great interest.

Mr. Bedford: I have discussed Mr. Thomas's problem with him, and he says that a watering to his crops makes the subsoil water rise in that locality by about 2 feet temporarily. That, of course, is without doubt correct, but to appreciate the niceties of the problem one must realize that, to start off with, the subsoil water level is high already, say about 10 feet from the surface, and water spread on the surface for irrigation makes contact with the water down below.

Once this happens, then the effect of irrigation or of rainfall on the subsoil water is immediate because there is that contact; but if the subsoil water level is sufficiently low, so that such contact does not occur, then the probability is that the effect on the subsoil water table of irrigation or rain water spread on the natural surface is practically negligible, because such water sinks into the soil a few feet only and if it does not make contact with the subsoil water it is drawn up again by the rays of the sun.

Experiments have shown that evaporation is sufficient to deal with the combined amount of canal water plus rainfall in the Punjab, and this is really greater than at Sind. As a permanent remedy it is probably only necessary to deal with standing water or its equivalent, so that the subsoil reservoir should not rise sufficiently high to enable it to make contact with irrigation water. In places where we have this problem, the loam covering varies from about 5 to 25 feet.

The Chairman: I am asked to say that the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firozkhan Noon, hoped to be present at this meeting, and very much regrets that owing to his absence at the League of Nations he is unable to get back from Geneva in time. It was the High Commissioner who sug-

gested that Mr. Bedford be invited to read this paper this afternoon, so I am sure we are all very sorry that he is not able to be present.

I should like on behalf of us all to thank the lecturer for the most interesting paper he has read for us. There are many points in it on which I should like to question him, but for one thing this is not a technical institution, and for another I am afraid there is not time.

With regard to Mr. Thomas's remarks, I think the key to his problem is the question of co-operation between intelligent zemindars and the Government's Research Departments. I think it is most essential that the Government Departments should obtain all the information they can from intelligent and practical cultivators and make use of their great facilities for experimenting. Government can at comparatively great expense experiment on a very limited scale. If they will only make use of the intelligent zemindars in the areas concerned to carry out experiments for them, then I think Government may obtain very much wider and more useful information than they can possibly obtain from their own direct efforts. I am sure we have all enjoyed very much Mr. Bedford's illuminating paper.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., said: The irrigation problems in India are well known to most of you who have served in the Punjab, Sind and elsewhere. We have had a remarkable paper read to us by Mr. Bedford, who has tried to run the construction of the canal on economic lines, which perhaps is just as well under the present forms of government prevailing in India. Your Chairman has shown commendable restraint in not picking holes or saying anything about Mr. Bedford's paper, because I understand that the total rainfall in Sind is about 5 inches.

It is not necessary for me to say anything further on the subject. I am sure we have all enjoyed the illuminating address read by Mr. Bedford, and we are also very lucky to have got Sir Arnold Musto to take the Chair at such short notice. On behalf of you all I offer them and the other speakers, including my old friend Sir Louis Dane, whose remarks were very interesting to me and I am sure to others, our most grateful thanks. (Applause.)

Sir Thomas Ward, C.I.E., C.V.O., writes: The East India Association are to be congratulated very heartily on presenting its members and their guests, of whom the writer is one, with so graphic an account of this recently completed great irrigation work, a noble addition to the many great and far-famed irrigation works of the Punjab. Similar congratulations are also due to Mr. J. D. H. Bedford, the chief engineer, whose irrigation and construction talent forestalled all difficulties and successfully carried out the work in record time and with such substantial savings in its estimated cost; a matter of cardinal importance seeing that such irrigation works are industrial enterprises of great commercial value alike to the Government and to the farmers.

A suggestion may be offered how it was that Mr. Bedford dreamed vividly in good time to enable his able and efficient staff safely to pass through the works that untimely and record flood. Some forty years ago,

when discussions on the subconscious mind became popular, the writer was led to examine the workings of his own mind; he then realized that his method of work was to wake about dawn with a mind clear and lucid through which the coming day's work passed in full detail; that was followed by an hour or so of refreshing sleep. The day's work started with all problems solved; work progressed smoothly carrying out the programme then set, and collecting information for the next day's work. From the intensely interesting account that Mr. Bedford has given of the initiation and carrying out of his works, it is evident that he is blessed with foresight and had studied the vagaries of the river up to the crucial time when the works must pass any flood that might come. The writer's subconscious mind let him off a " sweat," but he never had so great a responsibility to face.

It may be noticed here that Nature usually gives the builder one chance only to accomplish his purpose. The construction of the head works of the Chenab Canal at Khanki in 1889 to 1892 may be instanced; the river and the weather buffeted the works for one monsoon and one cold weather rains, and then helped strikingly to facilitate the early completion of the works. The success was due to the foresight of that very distinguished superintending engineer, Colonel S. L. Jacob, R.E., and Mr. Loudon F. McLean, the executive engineer, whose programme was to complete the works in the then record time of three years; in the result this was accomplished in 2½ years in spite of the fact that the first monsoon was so wet and malaria so severe that only 500 coolies could be mustered to clear the sludge that overlaid the foundations of the head regulator. When labour was well enough to work the winter rains were so severe that the working days were seriously curtailed and the false works carried away. In the following monsoon a dramatic change came in that it failed and the winter rains also; the supply of labour was unlimited and the river fell lower and lower and the elaborate false works were superfluous. The weir headworks and supply channel to Chenawar were all finished in February, leaving only the visit of the Viceroy to open the canal on his way to Simla in April. Luck changed again, cholera appeared in a very bad form in the Punjab; the opening was indefinitely postponed; the monsoon brought record floods that would have done serious damage had the works not been completed; malaria afflicted the people, and the cold weather, too, was a very wet one. Indeed a series of wet years set in till 1898, when the great famine came that brought labour from great distances to develop the large acres ready for the plough on the extension made to fully utilize the Khanki works. This made the fortune of the Chenab Canal and boosted the colonization of Crown waste lands, of which there were then many millions of acres available. The successful lining of the canal to transfer Chenab water to the Ravi has inspired Mr. Bedford to urge that lined canals should be constructed alongside the existing channels where waterlogging exists; it is to be hoped that this will materialize. Some short lengths of the Lower Chenab Canal were lined when Mr. W. B. Gordon was chief engineer; this was done to gain experience with the labour problem during canal closures as well as to discover the most suitable material for the purpose in view. It may be difficult to use beneficially the water saved by successful lining;

experience on the old Western Jumna Canal showed that unnecessary supplies are not curtailed if available in the river; over-irrigation so detrimental to land and to crops can only be prevented by spreading out the water over so much land that engineer and farmer alike must work together to raise the duty. It may be noticed that on the Western Jumna Canal up to the early nineties it was thought essential that the branch canals should be in flow all through the cold weather. By the end thereof, when extensions had been carried to all available lands, the branches were closed by rotation for 20 days in the month from October to March inclusive, with the result that waterlogged lands came back to cultivation and the quality of the crops on the whole commanded area was improved.

THE TENSION IN THE INDIAN STATES

By Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

But for the tension in international politics the news received from India early in June that a representative conference of the Princes had pronounced the terms offered to the States for joining the Federation as fundamentally unsound would not have passed almost unnoticed in Britain, as seems to have been the case.

The political unity of India is of the first importance to the British Commonwealth at the present time, and the fact that the Princes have not felt able at present to give His Majesty's Government their support in carrying through its federal policy is intensely disappointing, the more so because but for their acceptance of Federation in principle, nine years ago, a different and perhaps more suitable approach to the problem of Indian self-government might have been found.

To those interested in Imperial problems two questions naturally present themselves: Why have the Princes drawn back at the eleventh hour? Is there any hope of achieving the political unity of India in the near future?

In considering the position it is as well to recall a few relevant facts. Nearly half the surface of India and almost a fourth of its population is comprised in the territories of the Princes. There are some 600 States, varying from great States like Hyderabad and Kashmir as large as Great Britain, to small fiefs no larger than an English village. Twenty or so of the larger States include far more than half the area of princely India and nearly two-thirds of its population. The majority of the minute States, some 400 in number, owe their separate existence to a historical accident. Tributaries or feudatories in Mughal times, they had broken away from their parent States or overlords in the chaos and anarchy following the collapse of the Mughal empire; many of the larger States to which they had been attached had disappeared; they had no desire to be accredited to feudal lords who had built up new

States—*e.g.*, the Marathas; for this and other reasons when the British Government stood forth as Paramount Power in 1818 it crystallized existing conditions and allowed the small States to continue. Most of them are backwaters; their people are largely aboriginal or semi-aboriginal; their revenues are too small for efficient administration; in the scheme of federal representation several of them share a member; even so in the opinion of some critics they have been unduly favouritized at the expense of the bigger States—*e.g.*, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore.

The majority of the States are Hindu, which would mean that if their representatives in a federal Legislature could combine with the Hindus of British India there would be a permanent Hindu government at the Centre; the 80 or 90 million Moslems would have little, if any, voice in the general policy of the Indian Empire. That is a fact that has an important bearing on the political situation in India today.

Representation at the Centre

The Princes at the first Round-Table Conference stipulated that there should be responsibility at the Centre. Their ministers took a prominent part in working out the details of the new constitutional structure.

The India Act of 1935 was received with a chorus of disapproval in political India. To the great party of the Hindu intelligentsia, Congress, which claimed to represent the whole of India, it was anathema; they would accept nothing which did not give them complete independence of Britain. To Moslems the parliamentary democracy enshrined in the Act meant Hindu rule unless the safeguards were applied in their favour; the Princes felt their autonomy threatened; but as their accession was a matter of separate treaty they hoped to strengthen their position by further negotiations. The right of secession was denied them; so too was the right to recall a recalcitrant member. They could not fairly complain of the representation accorded to them; they would hold a third of the seats in the Federal Assembly (125 out of 375) and 104 out of 254 in the Upper Chamber. Obviously if they could act together they might hold the fate of India in their hands.

Unfortunately one of their difficulties has been lack of cohesion. The Princes' Chamber was intended to give them a form of unity; it has not been altogether a success, mainly because of the lack of interest shown in it by the leading States. The Princes realize the importance of joint action, and continuous efforts have been made in the last few years to evolve an organization which would make this possible. It is now proposed to set up a Council of Ministers which would work in conjunction with a committee of the Chamber of Princes in which the leading States would be strongly represented. A scheme of the kind should help to ensure some form of co-operation in matters of policy.

Provincial autonomy as provided in the Act was introduced in April, 1937. Since then the Princes have been engaged in negotiations with the British Government regarding the terms of their accession to the Federation. The Instrument of Accession in what was described as its final shape was handed to them last January with the result already indicated.

There is no doubt that the political situation in India explains to a great extent the reluctance of the Princes to cross the Rubicon. The merging of autocracy in a democratic system is an offence even to the moderate Hindu politician. Congress dared the Princes to enter the Federation; as already noted, the Moslems regard it as a threat to their cultural and political existence. It was only natural that the Princes should be apprehensive for their safety in a political system in which they would be looked upon by everyone else in it as dangerous and unpleasant interlopers.

Congress Activities

The political outlook grew darker in the autumn of 1937, when the Congress, no longer able to resist the temptation of office, captured the Government in eight of the provinces. Ostensibly their object was to wreck the new Constitution; actually now that they find they have the reality of self-government, the less extreme element is growing more inclined to give Federation a trial as the best means of finally ousting the British Government. They have been encouraged in this change of attitude by the policy of the latter, which has obviously been to let the magic of responsibility

have free play and so to avoid every possibility of a clash between governors and Congress ministers. But federation would only be worth while from the Congress point of view if there were a definite hope of their being able to form a Government at the Centre. The delicate balancing of political forces achieved in the Act made this almost impossible unless Congress could command the majority of the votes either of the States or of the Moslem representatives. The Moslems refused to listen to the voice of the siren. Unless therefore the representatives of the States could be induced to ally themselves with the Congress, the position would be difficult, if not hopeless, should Federation be brought in. The rulers of the States could never be induced to nominate members who would combine with Congress; the only alternative was to compel the Princes to establish responsible government more or less on the British Indian model, when the people would automatically elect their own representatives. With such a system Congress could easily secure the election of its own nominees.

In many of the larger and more progressive States there was already considerable support for the Congress among educated Hindus; what was regarded as a victory over the British Government, achieved by Congress under Gandhi's leadership, appealed to the Hindu imagination. In several States there were Congress committees; in Mysore, Cochin, Travancore the Congress party was represented in the Legislature. At the Haripura session of the Congress in February of last year Congress was not yet prepared to challenge British paramountcy by a direct attack on the States. At the same time the field was left open for individual Congress leaders to intervene, and an appeal was made to Congress supporters in the States to organize a fight with Congress weapons, *satyagraha*, civil disobedience and so forth, for self-governing institutions.

The response was immediate, especially in the advanced States where the Hindu intelligentsia was strongest, in Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Baroda. Agitation over the Congress flag in Mysore led to clashes with the police; finally, Gandhi's second-in-command, Sardar Patel, intervened and patched up a compromise very much to the advantage of Congress. This failed to satisfy the

local agitators; their seditious activities led to a serious clash with authority in which ten or a dozen people were killed. The Congress press in India shrieked vituperation at what it termed an act of brutal repression. An impartial committee, however, placed the responsibility on Congress; seditious attacks on the administration by unscrupulous agitators working on the peasant mind had been the direct cause of the trouble.

Congress attack on Travancore was even more insistent; what was almost a state of rebellion developed. Schools were burnt, Government property destroyed; the police overwhelmed. Troops had to be called out to restore order. Strong measures kept the trouble under. In Baroda Sardar Patel made seditious speeches against the Government; a dead set was made against Jaipur under the leadership of a prominent lieutenant of Gandhi, Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj; *jathas* or bands of demonstrators were despatched from Bombay to assist the movement. Agitation was fomented in Bhopal, Patiala, Indore, Udaipur, Kolhapor, and many other States; even in Kalat in Baluchistan there was trouble. In fact, towards the close of last year Congress was openly interfering in most of the States adjacent to Congress provinces. Flushed with success in British India, they now thought the prize of empire was within their grasp. As the dominant political authority in the greater part of India, they claimed moral responsibility to aid the people of the States in their struggle to obtain self-government from their rulers.

Increasing Unrest

The consequences of Congress activities were most serious in the group of small States adjacent to the province of Orissa, the inhabitants of which are mostly aboriginal. Here no-rent campaigns incited by Congress outsiders led to violent outbreaks, in one of which Major Bazalgette, a British political officer, was murdered. British troops had to be called out to restore order. Recently at Gangpur, another of these small States, troops had to fire on a violent mob. At Ramdurg, a tiny State in the Deccan, a mob attacked the jail and brutally murdered the defenders. In many cases people of the States were induced to migrate *en masse* to British districts.

It could hardly be expected in the campaign for Hindu dominance that the great State of Hyderabad where a Moslem dynasty rules over a vast Hindu population would be immune from Congress attack. Congress, the Arya Samaj (a sect of Hindu social reformers), and the Hindu Mahasabha, a powerful political organization of orthodox Hindus, concentrated on the Nizam's dominions. *Jathas* were despatched to Hyderabad from all over India, principally from Bombay, to offer *satyagraha*. Anti-Hyderabad days were declared in many Congress provinces; the Nizam's effigy was paraded and burnt. Moslem feeling in India was raised to fever pitch; anti-Hyderabad demonstrations led to serious Hindu-Moslem clashes. A Hindu leader in Sholapur threatened to take a *jatha* of 50,000 men to Hyderabad. The wildest allegations of misrule were preached far and wide in the press. Skilful and courageous handling of the situation by the Hyderabad authorities has so far prevented a tragedy.

The most determined effort of Congress to coerce a State Government to accept its terms was made in the small State of Rajkot in Kathiawar. The facts, owing to the prominence given to the incident by Gandhi's direct intervention, are generally known. The active interference of Sardar Patel, aided by outside *jathas*, paralyzed the administration and forced the ruler to agree to terms which practically destroyed his initiative. Later on a dispute arose as to the interpretation of the terms of the agreement, whereupon Gandhi proceeded to Rajkot and began a death-fast with the object of compelling the ruler to accept Patel's interpretation. The ruler refused to be coerced by this new form of political blackmail; an impasse arose; Congress ministries threatened to resign in a body unless the Viceroy forced the ruler to bow to Gandhi's ultimatum. The Viceroy skilfully steered a middle course and the situation was saved. The Congress attack on Rajkot now seems practically to have failed.

The artificiality of the agitation in the States is shown by the attacks on such States as Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin, where the people are practically self-governing and the administration as efficient as in British India. Obviously in such States the Congress had not the good of the people in view. In Baroda the administra-

tion is sympathetic and efficient; the same may be said of Hyderabad and many other States—*e.g.*, Indore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Kashmir.

Foiled in Rajkot, and possibly influenced by what the Viceroy told him and by the tragedies in Mysore, Rampur, Ramdurg, and elsewhere, Gandhi decided a couple of months ago to call off official *satyagraha* in the States. He was doubtless well aware that it would be carried on unofficially and that in Hyderabad the Arya Samaj and Mahasabha would continue the attack; subsequent events have shown this to be the case. That Congress was responsible for the trouble Gandhi publicly admitted. Nevertheless, he has made it clear in various pronouncements that he regards it as a sacred duty to use the force and influence of the Congress to ensure popular government in the States. Congress, he claims, is destined in the near future to replace the British as Paramount Power in India; meanwhile Congress ministers will take notice of misrule in adjacent States and will call upon the Viceroy to intervene; if he refuses they will resign. "Will not the Princes," he exclaimed, "read the writing on the wall?" Other Congress leaders have announced that they will take by duress from the Princes what they refuse to yield to persuasion.

In British India

The Congress record in the provinces is, from the point of view of the Princes, almost as alarming as their direct attack on the States. Unprejudiced Hindu observers describe Congress rule as the dictatorship of the proletariat, made possible by the lowering of the franchise to the uneducated masses which have fallen an easy prey to the unscrupulous agitator. Others see in it the evolution of totalitarian methods, with its High Command under Gandhi's leadership, dictating policy, making and unmaking ministries.

Congress policy and activities, especially the unprovoked attack on the States which they know to be a bid for supreme power, has hopelessly antagonized the Moslems, who threaten civil war rather than submit to Hindu domination. Hindu-Moslem clashes are of almost everyday occurrence. Moslems bitterly proclaim that the

safeguards have proved a dead letter; in no case has a governor intervened to protect their interests as a minority.

Congress has failed to deal with agrarian problems; unrest in the countryside is more insistent than before; it has failed to control its extremist element; the Gandhi-Bose feud has weakened its influence; its provincial policy in some cases had excited the strongest protests. As for its moral reputation, Gandhi himself has expressed his disgust at the corruption prevailing among its members. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is strongly critical of its indiscipline; only Gandhi's influence keeps the two wings together; should he die or lose control there would be chaos. The left wing would probably seize power. Led by Subhas Chandru Bose, it regards Gandhi's leadership as exhausted; it has no use for parliamentary government, at least at the present stage; it is, in fact, frankly revolutionary.

What is the object of the British Government, the Princes might well ask, in studiously avoiding every possibility of giving offence to this political party, which does not represent and could not rule India unless backed by the might of Britain? Does the British Government, simply in order to prove its sincerity, wish to give Congress an opportunity to seize supreme power? The safeguards might not have existed for all the use they have been to the Princes, whom Congress obviously intends to destroy. The position might, from their point of view, be worse in a federation if Congress ruled the greater part of India and constituted a strong opposition in the federal Legislature. Is it surprising that prominent statesmen like Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Minister of Cochin, think it would be safer to annex most of British India to well-governed States rather than that democracy should run amok throughout the country?

The Paramount Power

Not unnaturally many of the Princes are asking whether Britain really intends to cede paramountcy to the Congress. If, they say, we take strong action and shoot down rebels we shall probably be accused of misrule; if we let things slide we may be reduced to extremity, as happened in Rajkot and other small States. As regards self-government, has it, they ask, been such a success in British

India as to justify us in following the British Indian example? In any case in many of the States the people are too primitive to grasp their responsibilities under a parliamentary system; the result would be that political power would pass to a half-educated and often unscrupulous Hindu bourgeoisie. Federation would never have emerged into the sphere of practical politics if the introduction of parliamentary government into the States had been a condition precedent to the accession of the Princes.

Doubtless the British Government would intervene whatever the consequences should Congress activities constitute a real threat to the sovereignty of the Princes. Congress at one time accused the Government of standing in the way of the introduction of reforms in the States. Recent pronouncements of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have disproved the indictment. Rulers are free to introduce reforms, provided they retain sufficient power to carry out their treaty obligations. The Paramount Power will apply no form of pressure. The Viceroy has, however, made it clear that the smallest States are expected to combine in order to provide essential services for their people—*e.g.*, high courts, police, engineering services. This is a wise policy. Many of the Princes and Chiefs must regret today that they did not follow up the self-denying ordinance passed some ten years ago in the Princes' Chamber, pledging them to introduce a fixed civil list, an impartial judiciary, a permanent civil service. A similar resolution was put forward at the recent Princes' conference. The best defence against Congress attack is a contented people. Reforms are being introduced in many of the States. In some cases a measure of responsibility is being conferred; generally the idea is, at the outset, to associate the people more closely with the administration. The principle of building up from the village council, or *panchayat*, has much to commend it.

Some moderate politicians advise the Princes to meet the Congress half-way. They might offer to support Congress in carrying out an agreed all-India policy; they could then safely allow their people a voice in the election of their federal representatives. The Princes are not likely to accept such recommendations. Could they possibly place confidence in political leaders who had made

such an unfair and unprovoked attack on them from purely selfish motives?

From what has been said it is clear enough that one of the main reasons why the Princes have declined for the present to accede to the Federation is the revolutionary trend of Indian politics. Had provincial autonomy been a success with Hindus and Moslems working together and extending a welcome to the Princes the position would have been different. The Princes strongly support the British connection, all the more because they realize that only British power stands between them and chaos, or conquest by an invader from outside. On the other hand, it is Congress policy to break away from the British Commonwealth, a policy almost suicidal in existing international conditions.

The conference of Princes already referred to included the rulers and representatives of over 71 per cent. of the total population of the States, and 67 per cent. of the voting power. These figures are significant, since a condition of Federation is that States having 52 of the 104 States' members in the Council of State and half of the total population of the States should accede before Federation is established.

Inadequate Safeguards

The inadequacy of the safeguards is one of the main objections to the draft Instrument of Accession. Here is a direct result of the Congress attack on the States. Criticism of the financial provisions has a similar origin. Improved administration involves larger revenues; money will be required for economic development on which the well-being of the people largely depends. If federal finance cripples the resources of the States they will be unable to carry out a progressive policy. The desire of the Princes to limit federal jurisdiction to the greatest possible extent is doubtless explained by the fear that an unfriendly Government at the Centre might undermine their position.

There can be little doubt that the Congress attack on their territories and the political restlessness caused by Congress rule in British India are mainly responsible for the Princes' attitude. They have not finally closed the door on further negotiations with the British Government, and federation may still be possible. The

Princes are well aware that in the international uncertainty today the safety of India may depend on the different communities presenting a united front; without Federation that would be difficult. But Federation would lose most of its value unless it commands the assent of a substantial majority; the Princes must feel that their interests would be safeguarded; so must the Moslems. With responsible Moslems refusing adherence much of the influence of a federal Government would be lost. Renegade Moslems nominated by Congress might help Congress to obtain power; with half the Army Moslem this would be a dangerous experiment, to say nothing of the risk of handing India over to a revolutionary party.

In fact, unless the federal structure is to be firmly based, it would seem to be wiser to defer setting it up till the political situation is clearer. There should be means of reassuring both Moslems and Princes that Federation would not involve the catastrophe they anticipate. If this were achieved, and if it should prove possible to attract the support of moderate elements among the Hindus, a sound federal structure might yet be built up. Meanwhile if there is to be a long interval, might it not be possible to give the Princes a voice in settling the pressing questions of defence and economic policy?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, July 18, 1939, when a paper entitled "The Tension in the Indian States" was read by Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., M.P., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is sometimes the habit of the Chairman to introduce the lecturer. I am not going to be guilty this afternoon of attempting to introduce Sir William Barton. Sometimes it is the habit also to describe his qualifications. Once again I am not going to be guilty of that impertinence when dealing with one whose qualifications are so well known to you all.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON then read his paper.

Sir PATRICK CADELL, C.S.I., C.I.E.: I do not think I really have very much to add to what Sir William Barton has said in his very interesting paper. I think there is rather a tendency on the part of the observer—sometimes an imperfectly informed observer—to blame the Princes for refusing to come into Federation and thereby possibly wrecking it. I think that is an unfair attitude. Of course, it is true that the Princes at the outset of the Round-Table Conference did agree to the principle of Federation; it is true also that some of them, or of their ministers, were to a certain extent led down the garden path during the years of discussion that followed.

But all the Princes at all times left themselves free to decide about federating when they saw the completed picture. The great majority of them did not at all like the picture as shown in the Act of 1935. They would, however, I believe, have been prepared to accept it; but the picture now presented to them is far different. They are asked to introduce democratic institutions and to allow their representatives to the Federal Legislature to be popularly elected. Not only so, but the reforms in their States must be introduced under the ægis of the Congress Party, which expects to be as powerful in the States as it is in a majority of the Provinces of British India.

The Princes may well be allowed to wonder whether this would be in the interest, not merely of their dynasties (which may be assailed as being a selfish motive), but of their subjects. Leaving this aside, however, the introduction of an extreme democratic system into the States would entirely upset the delicate balance for a Federal India constructed in the Act of 1935. I do not refer merely to the loss of that stabilizing element which the framers of the Act believed would be supplied by the States. If voting is to be by heads, as it practically is in British India, why should the States be allowed the seats in excess of their actual population, which Sir William Barton has mentioned? And why should the bigger States which, as he has pointed out, agreed to surrender some of their seats in order that other

States might be individually represented continue to make that sacrifice? When, therefore, the Princes are accused of wrecking Federation by being unwilling to enter it, it should be remembered that the intended fabric of that Federation would be altered beyond recognition if they were to enter it on the terms of the Congress Party.

The States have agreed to introduce Reforms. But they have been faced by two difficulties. The Princes are ready, I believe, to make such changes as would meet the requirements of the greater part of their subjects. But they have not been, perhaps are not yet, quite sure how far they will be helped by the Paramount Power in defending themselves against excessive demands and pressure, and, in the case of the smaller States, how far that help would be effective. The highest authorities were naturally and rightly anxious that Federation should become an accomplished fact. There was a feeling that these authorities would be pleased if the Rulers could introduce such democratic institutions as would overcome the Congress Party's objection to Federation with States.

It is now, I think, recognized that no official pressure will be put on the Rulers to introduce reforms beyond what they believe to be sufficient, and that there is no question of the Paramount Power not adhering to the essential principles of the Treaties, on the strength of which Rulers of States in the past either abandoned opposition, or gave valuable assistance, to the Government of India.

The second doubt, however, still remains how far the Paramount Power can assist the small States, surrounded by and often interlaced with British Provinces. Not only are such Provinces liable to incursion from neighbouring districts, but the force which would be the most obvious for giving assistance, the Police of the British districts, may be under the control of a Congress Government; and, as Sir William Barton has said, every clash between Governors and Congress ministers has been avoided. Thus in the small State of Ramdurg, to which Sir William Barton has alluded, where the Ruler is an excellent man against whom nothing personal can be urged, the Government of India have been under the necessity of sending troops from a considerable distance.

I think, therefore, that the States are justified in asking for the fullest guarantees, I do not say of protection, but of non-aggression. I say they do not require protection, except in the case of the smallest, because I believe that almost any State can defend itself if it is allowed to do so. It can do so not only because of the Ruler's material resources, but because he has local patriotism and the bulk of Conservative opinion on his side. Whatever their grievances may be, I have never yet known the people of any State to desire absorption into a British Indian Province, or into another and larger State. (Applause.)

The Maharaja of Burdwan: As I am not conversant with the inner working of any of the Indian States it is rather hazardous for me to mention, or even surmise, the difficulties in the everyday administration in which some of the bigger States find themselves in relation to Federation. But I think one thing is clear from the activities of the politicians of

British India during the last few months: that not only are the Rulers of some of the big principalities perturbed as to what might happen, but even the advisers of the Rulers—that is to say, the responsible ministers or dewans—have begun to realize that a Federation on paper may be easy, but Federation in actual working might lead to many complications and difficulties.

What we in this Association, watching over the deliberations that go on in the India of today, have to focus our minds upon is this fact: that whereas it would be a great mistake on the part of the head of the Government of India to rush the Indian Princes into a Federation without considering all the pros and cons, the condition of smaller States like the Kathiawar group or the Eastern States, including Orissa, might stand on a different footing. The Rulers of these principalities cannot continue to be blind to the activities now going on in British India and evidently without restraint from the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. (Applause.) So long as these activities continue, it is difficult to visualize what may be the effect of this agitation in the Indian States.

That is why I, although a supporter of the idea of a great Federal India, cannot help offering my sympathies to the Rulers of these Indian States, and at the same time saying what many have said in the past regarding the States, *festina lente*. (Applause.)

Miss AGATHA HARRISON: In common with many of you in this room, I had the privilege of being in India during the latter part of last year and the beginning of this. I recall a remark made to me just after I landed in Bombay in connection with the agitation going on in the States. When I countered some of the things Mr. Patel was saying about the activities of the Political Department with the remark, "But we have been given the assurance in England that the Paramount Power will not obstruct Constitutional Reform in the States," he answered, "You may be told that at Westminster. There is something very different that works out in practice here." I think it was that observation that made me anxious to spend most of my time while in India in learning quietly and at first hand what was happening in the States.

In Delhi, where I had the privilege of meeting the Viceroy, officials in the Political Department, and later some of the Residents and Political Agents in the States, I realized the tremendous complexity of this problem and the great concern on the part of the people in Delhi over the States agitation, that was at its height. From there I passed, because of the natural contact I have with Indian leaders, to the homes of some of these Indian leaders—Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Nehru, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Patel, and others.

I have listened to what Sir William Barton said with very great interest, and then I think of the experience I had with these men and the tremendous concern they had. This seemed to me, not to have as its chief objective some kind of political motive, but a vast concern for the condition of their own countrymen and countrywomen in some of the States. Later on I went back to Delhi and was present when the Chamber of

Princes was in session, and knew of the grave things that the Viceroy said. I was present when the President of the Chamber of Princes replied to His Excellency. From there I was asked to go to the State Peoples' Conference at Ludhiana, where I was the only British person amongst twenty thousand people drawn from the States all over India. This Conference was presided over by the new President, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Later I went to Orissa and was there just after the tragic murder of Major Bazalgette.

May I give some impressions I gained? I just want to preface it by saying that I realized there are States where the Princes have pioneered in a different kind of administration. One of my overpowering impressions was that of the gulf that existed between the people who were handling the States situation—the Viceroy and the officials in the Political Department—on the one hand, and the leaders of this movement on the other hand. Realizing the distrust and suspicion on both sides, I was appalled.

The second thing that struck me was in connection with the many documents I was given to read. I wanted to see what lay behind the present agitation. It seemed to me to start years back, when people who were oppressed by what was happening in their day-to-day life had made a constitutional approach, almost abject in some cases, praying the Ruler to deal with the grievances. In some cases this was done, but in the majority of cases these documents showed that the people presenting them were penalized, their organization was declared illegal, and when they resisted that, you know what happened.

I saw, too, how naturally the help of people outside was requisitioned. Sometimes it was not requisitioned; it was just there. Just as in our own Trade Union movement, you look back and see how the help of men like Tawney and the Sidney Webbs was requisitioned. They, I suppose, might be called outsiders, even as Congress leaders are, but in all great movements there are people skilled in political leadership whose help is sought.

The other thing that struck me, was the common denominator that runs through all this—that is to say, the wish of the people that are parties to this conflict for good government in the States. Time and again it seemed to me such a tragedy that the Paramount Power, the Princes, the people and their leaders could not come into conference on the common denominator of providing good government for the States where it did not exist, bringing them up to the level of the good States where there has been pioneer work done.

I would like to say that one of the greatest services, I think, an Association like this could render (because it embraces in its membership men with long years of administration in the States) would be to concentrate the discussion this afternoon on what can be done about this "common denominator." The situation is so tremendously grave that nothing short of people who are parties to this conflict coming together to solve it will be any use.

Those are some of the impressions out of an experience which was one of the most memorable I have ever had in that great country. (Applause.)

Mr. H. S. L. Polak: It seems to me that there are one or two things that we might bear in mind as British people. The first thing that occurred to

me in reading Sir William Barton's most interesting paper was that he seemed to overlook the very important consideration that is borne in upon all of us here—namely, that good government is no substitute for self-government. That is what we have learnt here. It is also what we have taught in British India: and in British India we have given emphatic expression to our belief in that doctrine. It is still more important to remember that where you have bad, indifferent or mediocre government, that can be certainly no substitute for at least the beginnings of self-government.

There was one other thing that, it seemed to me, Sir William had omitted to speak of. If one travels about India one almost accidentally comes to realize that he is either in British India or in a State: there is nothing clearly to indicate that this is British India and this is State India. The people are very much the same, at any rate along the borderline, where you can trace a border. There are no natural barriers as a rule, and certainly there are no natural barriers to thought, either progressive or retrogressive. This thought travels quite easily across these invisible barriers among all kinds of people, with the obvious consequences upon opinion.

There was one other point that it seemed to me might have been referred to. As long as I can remember, Indians from the States have taken a very active part in the political life of British India. I dare say all of us who can carry our memories back will recall quite a number of distinguished personalities from what I will speak of as Indian India, who have led their active, political, social and economic lives in British India. Then, on the other hand, from British India we have sent a number of distinguished administrators, not all of whom have been in the Political Department, to serve in high office in some of the most advanced States in particular. I need not go into details about that.

So that there has for many years been a very wide interchange of thought, and it seems to me to be perfectly natural, apart altogether from any special Congress activity or inactivity, that there should be among the more progressive elements in the States a desire to be associated with the kind of thought, the kind of activity, the kind of administration, the kind of political device with which their friends and relatives and companions and acquaintances in British India have been familiar for so long.

These seem to me to be elements in this discussion that we ought constantly to bear in mind. There was just one other thing: I was wondering if we could not make some useful suggestions there.

It is quite obvious that there are a number of tiny States, fragmentary areas, which have no economic means of carrying on good administration. They are so scattered in many cases that you cannot even put them together for common purposes. Many years ago Germany—which I do not admire very much in these modern days—did deal with a somewhat similar situation. She had a number of tiny States. The princes of these fragmentary States in Germany retained their titles and some revenue, but their powers were taken from them and their States were absorbed into the German Reich. It seems to me that something of that kind might be done both as regards British India and as regards the larger and better-administered

States. It ought to be a matter of geographical and administrative accommodation. That appears to me to be at least one constructive suggestion that might be followed up. I know that the Viceroy has made a suggestion somewhat in that direction, but I do not think he has gone quite so far as that. But it may be well to consider a suggestion of that kind, as perhaps in the long run being more fruitful and more satisfactory from the point of view of efficient administration and the welfare of the people concerned.

Sir Louis Dane: I am afraid the condition of unrest to which Sir William has referred still continues in India. In today's *Times* I see that there was an incursion into the small State of Dhami, near Simla, where in happier times the Viceroys used to go to shoot pheasants. A little while ago a similar incursion occurred in the State of Jubal. In these Hill States the people are very primitive. They are most charming, but they have no idea of representative government. Democratic representative parliamentary government based on adult suffrage is the most expensive form of government that the mind of man ever conceived, and it is contrary to the spirit of India, 90 per cent. of which is in a condition economically and generally quite unsuitable for such an experiment. In both of these States I have named troops had to be sent, and people have been shot and killed. It is all very regrettable to those who remember the happier days when law and order were respected.

Mahatma Gandhi went to Rajkot avowing he was going to engage in a death fast if what he wanted was not granted. That is a thing which in the old days was known as *dharna* and would have been equivalent to committing suicide with the idea of involving the Raja in terrible religious penalties. If he had done that in British India he ought to have been imprisoned, as *dharna* is an offence in the Penal Code. I suppose the Thakor Saheb of Rajkot did not like to do this. That shows how difficult it is to govern in a State at present. However, Gandhi has realized himself that he was breaking not only the civil law but his own spiritual law by attempting in that way to apply coercion to the Ruler of Rajkot. He has since disclaimed the whole of his proceedings and admitted that he had again made a Himalayan blunder.

We have heard from Mr. Polak that self-government is better than good government. I do not agree with him, and even if he is correct, the form of self-government which is really Indian is that of a Raja or Ruler. I have found that the people in the majority of cases prefer to be governed by their Rulers, many of whom they have respected for many years.

It may not be the best government, but it is a cheap and effective government, and it suits the people of the country. For this reason I always felt that we might go a great deal further in extending the administration of the States.

The Maharaja of Benares was a Maharaja who had a salute of guns but he had no ruling powers. Maybe you remember he comes of a family that Warren Hastings had to reduce in the very early days, and as one of my great-grandfathers came to Bengal with Warren Hastings and worked

under him, I felt I ought to do something in putting forward the case in which the Maharaja claimed to be recognized as the ruling chief and placed in charge of the area known as the domain on the south bank of the Ganges. His claim was granted and I believe that that experiment has been entirely successful.

About twelve years ago, when this question of Indian reforms came up, Lord Lugard, who was the protagonist of administering the country in Nigeria, etc., through the native Rulers, suggested that this should be tried in India. I wrote to *The Times* and backed him up, and said: "If you go back into history you find that a great many areas were taken over for reasons which now do not exist at all, and in many cases I doubt whether we have any right to retain those areas." I especially referred to Berar and to parts of Mysore, Travancore and other places, and said I thought there was no reason whatever that these should not be restored to the rightful owners under suitable conditions, such as were imposed in 1880 when Mysore was restored to the Rajah after 50 years of British rule. *The Times* took it up, but they were horrified at the idea of mentioning Berar. I am afraid it did not go through, as everyone was then full of the Congress demand for parliamentary reforms. Government now, for reasons different from those I suggested, has taken steps towards restoring Berar to the Nizam and Bangalore to Mysore. If something of that kind were done (and similar principles could have been carried out in Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces and elsewhere) I believe much could have been accomplished towards establishing a system in three-fourths of India for administering the country by the families to whom the country had belonged without interfering with Indian or British trade or defence interests at all, and I hope that some day that will be the solution to the question, which seems at present in a rather hopeless state. If most of India were under the Indian States the demands of Congress for complete independence from Great Britain could not be sustained, and the administration of the country on present lines might well continue.

Mr. F. G. Pratt: I got the impression in listening to the lecturer that in his view there was very little that was good that could be said of the administration of Congress ministers in the Provinces.

My own impression, derived from various sources both private and public, including what I see in the Indian and English Press, is that even official opinion expressed in very high quarters about the Congress administration, especially in social matters, has been that they have worked in such matters as public health, agriculture and education, and generally the improvement of the condition of the people with very great enthusiasm, zeal and a considerable measure of success. (Applause.)

Sir William Barton: There is not very much to say. I am sure we all admire the sincerity and courage of Miss Agatha Harrison, but I think she rather missed my point, that Congress did not go the right way to work about their interference in the States. Why, for example, did they attack a State like Mysore, which is practically self-governing? (Applause.) Why

did they attack Baroda? Why did they send 50,000 men to Hyderabad? Is that the right way of going to work?

As regards what Mr. Polak says, he could hardly expect me to dilate on the benefits of democracy as opposed to good administration. That really does not come into the scope of my lecture. What I did try to make clear was that Congress had made a mistake in showing that democracy is not what they are really out for. They were out in the States to get support for themselves in a Federal Government. That seems to have been the motive.

As regards the question of the smaller States, I believe there is a move in the direction of bringing them together and of insisting that their government must be reasonably decent. At the same time it is a fact that these smaller States are supervised by political agents, and I am sure that the reports of misrule in them have been grossly exaggerated.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel a certain temerity in intervening in this discussion now, and I only do so because for nearly forty years I was in very close contact with the Indian rulers of the day as well as the politicians and administrators of British India.

When I survey the conditions of the Indian States, my conclusion is substantially that of Sir Patrick Cadell. Whatever we may achieve in our own form of administration, it is not always conducive to our pride as Englishmen, that on the whole I think the people are happier than they are in the British Provinces. It startled me once or twice to find in quite casual contributions from travellers that they noticed, as soon as they crossed the borderline from British India to the Indian States, a rather more cheerful atmosphere than in our own ordered, progressive, if rather grey administration.

Nobody can contemplate the Indian State system, with its roots deep down for thousands of years in the historic past of the country, racy of the soil, without appreciating the value of their position. But it seems to me—and I used to put this to friends among the Princes long before the war—there is one weakness; it is that the welfare of the States and the happiness and prosperity of the people are almost entirely centred upon the personality of the Ruler of the day.

There is no better form of administration than a benevolent autocracy. The trouble is to guarantee that the autocrat shall be benevolent. So I used to say to my friends amongst the Princes, "Cannot you evolve *sui generis* and from your own history, your own knowledge, some grafting on to the hereditary principle of a form of administration which will secure a greater continuity in the form of administration which you desire and for which you have laboured?"

I do not think we can say that the response has been very marked. Sir William Barton referred to an episode which perhaps is not well known to many of you when he said that "many of the Princes and Chiefs must regret today that they did not follow up the self-denying ordinance passed some ten years ago in the Princes' Chamber, pledging them to introduce a fixed civil list, an impartial judiciary, a permanent civil service." I happened to be coming from Northern India after that Conference was held.

Amongst my fellow-passengers was a minister who had taken part in it, and he said to me, "We have got everything we want." I rather doubt if he would say that today. I think it is more than ten years since that happened.

I do not think any intelligent person surveying India can doubt for one moment that the Federal system is the only practicable solution of the Indian problem and which can secure unity and progress in that land. That doctrine was put forward with convincing clarity in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report; then everyone forgot about it, until some thirteen or fourteen years later it was disinterred as a new idea. If, however, you have the courage to look back on one of the best books ever written on India, you will find it there set forth that the Federal system is the only possible solution for so great and varied a land, and that a unitary Central Government is bound to crack from the weight of its own imponderability.

I must confess I was more moved than at any time in my connection with India when in the first session of the Round-Table Conference Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru invited the Princes to join a Federation, and the Maharaja of Bikaner, speaking with the full authority of his fellow Princes and of the late Maharaja of Baroda, accepted the idea in principle, because it seemed to me that we had taken a step forward towards the goal which would crystallize all the hopes and ambitions of those who had lived and worked in India and learnt to love that land. We have staggered on year after year since 1935. We do not seem to be much nearer the goal today, and though I have read almost everything that has been said and published on the question of the difficulties in carrying through the Federal idea, I am at a loss to understand where the legal barrier to that Federation exists.

Sir William, you have told us it is due to the inadequacy of the safeguards. If there is one word I have learnt to hate and abominate it is the word "safeguards." I think history teaches us this: the more the safeguards, the less the safety, and that it is far better to pin your security on a few broad general principles than it is to set up a multitude of irritating, futile, entirely useless restrictions which cause a maximum of dissatisfaction and give a minimum of protection.

But there it is: we have been told that the Instrument of Accession is profoundly unsatisfactory, and there we must rest until some further progress is made.

There is one point I would put with all earnestness to those here and in India who are advising the Indian Princes to reject this form of Federation; it is to consider the alternative. We may put up a wall about the State which may prevent physical incursions; we cannot put up a wall which will prevent the incursion of the idea. Ideas are almost more dynamic today than any other force we can think of. I think perhaps in the months or years before us, those who are advising the Indian Princes will give them the advice given to me many years ago when the future of India was being considered. It was this: "Remember always that the forces in the human race are not static; they are dynamic. And against dynamic forces written restrictions will not avail."

There is one other point I would like to raise. I thought, Sir William, you

were unduly severe on the new form of government in the Provinces. I was glad Mr. Pratt raised the point, because it coincides with my own experience and thoughts. There are difficulties in the Provinces. Mistakes are being made, and mistakes will be made. I am not certain that mistakes are not sometimes made in our own country here where we have centuries of experience behind us. I always remember what a very wise man used to say to me, a name known to you all, that of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar: "In India you will only learn by experience; you will not learn by preaching." From that experience we hope will evolve a still more successful form of government in the Provinces.

On the day I was reading your paper, Sir William, I came across a cutting from a newspaper in India, which is not likely to be biassed. It deals with one Provincial Government and said: "Hitherto the Bombay Government's record has been an admirable one. All the ministers, both individually and collectively, have displayed the most praiseworthy zeal in tackling measures for the public good." I think that might be said equally of another Province. There is one Province where the difficulties are great and growing. There the difficulties have their roots deep down in an agrarian system which cannot be defended and which has boiled up into something which may be unmanageable.

I am afraid, Sir Louis, I cannot agree with you that there is the slightest hope of any stable system being built up by the expansion of State rule over British Provinces. When you invested the Maharaja of Benares with ruling powers you excluded the great city of Benares from his Dominions, and for a very good reason.

We have to deal with the fact that India is surging with new ideas. We have to deal with the fact that there is an immense work to be done in India in every direction, and I may express my own conviction that the work could not be done by the old form of government even if it were manned by archangels, because the essential principle of that government was its neutrality in religious and social matters. The work before us needs to be done by people armed with the force of popular opinion—democratic force, which enables them to go to the heart of these problems—social, agrarian and religious—which no government not based on the democratic principle could possibly carry through.

As to the future, who can look to the future in any part of the world? Who can see this country six months ahead, or any country in Europe? We have to take our courage in both hands and, placing our foot in the stirrup of opportunity and our hands on the reins of confidence in God, face the future with serenity, enterprise and courage.

Sir James MacKenna: I have the pleasant and non-controversial duty of proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and Chairman.

Those who know the lecturer's distinguished past and have read his fascinating books on *The Princes of India* and *The North-West Frontier* expected an informative and thoughtful lecture, and we have not been disappointed.

As for the Chairman, there was no one during my long service in India

who did so much to form non-official opinion on the great political problems of the Indian Empire as the famous Editor of the *Times of India*. He has left Bombay for Westminster, and I understand he escaped from the House of Commons this afternoon after a tap from the Conservative Whip. I suggest that, as some solace for this chastisement, we accord him a very hearty vote of thanks. (Cheers.)

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Sir Thomas and Lady Smith gave a Garden Party to members of the Association on Saturday, July 8, at Oatlands Park Hotel, Weybridge, to meet the Governors-designate of Madras and Bihar. Captain the Hon. Sir Arthur Hope was accompanied by his eldest daughter, Miss Bridget Hope, the Hon. Lady Hope being kept away by the recent death of her father. Sir Thomas Stewart was accompanied by his wife and daughter. Lieut.-Col. Sir John Herbert, Governor-designate of Bengal, was unable to attend because of military duty in Wales.

The weather was too stormy to admit of being long out of doors, but the rain cleared off sufficiently for a number of the guests to explore the famous grounds of the old palace. It was at various times the home of the Tudor monarchs from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth, of the consorts of James I. and Charles II., and of Charles I., whose son Henry Duke of Gloucester was born at Oatlands in 1640. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the scene of many brilliant and royal functions. The grotto was designed by the Duke of Newcastle and was constructed in 1747 by the first Earl of Lincoln at a cost of over £40,000. Shortly after the purchase of the house by H.R.H. the Duke of York in 1788 it was burnt down. He erected a new building in 1809, much of which remains and forms part of the present hotel. After the death of the Duke of York in 1827 the property was sold, and in 1856 it was converted into a hotel.

Fortunately the hotel is provided with a magnificent ballroom, which amply housed the whole party, and old friends from all parts of India were gathered in animated groups at the several tea-tables. It was a very enjoyable function, and Lord Lamington (who had come from Scotland to be present) was heartily applauded when, on behalf of the Association, of which he is president, he cordially thanked Sir Thomas and Lady Smith for their most generous hospitality.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, one of the senior Vice-Presidents of the Association, has been on a visit to England this summer, and he kindly arranged for a reception of the members at Grosvenor House on July 26 to meet the Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, who was accompanied by the Marchioness of Zetland and the Earl and Countess of Ronaldshay.

The Maharaja was assisted in receiving the guests by his daughter, Maharajkumari Sudha Rani, and his younger son. In addition to Lord Zetland, the company included two other ex-Governors of Bengal—

Sir John Anderson, M.P., and the Hon. Sir Stanley Jackson, who was accompanied by the Hon. Lady Jackson. The Marquess of Willingdon and the Marchioness of Willingdon and the Nepalese Minister were in the company of some 360 guests. After some time of social intercourse—

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said: Thanks to the industry and forethought of our energetic Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, we are able to foregather in the way that we have done today, and I have had the good fortune to be your host.

A convention has grown up at these gatherings by which the host says a few words about his chief guest. This evening my chief guest happens to be Lord Zetland, who was once as Governor of Bengal my chief, and who has been a very valued and esteemed friend for over a quarter of a century now. Round this table and the next, as Sir Stanley has moved down, you have three ex-Governors of Bengal, two of them having worked under the old Constitution, and Sir John Anderson having had to introduce the new Constitution in Bengal on April 1, 1937.

I am not going to make tonight any reference to the Constitution or its working. The only mention that I propose to make is that in the new order of things, Governors, Governors-General and Secretaries of State for India now have a position very different to what it was in the olden days. Although Lord Zetland may not be able to come forward as often as he might have done in the past to defend the actions of the administrators in India, and although he is really here holding a watching brief on Indian matters for the Imperial Parliament, his association with India will long be remembered—and not only for his brilliant Governorship in Bengal. Although a Yorkshireman, Calcutta Scots love to remember their "Ronnie." They and we all know that he has in his own heart the spirit of "The Heart of Aryavarta." Aryavarta claims him with affection for his interest in India's spiritual life and spiritual thoughts.

I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that today in welcoming him, I am welcoming more the Lord Zetland who has been such a good friend to me for so many years rather than the Secretary of State for India, though it is a great honour and privilege that on this occasion I am able to combine the pleasure of entertaining the Secretary of State for India and Lord Zetland in one and the same person. Although no one perhaps has held the post of Governor of Bengal with that dignity which he did and which is so necessary in a post which was at one time associated with that of the Governor-General of India, he has a charm which must be known to his present advisers in the India Council. He is regular in attendance, he inspires confidence among his colleagues, and he is hard-working himself.

I shall never forget also his charm when bidding good-bye to me at the Howrah Station, when I nearly missed saying my final good-bye, thanks to the restrictions put up by my friend Sir Charles Tegart at the time. His last words were, "Burdwan, it is no longer 'Lord Ronaldshay,' but 'Ronaldshay' and 'Burdwan' as of old."

Ladies and gentlemen, on your behalf and on behalf of my family I wish not only to offer him a great welcome this evening, but to wish Lord and Lady Zetland—and I am glad to find here Lord and Lady Ronaldshay, too —all happiness, and to Lord Zetland not only a continued time of great and good work at the India Office, but I trust his continued interest in India and its philosophies, and success in his great work in Great Britain as President of the National Trust. (Applause.)

The Marquess of Zetland: Maharaja and Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure that you will wish that I should convey to our generous host this evening your gratitude to him, both for his hospitality and for the opportunity which he has given to so many of us to meet as old friends and to talk over together old and happy times. I am sure that many of you—perhaps all of you—must feel something of the embarrassment which I feel in being guests instead of hosts this afternoon. For consider the circumstances. With the proverbial hospitality of the East, here is the first nobleman in Bengal entertaining us, English people for the most part, in our own city. But perhaps that is not so anomalous in his case as it might be in the case of other distinguished visitors from overseas, for after all Burdwan is so much one of ourselves. (Applause.) He has lived here so much. He and I are members of the same London Club, a very good Club, the Carlton Club, whose members entertain sound views on all public and political questions. (Laughter.)

The Maharaja has referred to some of the changes which have taken place in the government of his country in recent times. I suppose that it would be true to say that during his lifetime he has seen greater changes and changes of greater significance in the form of government in his country than have ever been witnessed before within the span of a single generation.

And not only has he witnessed these changes, but he has played a constant and a most distinguished part in them. He has referred to the time when he was a member of the Government of which I was then the head. I had known him as a friend for some years before that, but I had not until then had the same opportunity of observing at first hand his sterling qualities and characteristics as was given to me in my then position. He always acted with great courage. His position was not always an easy one; but in no single case was private interest allowed to weigh with him against the public good. (Applause.)

He is continuing his services to the State, and is a member of a Commission enquiring into that knotty problem in Bengal, the question of land tenancy and the permanent settlement. I overheard him asking the Chairman of that Commission, Sir Francis Floud, to give him a good chit as a good worker. I am quite certain that Sir Francis Floud will be in a position to do so.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, our host this evening is a man who has the respect and admiration of his own countrymen in India. You have made it clear, I think, this evening that he has something which, I venture to think, he will value as much, if not more, and that is the constant regard

and the affection of the host of his friends in this country. (Applause.) On your behalf, as on my own, and on behalf of Lady Zetland and the other members of my family who are privileged to be present here this afternoon, I offer him our cordial thanks and our best wishes for the future. (Applause.)

A RICE CIVILIZATION IN TURMOIL: THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO JAPAN'S GREAT FORAY*

By R. T. Barrett
(Former Editor of the *Hong-Kong Daily Press*)

Just as British economic historians see England's turmoils of the Tudor era in terms of the demands of sheep farmers and cloth weavers, rather than the idiosyncrasies of Henry VIII., so the actions of modern Japan can be interpreted as a gigantic but reluctant movement towards a change from a rice to a corn diet.

When, after a seclusion of two and a half centuries, Japan was roused by the thunder of British and American naval guns, enterprising members of her nobility paid long and conscientious visits to the lands which had produced such formidable engines of war. They found that their country had been left equally far behind in peaceful activities and that all Asia was in the shadows. Approaching the problem of this eclipse with detached humility, they sought for an explanation and remedy. As late as 1883 Yoshio Takahashi writes in *The Improvement of the Japanese Race*: "Having accepted the hypothesis that the physical and mental constitution of our Japanese is inferior to that of European peoples . . . what can we do? The only solution is to improve the quality by means of intermarriage with the Caucasian race. . . . When we marry European women there is the additional benefit in the custom of following a meat diet." Herbert Spencer, on the suggestion of Hirobumi Ito, the Prime Minister, was consulted on this matter of intermarriage, and shrewdly warned them that it "tended to destroy racial characteristics which are the result of century-long adjustment to environment."

His advice was accepted, but the question of diet continued to exercise the minds of long-sighted Japanese, who saw that the great nations of Europe, since the beginnings of her civilization had been growers of corn and eaters of meat. Japan's elaborate civilization had developed on different lines, and fundamentally the country's economic order, its political constitution, its culture, and all that created national individuality could be traced back to the rice-fields. The feudal structure, with the *daimyo* at the head, and the samurai as their warrior administrators under them, rested upon the labours of the tenant farmers, who raised rice and vegetables on their little two-acre farms, and paid

* *The Thirty-Eighth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, 1938. Printed in Japan by the Government Printing Office.

tribute in rice for the protection and organization given them by the upper classes. The craftsmen and merchants of the towns looked to the rice growers for business as well as sustenance.

The use of rice had social significances. To mix millet and barley with rice was an expedient of the lower orders. In the higher grades of society a proportionately increasing variety of vegetables, fish, eggs, and meat was served with the staple dish. Rice was more to a Japanese than beef to a Briton or macaroni to an Italian. The rice-field is to the Japanese landscape what the small meadow with deep hedgerows is to England. To abandon rice would be to forgo being Japanese, and not until recently has the matter been more than one of academic interest.

Victories over China in 1894 and Russia in 1904 had, in fact, strongly suggested that there was not, after all, much the matter with either the Japanese people or their diet. Both these wars had a profound effect. The failure of China, by land and by sea, convinced the conservative elements in Japan that Western innovations had been justified and that by copying Europe (as she had formerly copied China) Japan would achieve greatness. As Sir Robert Hart pointed out: "Japan wants to lead the East in war, commerce, and manufactures, and the next century will be a hard one for the West."

Russia's defeat had an even more profound effect. At sea Japan with six battleships had annihilated the Russian fleet of sixteen battleships, while on land, if victory had not been easily come by it had in the end been complete. No more was heard of "physical and mental inferiority." On the contrary, given equal equipment the Japanese had proved the better men, and the legend of "white superiority" was dispelled.

Japan next set out to conquer the industrial field. Buying new machinery and having abundant supplies of cheap labour to work it, her success was immediate. Then came the opportunity opened by the Great War when European nations left their markets in order to destroy each other. Japan's industries were as unnaturally forced as those of England had been a century earlier by the Napoleonic wars. Demand for war materials as well as the normal supplies of peace led to the rapid growth of factories where wages were low, hours unduly long, and far too many women and children employed because they were cheap and docile.

In 1915 the Director of the Bureau of Statistics warned the Japanese Government and people of the increasing incidence of tuberculosis. The high death-rates from diarrhœa, diseases of the stomach and intestines, beri-beri, and congenital debility suggested an undernourished nation.

Ten years later Dr. Nitobe repeated the warnings of under-

nourishment, and in 1926 Dr. Egerton C. Grey, of the League of Nations, after investigating the nature of Japan's diet reported very unfavourably, insisting that the polished rice eaten in Japan had a low nutritive value, being deficient in protein values. On the other hand, to recommend the use of unpolished rice would be as successful as to urge giving up white bread in England. He suggested the greater use of barley, beans, and potato. He deprecated the feeding of infants, after weaning, with thick rice-water, and also recommended the reduction of import duties on beans, meat, eggs, and milk. He pointed out that fish, while a valuable addition to a rice diet, could not be made available to inland and country districts owing to lack of transport facilities.

In so conservative a country as Japan not even the hard fact of physical deterioration, as shown in vital statistics, seems able to convey the lesson that rice cannot support life in towns under the strain of European standards of efficiency. Rice, as China and Japan have shown over the centuries, can support a hardy peasantry. The defect of rice is that to give sufficient nourishment it must be eaten in bulk, so great a bulk that the demand of the digestive organs upon the blood-stream leaves the brain undersupplied. In country districts, where life proceeds placidly, and farming is in accordance with a system long perfected, mental activity is unnecessary. Rice promotes contentment, lack of imagination, suspicion of change, and the fixed belief that the highest possible attainment of humanity has been reached in a Chinese or Japanese village. Government in China and Japan, for immemorial ages, has been by autocracies, whose diet has been by no means restricted to rice, and whose mental calibre has been far greater than that of the common people. The attainments of the hereditary class of samurai can with no unfairness be attributed to better and more concentrated forms of food than came the way of the lower orders.

When a townsman in Japan today tries to live on the diet that supports his kinsman in the country in vigorous health he finds that too great a strain is being put upon his body. Digestive organs and brain have to compete against each other for the nourishment needed to sustain skilled and high-pressure work. If both brain and muscles get enough the stomach and intestines are overworked and soon revolt. The only remedy is to abandon rice for meat and corn.

That interesting official production, the *Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1938*, nowhere suggests either in its elaborate tables or in the accompanying comments that any attempt is being made to solve this dietary problem involving in no small degree national health and efficiency. A war-time publication of this kind must of necessity bolster up the economic

structure, and allowance for this must be made when certain inconsistencies and omissions become obvious under examination.

The "Annual" accepts the common estimate that only about one-fifth of Japan proper can be cultivated, and no serious attempt is being made to increase the productive area. Experts from New Zealand have declared that the mountain slopes of Japan, now covered with forests that lend so strange and mysterious a beauty to the countryside, could be turned into pastures. The suggestion finds no acceptance, and there is evidently a conflict between utilitarian and æsthetic considerations. Behind well-rationalized statements as to why the trees are not cleared is an instinctive love and awe of the forests, mingled with mystic belief in the old legend that the Islands of Japan were begotten by the gods, and their beauty is sacrosanct and must be placed above all mundane considerations.

While the towns grow in size the countryside remains essentially the same, primitive and remote. In ten years, from 1928 to 1937 (inclusive), the area under wheat and barley has only risen from 1,393,000 hectares to 1,474,000 hectares, and the yield has increased from 38 to 41 millions of hectolitres. Rice production has been equally stationary, the area over these ten years having increased from 3,165,000 hectares to 3,190,000 hectares, and the yields for these two years were 108 and 119 million hectares. Baron Ishii, in his *Population Pressure and Economic Life of Japan*, accepts the consumption estimate of two hectolitres per head per annum. With a population of 74 millions in 1937 the rice requirement of 148 million hectolitres left 39 million hectolitres to be imported, nearly all of it from Formosa and Korea.

The following figures from the *Economic Journal* suggest that food production in Japan is not even sufficient for the increasing population, and there is no sign of either change or increase, on a large scale, in any direction.

The figures for the principal crops for the two years in question were as follows:

	1928.		1937.	
	1,000 *Hectares.*	*Million Hectolitres.*	1,000 *Hectares.*	*Million Hectolitres.*
Rice	3,165	108	3,190	119
Wheat	485	11·5	718	18
Barley	907	26	752	23
Soya bean ...	376	5·8	326	4·7
Millet	189	3·4	132	3
Sweet potato ...	270	3·2	282	3·7
Potato	96	0·9	152	1·7

If these figures, and the statistics of the animal population, are to be accepted, Japan remains a rice-eating country, and in ten years of intensive industrialization, and great advance in national

wealth, there has been no move towards a diet more in conformity with the needs of a population supporting the strain of modern industrial and commercial life. There has been a small increase in the production of wheat, but when it is remembered that Japan has built up a very fair poultry industry it is no unfair assumption that the birds and not humans have eaten the extra corn.

It is difficult to see how the *Economic Annual* can be any guide as to how Japan is feeding herself and what she is importing from abroad. In point of fact, up till the outbreak of the war with China both diet and social habits in towns were changing in order to conform to conditions utterly different from those of the old, rural economy of the country, but a true statement of what is being bought, and has in recent years been bought, from abroad is obviously inconvenient at the present time.

The animal statistics are the most curious of all. They are no credit to Japan, and their significance has obviously escaped the compilers of the *Annual*.

Agricultural overcrowding and a low standard of life are reflected in the figures for the animal population of Japan. They are as follow:

	1928.		1936.	
	Animals.	*Animals Slaughtered.*	*Animals.*	*Animals Slaughtered.*
	(000 omitted)		(000 omitted.)	
Cattle ...	1,474	306	1,770	334
Horses ...	1,494	70	1,431	95
Sheep ...	18	12	60	68
Goats ...	195		292	
Pigs ...	677	561	1,109	1,262

Some comparative figures are as follow:

	China.	*Germany.*	*Australia.*	*U.K.*
		(000 omitted)		
Cattle ...	33,000	20,000	14,000	8,000
Sheep ...	43,000		112,000	25,000
Pigs ...	63,000	20,000		4,000

When it is recalled that a large proportion of Argentine's 40 million cattle and 59 million sheep and of the huge herds of South Africa, New Zealand and Canada are shipped to England, the infinitesimal amount of meat eaten in Japan can be envisaged. Nor in ten years has there been any notable increase, except in the number of pigs. No figures for meat imports are given, and, curiously, the *Financial and Economic Annual* says not a word about Japan's one substantial animal industry—namely, poultry—where she ranks tenth among the nations, with 51 million head compared with 247 millions in China, and 60 million in the United Kingdom. As to horses, China is reputed to have 4 million, with 15 million asses and mules.

Japan's record as a food importer, according to the *Financial and Economic Annual*, shows a value fall from 334 million yen in 1925 to 97 million yen in 1932. Thanks to a great increase in soya-bean purchase, the 1937 figures are up to just short of 126 million yen. The cuts in all directions, except soya bean, are remarkable, so remarkable that one can only hope that food in Japan is rather better cooked than figures. A curious footnote to these tables states, "yen=2s.," which in view of the 1933 devaluation to 1s. 2d. adds to the confusion.

The import figures, in millions of yen, were as follow:

	1924.	1925.	1927.	1930.	1932.	1937.
Rice	70	120	78	19	12	4
Wheat	73	70	53	41	49	29
Soya	45	53	41	36	31	74
Sugar	63	75	75	25	3	18
Eggs	15	10	10	0	0·043	0
Milk (condensed) ...	5·7	4	3·7	3	1·9	0·8
	271·7	334	260·7	124	96·943	125·8

There is no evidence in these figures of any attempt at an agricultural reformation in Japan such as accompanied the industrial revolution in England and maintained a balance between town and countryside. Japan has added to her feudal aristocracy a wealth aristocracy. In place of the semi-independent clans have sprung up the industrial clans of Mitsui, Mitsuibishi, Sumitomo, Yasuda, and their like. These have ruled Japan much as the Whig Houses ruled Walpole's England, by putting the political parties in their pockets. Their weakness has been their indifference to the countryside, which they regarded mainly as a source of cheap female labour, cheap food and rents that could be usefully invested in new enterprises. Rural rents in Japan are high, Viscount Ishii putting them seven times above the British figure for farming land and between three and four times the Continental figure. The Diet has, however, done little to help the farmer except to control the price of rice at a fair level and to trust to the improvements in communications to lower costs and promote rural enterprise.

Having nothing to hope either from the politicians of the Diet or from the *Zaibutsu* (Wealth Cliques) who controlled them, the peasants accepted the championship of the Army. The higher Army officers were drawn from the landed gentry and their men from the peasants, so they had a common interest in opposing the plutocratic Government. But the Army leaders naturally favoured neither drastic reduction in rents, nor a wide alteration in Japan's rural economy, which they identified with the maintenance of "the old-time virtues." The Army's solution to the

problems of economic distress, over-population (especially on the farms) and the need for a different dietary in the towns was imperialistic adventures. In this there was also the personal consideration. Unless the Army could add new and valuable possessions to the Empire the *Zaibutsu* would be clamouring for a reduction of estimates.

Taking advantage of the national indignation that swept the country when the Government accepted the naval limitations of the Treaty of London in 1930, the Army and Navy seized power by the simple method of terrorisation. The Minseito Premier, Mr. Hamaguchi, was assassinated in 1930, and General Araki, the most aggressive of the "Army ideologists," was installed at the War Office. In 1931 the Kwangtung Army launched the conquest of Manchuria.

Manchuria was to be "The Canada of Japan." With an area of 363,000 square miles, compared with the 150,000 of Japan and 248,000 of the whole Japanese Empire, it was to be the cattle ranch and corn-field, the forest and the source of the minerals which Japan needed. When properly surveyed oil, gold and inexhaustible riches would be found. Most important of all, Japanese farmers were to be settled in Manchuria, starting with a few thousands annually and rising till in a few years Japan would be sending a million emigrants annually, or her whole surplus population, to this wonder country.

So far the scheme has been a fiasco. Enormous outlay has been necessary to start iron mines and coal-fields of low-grade quality; but, more serious still, the Japanese are refusing to emigrate to Manchuria. They cannot compete, as labourers and farmers, with the Chinese, who live on a lower standard of life; they dislike the arctic winters, and they cannot forsake their traditional agriculture, at word of command, for corn-fields and ranches of the kind which the Army leaders envisaged.

Foiled in Manchuria, the Army turned its attention to China. If they could conquer Manchuria they could conquer China, and with puppet governments installed in every province Japanese development companies would take charge of utilities and communications, mines, and plantations for the benefit of both peoples. Permanent peace in East Asia and the new order in East Asia would become accomplished facts. All China would be a submissive Korea. As Prince Konoe eloquently put it: "What Japan sincerely desires is not the destruction of China, but the rise and prosperity of China; not the conquest of China, but co-operation with China. It is deplorable that the realization of this ideal has been thwarted by the mistaken policy of the Kuomintang Government."

Unfortunately for themselves the militarists have been unable

to reduce China as they reduced Manchuria. Economically and politically their failure is absolute. The China "incident" has proved a dead loss, and their puppet governments represent nothing but the men who put them in office. On the other hand, in the Yangtze Valley, from Shanghai to Hankow, there has been enormous devastation of a highly fertile land, whose lawful owners have fled westward in millions. The Japanese Army, like an iron bar, is thrusting into the centre of China, and so far the guerillas have not broken that 600 miles of communications. It is there, in the Yangtze Valley, by the fortuitous development of the campaign, rather than by deliberate planning, the Japanese Army leaders will seek the solution of the problem of land, in the right sort of climate, for their surplus population. In the middle of 1938 there were murmurs of a scheme "to settle a million Japanese farmers in the Lower Yangtze Valley," to grow rice for the troops. Nothing much has been said since, but the land is either deserted or in the hands of helpless and unarmed people who can expect no quarter and no consideration. It is waiting for forcible settlement.

Europeans in Shanghai and Nanking have from the first months of the war asked why the Japanese Army has fought this campaign with a severity to the civilian population that has been shown neither in the north nor at Canton. When Hankow fell the Japanese press had a complete inventory of the wealth of this plain, in the very centre of China, where the Han River flows into the Yangtze. Every acre of wheat and rice, every head of stock, every ton of metal underground seemed to have been marked by the Japanese, and a great shout went up: "Now it is ours; all ours! Let us go in and possess the land!"

Students of Japanese psychology will understand how the image of the Japanese Bar, in the Yangtze Valley, would grow upon the evil imaginations of the old warriors who have launched this pitiless conquest. Their dream is of Japanese infiltration and of the Japonification of the whole land, to the north and the south. The Army holds the other railways, thrusting hundreds of miles into China, and thus their argument runs: "Down the iron roads Japan has entered. Because she holds the communications along which trade must flow the Chinese will slowly submit. In the north and south Japanese soldiers will govern, and Japanese experts will administer. We shall have an Empire—like the British Empire in India. But the Yangtze Valley. There is the land which our peasants need; fertile and in a climate like Japan's. There they can be set to produce not rice, but corn and cattle. Thus Japan will get the European food upon which the health and efficiency of an industrialized population depends, but the rice-fields and the forests of Divine Japan—dearer to her people

and her gods than downs and hedgerows to the English—will be preserved."

The scale of the Far Eastern catastrophe and the causes at the root of it are only dimly realized in Europe. This swarming of the Japanese people on to the mainland has a biological drive behind it. They must have land! Instinctively they are isolationists. They want to spread into China; to find the land they need, and to absorb the Chinese into their national system. They want to shut out Europe and to return to the old self-sufficing ways, with no foreign eyes to pry on them and judge them. In all history there has been no national migration of this immensity. By comparison the overflowing of Europeans into Africa and the Americas was a movement of small tribes. The devastations of Ghenghis and Tamerlane, in their ruthlessness and their sterility are comparable. The war between China and Japan has raged intermittently since 1895. It has its origins in the descents of Japanese pirates upon the China coast. Now it has become a gigantic foray for food. No end is in sight, even if a truce be arranged tomorrow, and there will be no end until Japan has either found another source of supply for her needs or has sunk back into the obscurity of the pre-Meiji age.

BRUNEI

By G. E. Cator

The Sultanate of Brunei has been in the news recently with a generous offer of $100,000 (£12,000) free of conditions as a voluntary contribution towards the cost of Imperial Defence.

Brunei is a Muhammadan State in the island of Borneo: the name Borneo is in fact only the Portuguese rendering of Brunei.

For a time it was a powerful and extensive empire, but its influence steadily decreased until, after many vicissitudes, the Sultan asked for British protection and the Residential system was introduced in 1906.

That decision undoubtedly saved the ancient Sultanate from complete disappearance by absorption into Sarawak, which was then ruled by that great man and great gentleman the late Sir Charles Brooke.

At the time it seemed doubtful whether economically absorption would not be the truest kindness: but His Majesty's Government lent a sympathetic ear to the desperate appeals of the Sultan and his Chiefs to save the ancient State from complete obliteration and the decision has been justified by results.

The present gift is evidence not only of Brunei's deep and real gratitude to Great Britain, but of the immensely improved conditions of the State finances due largely to the discovery of oil in the territory.

The story of the decline and fall of Brunei is told briefly in the Official Record, which forms a prelude to the Annual Report of the British Resident, and is worth quoting:

"Brunei has no prehistory, and the meagre written records do not begin until Muhammadanism established the Arabic script in the fifteenth century. For records of the pre-Muhammadan era we have to turn to Hindu and Chinese chroniclers. Chinese annals of the sixth and seventh centuries contain references to a kingdom known as Poli or Puni which sent tribute to the Emperors of China in A.D. 518, 523 and 616. Similar references to a State of that name 45 days' sail from Java occur in the annals of the Sung dynasty which ruled over Southern China from about A.D. 960 to 1280, and there are strong grounds for identifying it with Brunei, though the authorities are not unanimous on this point. With the decline of the Sung dynasty Brunei transferred its allegiance to Hindu Majapahit in Java, then back again to China, and, finally, at the end of the fourteenth century, paid tribute to Muhammadan Malacca. With the coming of the Ming emperors the ties with vassal States were strengthened, and tribute was sent to China several times between 1405 and 1425. Thereafter there is no record.

"Brunei must soon have thrown off all allegiance, for by the early years of the sixteenth century it had risen to great power, and one of its rulers,

Sultan Bulkiah, or Nakhoda Ragam (the Singing Captain), a renowned sea rover, made conquests in Borneo and Sulu, and even seized Manilla. This was the golden age of Brunei. Her sovereignty extended over the whole of Borneo, Sulu, and the islands of Balabac and Palawan, and the Sultanates of Sulu and of Sambas, Pontianak, Banjermasin, Pasir Kotei and Balungan in Borneo were her vassals.

"The first European account of Brunei is that of Pigafetta, Magellan's historian who sailed with him on his famous voyage round the world. Pigafetta visited Brunei in 1521 and was greatly impressed by the splendour of the Court and the size of the town, the population of which he estimated at 25,000 families. Further visits were paid by the Portuguese in 1526 and 1530, and a trading factory and Catholic mission were established at the beginning of the next century. Spain, too, having taken possession of the Philippines, evinced an active interest in Brunei affairs and twice attacked the capital, while the English and Dutch in turn also made their appearance.

"Towards the end of the sixteenth century the power of Brunei began to decline and the outlying territories gradually fell away. The Dutch, having established trading stations on the south-west, south and east of Borneo, rapidly extended their influence over the semi-independent but nominally vassal Sultanates, thus beginning the movement which led to the ultimate consolidation of Dutch Borneo, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the kingdom of Brunei had dwindled so as to include only what is now Sarawak and part of British North Borneo.

"At this period the town itself seems to have degenerated to the condition of a slave market for the sale of captives of the Illanun and Sulu pirates. Anarchy was rife in the outlying districts, and in 1841 Sarawak proper was ceded to Mr. (later Sir James) Brooke in return for his services in quelling an insurrection at Kuching, and he was declared Rajah of Sarawak. In 1846 the island of Labuan was ceded to Great Britain as a base for anti-piracy measures, and in 1877 the whole of the northern portion of Borneo was ceded to form the nucleus of what was to become British North Borneo. At various later dates further cessions were made to the Rajah of Sarawak and to the British North Borneo Company till the territories of the State were eventually reduced to their present circumscribed limits.

"In 1847 the Sultan entered into a Treaty with Great Britain for the furtherance of commercial relations and the mutual suppression of piracy. An additional clause provided for extraterritorial jurisdiction over British subjects in Brunei, which provision was modified by an Agreement of 1856. By a further Treaty made in 1888 Brunei was placed under the protection of Great Britain, and the Sultan agreed that the foreign relations of the State should be conducted by Her Majesty's Government. Provision was also made for the setting up of Consular Courts with jurisdiction over British subjects and foreign subjects enjoying British protection. In 1906 a supplementary Agreement was entered into whereby the Sultan undertook to accept a British officer to be styled Resident, who should be the agent and representative of the British Government under the High Commissioner."

The writer served as British Resident in Brunei many years ago when the gift which the State can now offer out of its surplus balances would have represented eighteen months' revenue.

The State was heavily in debt, and prosperity was well below the horizon.

Many were the shifts to which we were put to keep expenditure within income; and the state of the Exchequer at the end of each

month was for the best of reasons a matter of intimate concern to every Government servant.

Some of the devices had a distinctly humorous side, as on the occasion when His Excellency the High Commissioner paid a visit at a moment when funds were particularly tight.

Greatly as we appreciated the honour, we felt it would be a sinful waste of money to spend it on repairing the jetty at which His Excellency would arrive when a capital flight of steps was available elsewhere and was not at the moment required for its legitimate purpose.

So steps were borrowed from the gallows, and up these, discreetly veiled in red bunting, His Excellency made his official entry blissfully unconscious of the Sydney Carton-like effect of his arrival.

But we were indebted to the gaol for more than the loan of the steps, for a large proportion of such public works as we could undertake were carried out by prisoners who regarded themselves (as indeed they were) as an important and indispensable part of the public service.

It was their pleasant practice when visited by the Resident to break off work and shake hands with him individually. As one of them remarked, it is these little courtesies among brother officers which oil the wheels of administrative life.

If the circumstances of the Executive (an impressive title by which to describe the two officers who constituted the entire administrative and technical staff) were straitened, the Sultan and his Chiefs and indeed 99 per cent. of his subjects were in no better case. True, British protection had provided for the few, allowances which, if small, were at least regular, and for the many, relief from arbitrary taxation, but by that time the resources of the State had been so pledged, mortgaged, and hypothecated that there was everywhere poverty (and in some cases actual privation), which pressed hardest on those whom pride of birth forbade to work for a living. Nevertheless, neither the Sultan nor his Chiefs ever forgot the past glories of their line and the State over which they ruled; nor abated by one jot or tittle their claims to the power, dignity, and prestige which had adorned their great predecessors; nor did their people expect or desire them to do otherwise.

The Cloud Cuckoo land in which they lived was sometimes exasperating, sometimes comic; but, looking back, the prevailing impression is of dignity in misfortune.

I had an opportunity of gauging the depth and sincerity of Brunei loyalty to the Sultan and to the past glory of the State as embodied in him on the occasion of "The Blossoming," as it is called.

At the time of which I write, the Sultan had acceded to the throne as a minor, and for some years ruled with the aid of two of his principal ministers as Regents.

The custom is when the Sultan has attained years of discretion for the Regents to abdicate their functions; henceforward the Sultan assumes full and undivided control.

This is "The Blossoming," and its outward and visible sign is the appearance of the Sultan seated on his throne and wearing the Crown of Brunei and the Royal robes to receive the homage of his assembled subjects.

The word translated "blossoming" is *puspa*, a Sanskrit word used, I believe, with special reference to the blossoming of the lotus.

The emblem of the lotus is also used in connection with the ritual of the ceremony, and a further indication of how deep and permanent is the impression made by the Hindu influence of Majapahit (referred to in the Official Record) is that when a statuette of Ganesh was dug up during building operations it was received both by the Muhammadan Malays of Brunei and by the pagan tribes of the territory with the utmost veneration, and was escorted in procession through the entire State.

The invitation to the Sultan to assume full sovereignty was preceded, of course, by a great number of very long and very serious conferences.

A conference in Brunei is a conference—in every sense. In the first place it was then the proud boast of the Pengirans of Brunei that they did not recognize the arbitrary division of time into hours of day and night, so the time at which conferences started was odd and the time they ended odder.

Then etiquette prescribed that when a meeting did take place there should be no undue haste in coming to the point.

Finally, there was, and no doubt still is, the custom that every guest of honour should be provided with a cigarette rolled in nipah leaf and containing about two ounces of the coarse local tobacco, and a candle whereat to light it.

The size of the cigarette and candle varies in inverse ratio with the importance of the host and the guest, and as on this auspicious occasion we were all anxious to do the utmost honour to our visitors, the candles must have averaged 3 feet high and about 4 inches in diameter, and it was quite a gymnastic feat to smoke the cigarettes.

To complete the picture it was, of course, agreed that the high matters of state on which we were engaged should be kept secret, and this was secured by hanging the walls of the various rooms in which we sat with cloth.

This we all assured one another secured complete and inviolable

privacy, even though we could see the curtains jerking and bulging with the pressure of our unseen audience as it struggled for points of vantage.

As may be imagined in a country where the normal shade temperature is approximately 86 degrees what between humanity and hangings outside and humanity, cigarettes and candles inside the atmosphere of a conference was decidedly snug.

When it had been decided to invite the Sultan to assume full powers a deputation was sent to the palace.

It is the etiquette on these occasions for the deputation to be pressing and the Sultan hesitant of accepting the burden of the proffered honours; on this occasion the reluctance of the Sultan and the zeal of the deputation must have satisfied the most meticulous of the great Shades of the Past who were no doubt watching the scene.

When the Sultan's consent was obtained the arrangements for the ceremony had to be discussed, and this provided a nice opportunity for judging whether "Too many cooks spoil the broth" or "In a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom" is the truer proverb. We certainly did not lack counsellors, and as there was no written record of the previous ceremony each was free to back his own fancy. Full advantage was taken of the opportunity and disputes sometimes became as acrimonious as the natural courtesy of the Brunei aristocracy permits.

The task of intimating to some aged Nestor that he was an interfering old ignoramus and at the same time conveying an impression of being overwhelmed by the excellence of his advice and the wisdom of his words was one that taxed even the conversational ingenuity and address of a Brunei Pengiran.

However, all good things come to an end and at last all arguments about precedence, procedure, hereditary rights and 999 other details were concluded and all was ready for the great occasion.

Brunei makes a splendid and unique setting for a ceremony of this kind.

About nine miles from the sea the Brunei River, which is really more in the nature of a fiord, broadens into a shallow lake bordered by low green hills, and in the waters of this lake stands the city of Brunei, or to give it its honorific Arab title, Daru'l-Salam (the "Abode of Peace").

In those days the whole city was built on piles standing in the river, and with its mass of brown roof and labyrinth of connecting passages was amazingly picturesque, though probably not in a style to appeal to the instincts of a medical officer of health.

Some of the houses were grouped round the residences of great chiefs; elsewhere the city was divided into quarters according to

the trade or profession of the occupants; the fishermen's quarter, the silversmiths' quarter, the brassmakers' quarter, and so forth.

Apart from the rickety gangways which bound each quarter into a confused and warren-like whole, there was no communication except by water, and the children of Brunei learned to swim before they could walk, and incidentally to smoke before they could speak.

When the setting sun turned the waters of the lake to gold and the huddled mass of roofs was tinged with purple and umber shadows the City of Brunei was beautiful; and again when night fell and the gleam of a thousand lights was reflected in the dark waters.

Day and night there was a sense of life and movement: canoes like gigantic water beetles shot hither and thither, fishing boats heading for the market or the sea passed with a rhythmic beat of paddles and a cheerful sound of song; and all night and every night could be heard unceasingly the distant pulsing of gongs, for the Bruneis, though poor, were a lighthearted and musical folk, and every day in some part of the city brought festivity in the form of a marriage or a birth or other cause of rejoicing.

It had been decided that the ceremony should take place on terra firma.

There was much head shaking over this breach with tradition, but it was plain that the ritual of the ceremony was designed for the land and not for the water; and in any case the natural good sense of the Bruneis showed them that there neither existed nor could be constructed over the water a building which would carry the spectators without the certainty of disaster.

The throne was erected in an open hall, and its exact measurements, position, and orientation were matters of long and careful discussion.

The throne is square in shape, rising in three tiers to a small platform, where a cushion forms the Sultan's seat. The whole is covered by a canopy, and the correct ornamentation and colouring of the throne and canopy are matters of high importance.

Behind the throne is a screen, and at each corner of each tier are enormous candles. When these are lighted the total effect is strongly reminiscent of a high altar under a baldachin.

The places of honour are beside and behind the throne, and the space in front is reserved for the less important spectators.

It appeared to be recognized as a right and not a special privilege of the rayat to attend the ceremony, and though for reasons of space not all could be accommodated in the hall a genuine effort was made to secure that representatives of all classes of the community should have a place inside the chamber.

The Sultan, wearing the crown of Brunei, which is in the form

of a triple tiara, was borne on an immense litter of inconceivable weight built like the throne in a series of tiers. The Sultan was seated on the topmost platform, and standing behind him were the bearers of the royal umbrella, the sword of State, and other emblems forming the insignia.

At each corner of the litter stood an officer of the palace with a drawn sword, and there was an escort of spearmen clad in red and wearing conical caps similar to those which one sees in old pictures of His Majesty's Guards.

Amid terrific clamour and a scene of apparently wild confusion the immense weight was hoisted on to the shoulders of the Sultan's subjects and carried at a surprising pace and with unexpected steadiness from the palace to the audience chamber to the accompaniment of the clanging of gongs, the crash of cannon, and a deafening clamour of shouts and exhortations. As the Sultan entered the audience chamber the Royal drums sounded in salute and the uproar was succeeded by dead silence.

When the Sultan had taken his seat on the throne the Chief Minister rose and recited His Highness's lineage and title, ending with a challenge to any rival claimant or pretender.

There was no response, and again there was silence till the Chamberlain strode three times with drawn sword the length of the hall, calling out:

> "Ye servants of the Sultan who are as the sands of the shore and as the waters of the ocean do obeisance,"

and each time as the call rang through the hall every man in the audience raised his joined hands to his forehead in the customary and immemorial salute.

Again there was silence till the chamberlain in a great voice thrice called "Daulat."

In similar ceremonies that I have attended elsewhere the response has been a low and respectful murmur as though the audience feared to disturb the divinity that doth hedge a King with clamour and outcry; but here in Brunei the call was answered with a full-throated roar that was taken up by the crowd outside till the air rang with acclamations.

It was impossible for even the most stolid Englishman not to be moved by the passion of loyalty evoked, and among the people of Brunei it was evident that tension was strung to its highest pitch.

As the Sultan rose to leave the hall the whole audience, which had been seated tailor-fashion on the ground in the attitude prescribed by etiquette, sprang to its feet wild with excitement and surged forward in a seething mob to touch the Sultan's clothes, to kiss his throne, or to gather up a little of the dust on which his foot had rested.

There was a scene of the wildest turmoil and confusion, and in more than one place krises were drawn so that I feared that the ceremony would end, as I was told it had on previous occasions ended, in bloodshed and amok.

But the Sultan stood calm and unmoved, and the " trustworthy men " who had been stationed at strategic points in the hall and outside played their parts manfully. In a few moments the excitement subsided and the Sultan departed as he had come to spend in his palace the seven days of fasting and solitary meditation which the ritual prescribes.

His subjects, released from their hysteria of emotion, turned their cheerful and undivided attention to the collection of souvenirs, and when I returned ten minutes later from accompanying the Sultan not one rag or scrap remained of the yellow hangings of the throne or of the curtains which had draped the walls.

Thereafter Brunei gave itself up whole-heartedly to junketings and rejoicings. Fireworks, of course, and I have pleasant recollections of the Master of the Ceremonies fleeing across the grass from a rocket which he had omitted to secure and which, with apparently deliberate malignancy, pursued him in a series of kangaroo-like bounds.

As always, there was a regatta, in which great twenty-paddled seagoing prahus competed desperately with no nice regard for the other crews' water; indeed, to elbow a rival clean off the course was a feather in the caps of the successful crew.

The culminating point of a regatta was invariably a race between crews of European visitors. Brunei canoes are crank craft at the best, and even if the crew embarked without mishap, which was seldom, the absence of a keel made steering with a paddle a practical impossibility for an inexperienced amateur; so that the spectators were regaled by the sight of the two crews paddling frantically in circles and drifting slowly further from the winning-post and the long cold drinks which their souls desired. It was a perpetual source of delight to the people of Brunei that boats, which to them were as ordinary and handy equipment as shoes to Europeans, could in unskilful hands perform such lunatic gyrations.

In the evenings there were illuminations which were wonderfully effective in their picturesque setting, and Dayak dances where it was a matter of nice calculation to supply spirituous encouragement in quantities sufficient to banish shyness without inducing a quarrelsome atmosphere.

Looking back now I regret that I did not keep a fuller and more intimate record of a unique occasion, for it was the first time that a European had participated in such a ceremony nor has there been any subsequent repetition.

However, at the time I was less concerned with the historical significance of the occasion than with the multifarious duties of Lord High Everything Else.

That was, so to speak, the high spot of a long period of service in Brunei, which has provided many happy recollections and some friendships which still endure.

Nowadays no doubt things are better ordered and administration more efficient, but some of the spice and tang of new experience must be gone.

In retrospect I marvel at the patience and courtesy with which the proud aristocracy of Brunei accepted the shocks which we young officers must have administered to their sense of fitness. There was much to do and so little material to work with that we could not always tread with a nice regard for corns.

But accept it they did, not with the resignation of despair but with unfailing goodwill and appreciation that our activities, crude though they might seem, were inspired by a genuine wish to help and serve their State.

It is pleasant to think that the lean days are over and that peace and prosperity are returning to Brunei.

To the Sultan, his chiefs and people it is, I am well assured, a source of pride and satisfaction that Brunei has been able to join her richer sisters of the Straits Settlements and Malay States (which in the current year alone have contributed £1,500,000 for the purposes of Imperial Defence) in giving tangible proof of loyalty and gratitude.

Brunei owes her position and existence to British protection, and there is no doubt that the Ruler and his people regard the contribution which they have offered as neither tribute nor favour but the discharge of a debt of honour.

AN AMERICAN ENQUIRER IN ASIA

By Stanley Rice
(Author of *The Challenge of Asia*)

To survey the whole of the vast Asiatic continent is a tremendous undertaking. For not only are the distances vast, not only are the countries exceedingly diverse and the races innumerable, but many of them have little or no connection with one another. In Europe there is no such isolation. What Finland does may have its repercussions on Germany, Russia, even on England, with which there is no geographical nor ethnical connection. Racially the Swedes may have little connection with Spain; but in a survey of Europe you cannot afford to leave out the various entanglements which form the network of international relations. The world of Europe is one complicated whole.

This is not so in Asia—at least, not yet. In the Far East Japan, China, Korea, and perhaps French Indo-China form a block; there is India with her special problems and her peculiar customs; there is Iran, with a long, authentic history behind her, dating back at least to Cyrus; there is Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia—again forming what we may call the Near Eastern block. And finally there is the enormous area of Siberia and Central Asia with its still fluid tribes—indistinct, almost amorphous, vast alike in deserts and mountains. Hardly any of these peoples, other than in the blocks already mentioned, have great repercussions upon one another. Economically, owing largely to the penetration of Europeans, there is a certain intermingling of trade, but otherwise these countries are for the most part independent of one another. It is true that modern journalism, modern methods of communication, not only by roads and railways, but by telephone and air, are bringing them closer together, not perhaps greatly to the advantage of the inhabitants except in so far as they tried to introduce higher forms of civilization, better scientific methods and a purer morale. This process is, however, very slow; long ingrained custom and superstition tend to retard it, and the peoples themselves are reluctant to receive it.

When therefore Mr. John Gunther undertook to write his book, *Inside Asia*,* he was embarking on a very difficult task. He is a journalist of repute and, being American, he has the characteristic enterprise of his countrymen. But when we say this, we introduce obvious limitations. We must not expect too much. Because he is a journalist, he writes as such, and because he is an American, he is inclined—though not often and not very obviously—to see things through American eyes. He betrays his nationality occa-

* *Inside Asia*, by John Gunther (Hamish Hamilton), 12s. 6d. net.

sionally by turns of phrase—" he ordered all his Jewish prisoners slain "—and by his comparisons which are usually taken from the United States; on the other hand, he speaks of money in terms of sterling, not of dollars, and it would be hard to say whether he is writing chiefly for an American or for an English audience.

Mr. Gunther excels in his pen-portraiture. He begins his journey with the Emperor of Japan—a rather delicate subject, because to the Japanese he is little short of a god, and it is almost sacrilege to criticize him in any way. This has always been so. Even in the time of the Shoguns, when the Emperor was no more than a figurehead, when what he said and did was of no importance to anyone, the fiction was still maintained that he was the Head of the State, the divine descendant of the sun, from whom flowed the springs of justice, of law, and of authority. He has, of course, more power now. He lives a secluded life, and when he appears in public his subjects are supposed to lower their eyes as if the brightness of the sun was too strong for them.

Mr. Gunther then passes in review the most prominent of the Japanese leaders of today—Prince Saionji, the last of the Elder Statesmen; Count Makino, who is a liberal and hated by the army; General Itagaki, the war minister; General Doihara, the mystery man, and others. So much of the book is taken up with these personal sketches that it is impossible to do more than refer to them very briefly in the course of a short review. One must, however, take note of certain characteristics which Mr. Gunther has observed. It must always be remembered that modern Japan has had a very short career. The Meiji restoration was only in 1868, and was accomplished only after stiff fighting. Before that time the Japanese had been isolated from the world for over 200 years, during which time the national characteristics had no chance of modification by intercourse with others. Before that again came the military dictatorships under Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, and the ruthless invasion of Korea by the latter over 300 years ago has, it is said, never been forgotten by the Koreans. It is partly due to this that the Japanese are now so cordially hated in Korea. The nearest parallel is the hatred of Ireland for England, in which Cromwell is still the villain of the piece. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, if the Japanese show inconsistencies. They have always been a military nation; the old Samurai, who were the retainers of feudal lords, lorded it in the land much as the Junkers lorded it in Prussia. With this background it is not surprising that the army is today the dominant force in Japan. One outstanding quality they have—an intense patriotism, so that they care not whether they live or die in the service of their country and of their Emperor. This quality is due in part to what Mr. Gunther calls " a great sense of team

play." Each man recognizes that he is only a unit, but a unit which must combine with other units in the work of life. This devotion to country is exemplified by the well-known story of the five Japanese soldiers who blew themselves up to make a gap in the barbed wire fence. There is another story, possibly not authentic but still characteristic, that a squadron of cavalry deliberately stabbed their horses and sacrificed themselves to make a bridge over which the army could cross the Sha-ho.

Mr. Gunther says that they are tactless and literal-minded and gives instances. It is also true that they are adept in the art of self-deception. When they make war on China, they say it is to ensure peace, to make friends with the country; and the people believe it. Mr. Gunther quotes Baron Hiranuma, the present Prime Minister, and the passage is worth repeating:

> "The peaceful policy of Japan has been evident in all the major problems that have beset our country. The Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), and the recent conflict in Manchuria furnish examples of the desire of our nation to maintain peace and stability in the Far East."

Moreover, the Japanese are perhaps the most suspicious people in the world. This Mr. Gunther attributes to the long period of seclusion, when no foreign news filtered into Japan and no contact with foreigners was possible. It is almost a commonplace that every foreigner is even today viewed with some suspicion, and perhaps this trait is responsible for the Japanese contention that the British concession in Tientsin is harbouring Communists and is fomenting Communistic troubles.

"Japanese brothels are the most extensive in the world," and again "Prostitution is simply a business . . . from which the Government derives revenue." This sounds rather dreadful in European ears, but against it must be set the fact that alcohol, gambling, and music are forbidden. That music should be classed with alcohol and gambling seems at first sight strange, until we remember that the music is of that kind which we associate with night clubs and dance halls. Probably a Japanese would consider such things quite as immoral as prostitution, and would fail to see what it is that shocks us in the latter. Mr. Gunther does not distinguish between the Geisha and the ordinary prostitute. The Geisha would seem to be of the type of the Greek ἑταίρα. She should be witty and able to hold men in interesting conversation. She may or may not have sexual relations with men. The other kind belong simply to "the oldest profession in the world."

The average Japanese is, as we all know, full of courtesy. His

suavity of manner may be genuine or it may serve to cover unpleasant traits. But, above all, the Japanese are imbued with the conviction that it is their mission to reform, if not to dominate, the world. A God is superhuman, and it is the right and privilege of superhumanity to dominate humanity. Given that the Japanese Emperor is divine, and that the people are the sons of the gods, the logic of the rest is easy. No doubt this will to power is comparatively new-born. When Hideyoshi, at the end of the sixteenth century, set out to conquer Korea, what he contemplated was not merely the conquest of Korea but of China also. But there is nothing to show that his ambitions went beyond this, and it is quite unlikely that they did. It was the Sino-Japanese War which first showed Japan that China was an easy prey, and it was the Russo-Japanese War which produced a feeling of invincibility and opened to them the vision of Pan-Asiatic, if not of world, conquest.

From Japan, with a glance at Manchukuo on his way, Mr. Gunther proceeded to China. He contrasts the two countries thus:

"China, old as Japan is young, charming as Japan is crude, amiable as Japan is sinister, cultivated and gracious as Japan is dynamic and efficient, is in the grip of a convulsion partly of disintegration, partly of rebirth. . . . There may be two Chinas, a Japanese China, a Chinese China. The old China in more than a political sense is gone."

The first characteristic of the Chinese is rationality. This is no doubt due to their adherence to the teachings of Confucius, who was before all things a rationalist. Confucius never founded a religion in the ordinary sense. He was a philosopher and a teacher. His sayings are treasured and acted upon to this day. "Man," says Mr. Gunther, "in a word is master; man is what counted. And what counts in man is reason, the life of the mind." Perhaps because of this attitude to life, the Chinese is pre-eminently a pacifist, and it is a sad commentary on the ways of the world, that this very fact has been the reason why China has been looked upon as an easy prey, not only by Japan but by so many European nations. The Portuguese established themselves at Macao, where they still are. In 1808 the British were in Canton, and in 1839-40 came the Opium War, which resulted in the cession of Hong-Kong and the opening of five ports to foreigners. The British were not allowed to have things entirely to themselves. In their wake came France, Germany, and Russia. The break-up of China was confidently predicted, and it was the European nations, not Japan, who were to take the lion's share—and possibly the lioness' also! So came customs control and extraterritoriality. There was, however, no judicial

system worth the name in China, and foreigners could hardly be handed over to the caprice of Chinese judges. But if the foreigner is occasionally extravagant in contempt for the Chinese when they demand rights within their own country, they have undoubtedly conferred a great benefit on China, not only by bringing wealth to the country, but also by the introduction of education and hygiene. Roads and railways have followed, and even the doubtful blessing of the movies.

The Chinese have been cursed above most peoples by the vagaries of nature and the ineptitude of man. They have to endure on the one hand floods and famine and the diseases born of them, and on the other bad government, immense corruption, civil wars, and other ills, and yet with untiring patience they live, thrive, and multiply. It is curious to find that, as in the case of the Indian peasant, everyone who comes into contact with the Chinese is favourably impressed. He may be dirty, he may be ridiculous, but he is always lovable. This is in great contrast to the Japanese, about whom very mixed opinions are held. One thing in particular is always striking. Merchants say that you need not trouble to check a Chinese invoice, but you should be very careful with a Japanese one. It cannot be said that the Chinese have always been so scrupulous in international dealings, but some of the shiftiness can be put down to saving "face." Now "face" is really only another word for self-respect, but it is sometimes carried to such length as to seem ludicrous to Europeans. Mr. Gunther would not agree to the first of these propositions. He says that "face" is "at once the equivalent of dignity, prestige, and reputation." It is perhaps one of those words that defy translation by a single English synonym.

China is evolving nationality out of chaos. That the Japanese have done for China with the aid of Chiang Kai-Shek and his charming wife. The order is deliberately chosen. But for the Japanese spur—applied in the name of friendship—Chiang Kai-Shek could have done little to unite the nation. Yet without his leadership it is possible that China could never have been united. Mr. Gunther gives us a full-length portrait of Chiang, and indeed the chapter is with one exception the best in the book. I cannot pause in the course of a short article to look into the details even of this outstanding figure. The world knows of what stubborn metal he is made. We know that wherever Chiang Kai-Shek is, there is China. The Japanese may set up puppets, but everyone knows that when they are not being assassinated they speak only the language of Japan. Murder is not an uncommon political weapon either in Japan or in China. "By May, 1939, there had been about eighty political assassinations, among them the prominent 'puppet' officials." As a summary Mr. Gunther says that

Japan must have land in which to expand; China cannot beat her back, but is herself unconquerable; the Sino-Japanese War may spread into the West. If the second of these diagnoses is true, there would seem to be no end to the war.

We must pass over very briefly the excursions into the Philippines, which is mainly the portrait of Manuel Quezon, the vivacious President, into Singapore, the Gibraltar of the Far East, into Java and Sumatra, with their wealth in rubber and tobacco, in spices, pepper, rice, tea, and coffee, and into Thai, the buffer State, lying between Burma and French Indo-China, and bordering on Yunnan in China. It is one of the few independent States in Asia. All alike have one thing in common—fear of the domination of Japan, and the policy of all of them is conditioned by this fear.

And so we come to India. After a chapter on Gandhi, which may be called the best in the book, but which it seems unnecessary to discuss, seeing that most people know the essential facts of Gandhi's wonderful career and have their own opinions of it, Mr. Gunther launches himself into India proper. Here he is not so happy. He begins, quite rightly, by saying that there are 222 different languages and dialects, but only about eight or ten have serious political, or we may add any other, importance. He then tells us that Hindustani exists in two vocabularies and two scripts, Hindi and Urdu. This is strictly true for Hindustani is in origin a dialect of Western Hindi, but this kind of pedantic scholasticism seems rather out of place in a popular and modern book. In actual use the two languages are distinct, though, of course, they have much in common. In his bird's-eye view of Indian history, compressed into about two pages, the author adopts the common idea that the Dravidians were the aborigines of India, which in all probability they were not. The Dravidians displaced the real aborigines, who are still to be found in small numbers, Bhils, Todas, Nagas, Khonds, and so on. He also says that caste was invented by the Aryans to avoid inter-marriage, though he is careful to add that this is only one theory. He omits all mention of the Maratha ascendancy, which lasted for a century, and which at the time was the most formidable power in India. Perhaps this is rather carping criticism, since we cannot expect much detail in a telescopic view of India, consisting of five paragraphs which begin with the Aryans and end with the Government of India Act. It does seem, however, that the clear vision is somewhat obscured and the impression one gets is rather inaccurate.

What is Hinduism? Hindus themselves do not seem to be agreed on the answer. It seems to have begun with the Aryan nature worship, because Vedic gods—notably Vishnu and Siva—appear in the later theology. But later on as intermixture

advanced and as myths and legends came into being, the purer religion became overlaid by demonology and by the introduction of mythical heroes, such as Rama, who were promoted to the position of divine beings. The consequence is that popular Hinduism, as it now is, does contain a "host of gods." It is, however, rather like Roman Catholicism, in which saints of various kinds and degrees exist—saints who have been raised to that eminence by a decree of the Vatican. But is Mr. Gunther right in saying that Vishnu and Siva are only avatars of Brahmá, the Creator? Brahma (with a short "ă" as used in the Vedas) is the "impersonal, all-embracing divine essence, the original source and ultimate goal of all that exists." Brahmá, the Creator, is one manifestation of Nature of which Vishnu and Siva are two others and parallel, not derivative. Let us add in parenthesis that Krishna is in no sense a Hercules; there is nothing in common between the conceptions.

Nor is the author any more happy in his comments on what he calls "cow-worship." Hindus do not *worship* the cow. They venerate her. I have given elsewhere my own ideas as to the reason for this veneration, but it is in the highest degree improbable that she was so venerated merely because she was very useful. It is, of course, perfectly true that cows, including bulls and other sacred animals such as peacocks and monkeys, do an enormous amount of damage, and are therefore economically a pest.

It is always unsafe to generalize about India. When our author classes barbers and peons as untouchables, he may or may not be right about certain parts of India, but he is certainly not right about all India. Nor is it correct to say that "in South India an untouchable may pollute a caste Hindu even from a distance." The example of Malabar seems to infect all writers who deal with the Paraiyans of South India. Such sweeping statements are very apt to mislead those who do not know, or only know very slightly, the conditions of the country. Nor, again, we may remark in passing, do all widows wear black.

Coming to the more practical issues of today, Mr. Gunther, who is, one must remember, an impartial witness, seems reluctant to allow to the British administration all that is claimed for it. He sums it up "in a word" as "yielding the appearance while keeping the substance of power," but he admits that "the debate could be endless." He then gives a sort of debit and credit account of what Britain claims to have done and of what the Congress complains ought to be done. Prominent among British achievements are irrigation and railways; prominent among the Congress grievances are, of course, first, the demand for independence, and, secondly, the lack of proper education. As regards the latter, Mr. Gunther considers that illiteracy is appalling, but he

does not mention what is called the "lapse into illiteracy." I had occasion to ask once in an Indian State, where education was compulsory, what this amounted to, and was told that it was about 80 per cent. The reason is, I think, not far to seek. The great majority of boys and girls come from the agricultural classes. They go to school and learn the elements—the three Rs. But when they get to work in the fields they have neither the inclination nor the opportunity to read and write. They take their accounts for Land Revenue and such things on trust, and soon forget by atrophy all they ever knew. Illiteracy is not therefore entirely the fault of the British, though it is true that many, if not most of the schools, are badly manned, and that the pay is too low to attract better material.

One may perhaps with some diffidence claim that the most outstanding British gift to India is political consciousness, though Mr. Gunther does not mention it. Up to the time when the Mughal Empire fell to pieces under the hammer blows of the Marathas and later of the British, India had been content, or at least used, to accept whatever Government was in power. The Marathas, it is true, were more than the freebooters which English histories are apt to call them, but they fought for their own hand, and had they been able to consolidate their empire they would certainly have set up an autocracy with headquarters at Poona under the Peshwa, who was a kind of Indian Shogun. The idea of democracy, though not altogether new to India, had been forgotten in the lapse of many centuries. "Representative government" is a modern cry. Whether or no this is a gift which will prove a Pandora's box remains to be seen. It has certainly not evolved quite according to expectations. Macaulay's hope that some day Indians would govern themselves was at the time a pious aspiration, which his hearers probably thought was merely a rhetorical flourish.

In dealing with the Indian Princes, the author follows his favourite plans of pen-portraiture. We all know that there are several hundred Indian States; we all know that only eight or ten really count. It is a pity that for one of his portraits the author has chosen Alwar and has given free rein to scandal, though he does say that Alwar is not typical. Mr. Gunther is wrong in saying that only Mysore lives on a civil list, though it is fair to say that he uses the words "*almost* uniquely." The Maharaja of Baroda (whom, of course, he wrongly calls the Gaekwar) does so, though he has his own private income also. There is little about the internal condition of the States, but three pages are allotted to the Princes' attitude to Federation. In summing up the advantages and disadvantages of Federation to Indian India, Mr. Gunther enumerates them thus:

1. They are bound to lose a part of their sovereignty, inasmuch as Federal laws will be effective in the States.
2. They may lose some special privileges, such as postage stamps of their own currency. This affects very few; probably not more than one or two.
3. Some will suffer financial loss through the disappearance of internal tariffs.
4. Prestige.

Against these may be set:

1. They would become freer as partners in a union; they would be less subject to the vexatious and sometimes arbitrary interferences of the Political Department.
2. Federation would be a fixed guarantee that the States would survive. It would counteract the cry that they are anachronisms and must be swept away.
3. As at present conceived, the plan gives them stronger representation in the Federal Legislation than their numbers warrant.

This last may be discounted. It is a detail which hardly affects the general outlook on Federation as a conception.

Why, then, does Congress oppose Federation? Mr. Gunther thinks there are in the main five reasons. It would consolidate the special powers of the Viceroy to which Congress objects. It is simply a device to use the Princes as a make-weight to preserve power in British hands. It gives the Princes too much representation. The delegates from the States would be nominated and not elected. They would therefore be the mouthpieces, or to use Carlyle's expression, the sounding boards of the Princes. And, lastly, elections are to be indirect. There are answers to these objections which the reader will easily formulate for himself.

Mr. Gunther devotes about 160 pages to India, just half of what he has given to Japan and China. It is difficult to summarize all this in a few sentences. He is not given to speculation. He ventures no opinion on Congress government, or on such matters as the future of Prohibition. The impression he leaves of the British government of India is that, while it has been successful in some departments, notably irrigation and railways (though he thinks irrigation is too expensive to the peasantry and dislikes the Indian trains), it has fallen short in other lines, notably education and sanitation. He has, perhaps, not fully appreciated the difficulties in the way of the latter. Education, we have seen, depends on other things than the goodwill of the British; he is shocked by the prevalence of malaria, but has he realized the appalling difficulty of dealing with the mosquitoes which may lurk in every depression in a thick jungle country and every small pit made for the watering of saplings? The British are, according to him, astute, cunning, and, above all, master of what he calls elastic imperialism; in this he probably exaggerates, as do so many people who are not English. However, "it is not merely the

British who govern India, who impede the growth of effective Indian nationalism. It is Hindu religion, the strictures of mythology and of the caste system and the ponderous decay of centuries of outworn tradition."

Passing by Iran and the Arab States, most of which are dealt with by pictures of personalities, we approach Europe by way of Palestine. Mr. Gunther unmistakably favours the Jews. He points out that Palestine *is* the Jewish National Home and the only one, that the Jews held Palestine for thirteen centuries—*i.e.*, from the first conquest of Canaan to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The Arabs held it from A.D. 637 to A.D. 1516. But this sort of mathematical antithesis cannot satisfy anyone. The Eastern Empire lasted from about 350 A.D. till 1453 A.D., but does that give Mussolini any right to turn out the Turks from Constantinople? There is no gainsaying that the Jews have conferred great material benefits on the country; that is probably because they came from more highly developed countries and were thus able in the author's words "to bring the modern world to Palestine." The Arabs are naturally alarmist. They do not perhaps dwell on the fact that they have been in possession for some 900 years; the point is that they have been there for the *last* 900 years and do not base their case on the doings of Moses, David, and the heroes of antiquity. They are naturally alarmed, not only because Jewish immigration is increasing, but because they realize that they belong to a more primitive civilization, and they know that primitive civilizations have gone under everywhere under the impact of a superior brand. It may be that a comparatively small part of the country actually belongs to the Jews by right of purchase. What the Arabs fear is that this will gradually be extended until they are, if not squeezed out, at any rate reduced to a minority, if not in numbers, then in political influence.

There is little doubt that the Balfour Declaration was based upon sentiment; if the Jews had not been the self-styled "chosen people," if Palestine had not been the birth of the world's greatest religion (though Islam is almost as great), there would have been no attempt to repatriate the Jews. The expulsion from Germany had the effect of enlisting the sympathy of the world for the homeless Jews. Mr. Gunther suggests with diffidence that the Arab population might be transferred to Transjordania or Iraq, so as to leave Palestine entirely to the Jews.

We have come now to the end of this tremendous journey. Mr. Gunther has covered all Asia that counts. It is true he has nothing to say—probably there was little—about Siberia and that part of the continent which is marked Central Asia on the map. He has done his task well and has written a notable book.

THE DUTCH COLONIAL SYSTEM JUDGED BY A BRITISH ADMINISTRATOR

By John de La Valette

Literature on Dutch Colonial Administration

For more than a century and a quarter the Dutch have been pouring out a steady stream of books, pamphlets, and articles, to say nothing of official reports and memoranda, on every aspect of colonial policy and administration. The importance of these contributions to the study of colonial government is greatly enhanced by the fact that, unlike in this country, Dutch officials are given complete liberty to publish their views even on matters of current Government policy. The studies of the various aims and objectives, and the appraisal of the degree to which they have been achieved, are thus supplied by those most intimately conversant with the facts. Unfortunately the barrier of language prevents this valuable body of information from being studied by British colonial administrators to anything like the extent it deserves. Nor can it be said that more than a handful of Indian and colonial civil servants were even aware of the existence of this great experimental laboratory of all that pertains to colonial research until in recent years the Asiatic Review, by publishing the proceedings of the East India Association and special articles by Dutch colonial experts, drew attention to this extensive activity.

All the greater, therefore, is the need for books in English which deal authoritatively with Dutch colonial administration and government. These, however, have so far appeared only at long intervals of time. Of abiding value and brilliance, even though many of its historical details and some of its views have long proved untenable, is Raffles' *Java*, the first edition of which, with its beautiful engravings and coloured prints, appeared as early as 1817. After about half a century J. W. B. Money published his two volumes under the same title (1861), a work which, though far less inspiring, is nevertheless still useful to those to whom Dutch works are not available. Again almost half a century went by before Clive Day issued his study on *The Dutch in Java* (1904), while in 1915 Donald Maclaine Campbell published two volumes on *Java*, which contain a good deal of material from Dutch sources in a handy form.

Nor have the French been more active in exploring the Dutch experiments. Angoulvant's *Les Indes Néerlandaises* (two volumes,

1926) is little more than a compilation of officially published material, and only Chailley-Bert's *Java et ses Habitants* (1900) stands out as an independent study based on personal investigation on the spot. On the other hand, each of the three colonial powers has produced its comprehensive philosophy and history of colonial administration in the East: in France, Leroy-Beaulieu summed up the modern French view in his *Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, while Sir Hesketh Bell dealt from the British point of view with *Foreign Colonial Administration in the Far East*. For Holland, De Kat Angelino produced the three big tomes of *Staatkundig Beleid en Bestuurszorg in Nederlandsch-Indië* which, even when reduced to two volumes in its English translation (*Colonial Policy*, 1931), still reminds one of a luxuriant tropical forest in which vast masses of facts and opinions are inextricably intertwined pending the arrival of a number of capable foresters to carve out a few clear lanes and avenues for the benefit of explorers with only limited time at their disposal.

Java Before the Arrival of Europeans

At the present time, when colonial policy and administrative methods are in the melting pot almost all over the world, there is greater need than ever for a publication in English which will provide those who do not read Dutch with a reliable summary of the experiments made by the Dutch at different times in this field, together with an appraisal of the measure of their success by one who is competent to judge, and judges from personal observation. It is this book* which Mr. J. S. Furnivall, with great competence and conscientiousness, has now presented to the English-reading public. As a member of the Indian Civil Service who served in Burma, and equipped with the scholarly temperament befitting an Honorary Research Fellow of Rangoon University, Mr. Furnivall has brought to his task both the personal experience of a colonial administrator and the scientific method of enquiry of a scholar. To these he adds the advantage of having studied conditions on the spot both in the Dutch East Indies and in Holland. Obviously thoroughly acquainted with the Dutch language, he has had access to the voluminous literature; his references are not only profuse but critical in character, and show that he has mastered his sources of information.

The particular interest that attaches to his work is that at every important point he draws comparisons between conditions in India or Burma and in Java and the Outer Districts, which clarify the respective situations for both Dutch and British readers, and

* *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*, by J. S. Furnivall. Pp. xxii + 502. (Cambridge University Press.) 1939. 25s.

that he can judge of actual achievements in the Dutch Indies from personal observation. Thus at times he is able to put his finger on weak spots in Dutch methods, while at others he shows that the Dutch themselves set too low a value upon the measure of success which certain of their efforts have achieved.

In the first fifty pages the author disposes of the history of the Archipelago from its dim origins to the end of the Dutch East India Company's existence. The sixteen centuries preceding the first advent of the Europeans in the islands are still to a large extent a matter of conjecture and controversy. With these Mr. Furnivall deals in a broad, yet fair manner, pointing out among other useful things that even as today in Dutch Java, so "in Hindu-Java, besides the ruling race (of Hindu or Buddhist Indians) and a subject race (partly aboriginal and partly immigrated Indonesians) there was already a Chinese element, interested solely in commerce, in economic contact with local society but forming no part of it." Thus he shows that from earliest times Java had that "plural society" to which we shall refer later.

In regard to the Muhammadan period which followed the Hindu rule of Java and Sumatra, it is observed that what kept the fabric of the country intact notwithstanding the fall of one dynasty after another was the country's administration. This consisted of "the king, the centre of social and political life, but resting his authority on personal ties, and ruling the country through princes, each with his chain of lesser nobles down to the local headman. Thus there was a double organization, official and personal." On this basis the Islamic rulers of Java and Sumatra extended their dominion over the Archipelago until "at the end of the fifteenth century it may well have seemed that the future lay with the Muhammadans."

The advent of the Portuguese, however, soon followed by the English and the Dutch, altered the course of history. As this period is on the whole well known to English students, the author has rightly treated it in a somewhat cursory manner, though with balance and fairness of judgment. The rôle of Coen as the founder of Holland's territorial dominion in the Archipelago is naturally brought out. But it is somewhat curious to note the omission in a book so imbued with the "I.C.S." spirit of any mention of the insistence by Coen and many of his successors (not excluding Raffles) on the need for sending out a better class and type of civil servants. Nor is there any reference to the great work done by van Imhoff (who after ascending all the rungs of the ladder was Governor-General from 1743 to 1750) to improve the whole administrative machinery at a time of general decadence both in Holland and the Indies.

Daendels and Raffles

The period from 1795 to 1815 brought to the East Indies the after-effects of the disturbances which the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era had created in Holland. Mr. Furnivall tersely sums up the country's position by the grim observation that "for twenty years from 1795 the unfortunate Dutch had the privilege of being regarded as friends and allies by both France and England; the French overran and ruled their country, and the English took their colonies and their trade." In Java the events of those years were grouped around the vigorous personalities of Daendels and Raffles, both of which are reviewed with judicial fairness. So far as Daendels is concerned, Mr. Furnivall adopts the present-day Dutch estimate of his value and his shortcomings which De Kat Angelino summed up in the terse words: "But for Daendels no Raffles." Of the latter he observes: "Raffles had the force and energy of Daendels, but a far wider range of vision, and enjoyed in a supreme degree the gifts of charm and sympathy which Daendels lacked." Even so, he would hardly have been able to achieve the measure of success he attained but for the fact that economic conditions in the Dutch East Indies were totally different under British rule from what they were under Dutch. For the Dutch had nothing to sell to the local population. Their only prospect of making a profit out of the colony rested on stimulating production and buying cheaply from the natives. By 1800 England was producing vast quantities of cheap cottons which could undersell local produce even in British India. Consequently "an increase in the welfare and the consuming power of the natives was prejudicial to the Dutch, but profitable to the English, so that the economic environment of Daendels and Raffles was not merely dissimilar but contrary." And so was their political situation, owing to British command of the sea routes between Java and Europe.

The Culture System and Liberalism

The years which followed the restoration of the Indies to the Dutch were years of "uncertainty" in which the strong-minded King Willem I fought a ceaseless struggle with his subjects "who were still dreaming of 1600 and, as then, could not combine except on the smallest scale." They had, in fact, "the same particularism, but no longer the same energy." This period led ultimately to the *Culture System* of Van den Bosch (Governor-General 1830-1833), which dominated East Indian policy until 1850 and was finally superseded by Liberalism in 1870. The various aspects of the *Culture System* as it affected the colony, the

motherland and the native population are comprehensively presented in this study with a remarkable insight into the motives that actuated the various individuals and parties both in Java and in Holland who shaped the country's policy at different times.

An interesting sidelight on the book which had a material part in the abolition of the old régime and the institution of a more modern type of rule, based on liberal *laissez faire* principles, is furnished by the author's criticism of Multatuli's *Max Havelaar*. As a picture of official life in Java, Mr. Furnivall observes, "the story is almost incredible, and one can hardly conceive it finding credence, or even readers in England, where the verdict would probably be that a man like Dekker, by his own account so insubordinate and hasty, deserved all he got, and did not deserve to be believed." It may be worth mentioning that the present reviewer's father, who was an intimate personal friend of Douwes Dekker, but who as a civil servant in Java had studied the official records of his career, reached the same opinion of his book and actions. But the fact remains that it *did* succeed in stirring public conscience in Holland, and so helped in no small degree to discredit the old system and prepare for the new.

The latter part of the nineteenth century, almost to the end of the nineties, is dominated by the principle of allowing to private initiative in trade and production the greatest possible liberty, coupled with a centralized and autocratic system of government. The Liberal politicians "differed from all their predecessors since Raffles in holding that for the development of (Netherlands) India no plan was necessary; they held that, if the State should look to the maintenance of Law and Order, the unregulated working of the economic process under the direction of the economic motive, the desire for individual gain, would promote the general welfare." Of this period of Dutch colonial development the present book provides a comprehensive survey.

The "Ethical" Policy

By 1900 Liberalism was an outworn creed. For in the new world that had been created by this time the balance of economic power in Java no longer lay with the Government but with private capital, and this was no longer wielded by a few wealthy planters but by a number of powerful corporations. And whereas the former acted in isolation, the latter were organized to take joint action for the protection of their common interests. The new economic structure was no longer individualist, but capitalist. From this arose a whole set of circumstances that once again brought about a fundamental change in the principles

by which Dutch sovereignty was exercised in the Indies. The study of these changes are of direct interest and utility to British administrators both in India and in British colonies. The material which Mr. Furnivall has condensed and carefully marshalled in the relevant chapters of his book will no doubt receive in this country the close attention it deserves.

Even before the turn of the century a great deal of criticism of Liberal colonial principles and methods had been voiced: by Van Deventer in his pamphlet branding the credit balances of the East Indian budgets that had been transferred to the mother country's exchequer as a "Debt of Honour" (*Eereschuld*), even by Van Dedem, himself a Liberal Cabinet Minister, in his project of Decentralization, and by critics like Kielstra, Fock, and others. It had also found expression in the colonial paragraphs of the political programme of Dr. Abraham Kuyper (Prime Minister 1901-1905), whose party is at present headed by Dr. Colijin, the strongest Prime Minister Holland has known in recent times.

But before the so-called "*Ethical*" *Course* could begin to shape Government policy, there had first to be such a consolidation of Dutch authority in the Outer Districts as had long obtained in Java. With this the name of General J. B. van Heutsz is indissolubly linked, first by his pacification of Acheh, and then by the extension of his work to all other parts of the Archipelago during his own term of Governorship (1904-1909). In this connection some mention might have been made of the part played by Jhr. Carel van der Wijck (Governor-General 1893-1899), who was the first to give van Heutsz a chance to put his ideas into practice, and of the remarkable fact that the latter, as Commander-in-Chief in Acheh, reversed the experience of his predecessors not by means of any great extension in troops or armaments, but largely by reconstituting the morale of his forces, and by systematically consolidating every tactical success into a strategic gain. The rôle played by Colijn, then a major in the Dutch colonial army and van Heutsz's right-hand man, in establishing the principles on which the administration of the Outer Districts was to be based, might also usefully have been brought out.

Towards the New Era

When it comes to unravelling the many frequently conflicting currents which ultimately formed the broad stream of colonial life that fills the period which began with the century and was terminated sharply by the slump of 1930, Mr. Furnivall's book will no doubt long remain the standard work for English readers. In the second half of his book, which is his more substantial con-

tribution to the history of the Dutch East Indies, the author deals in detail with "Efficiency, Welfare, and Autonomy," with "Administrative and Political Reforms," with "Economic Progress" and "Social Economy," while a chapter in the nature of an addendum relates "Some Effects of the Crisis of 1929," and a concluding one sums up the writer's views on what he terms "Plural Economy."

It is these chapters that the reader who has no access to Dutch sources will find a mine of information, especially since the abundant material provided by Dutch writers has here been carefully sifted, analyzed and related to the facts as the writer has himself been able to study them in Java. It is here too that he brings out the "plural" character of the social and economic organization of the Dutch colonies. This plural society is defined as one "comprising two or more elements or social orders which live side by side, yet without mingling, in one political unit." It is the writer's view that in such a society "the community tends to be organized for production rather than for social life." Social life, he holds, becomes sectionalized, and thereby "disorganized and ineffective," while members of the community within each social section "are debarred from leading the full life of a citizen in a homogeneous community." The reaction against this, it is said, takes in each section "the form of Nationalism" and "sets one community against the other so as to emphasize the plural character of the society and aggravate its instability, thereby enhancing the need for it to be held together by some force exerted from outside."

To those who were born and bred in Java, and whose forbears lived and worked there for many generations in close contact with the native community, the discovery that they have been living in a "plural" society must bring a surprise similar to that of M. Jourdain's when he found that he had been speaking prose all his life without knowing it. Whether it really makes any fundamental difference in fact, other than giving a label to a well-known set of circumstances, may perhaps be doubted. One has the whole history of Europe to demonstrate that profound cleavages can occur within racially homogeneous societies by imagined antagonisms between classes or groups of its citizens. In Holland itself civic and provincial particularism, religious differences, and more recently the "class-consciousness" of a deluded proletariat, have more than once brought about disruptive tendencies which only "some force exerted from outside" (or the reaction against it) has eventually overcome.

Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that where a separatist "nationalism" is added to the other grounds for differentiation, a further disruptive element is introduced. But that is mainly

because since some sixty years, and especially since the World War, nationalism has ousted in importance the other sundering influences that used to be paramount such as religion, social class, or economic antagonism.

Conscious Nationalism in Insulinde

But while that side of the author's argument may seem the less convincing, and perhaps the less important, part of his book, he does well to point out at every stage the extent to which social measures and governmental policy alike are conditioned by economic factors, both in the colony and in the motherland. Invaluable also is the careful analysis provided of the different steps in the growth of a national consciousness among the various classes of inhabitants in Java and its gradual crystallization in political parties. For it is not only among the Indonesians that such feelings have arisen and found expression in the formation of more or less stable political parties, but also among the Chinese and the "Indo-Europeans" or "Indos," and, almost by way of a reaction, among the Dutch settlers themselves. Finally the influence exercised by foreign nationals through their interests in Dutch East Indian agricultural or other companies, or, as in the case of the Japanese, through their officially backed trading policy, is also presented with, on the whole, reliable accuracy. On the important subject of the position and aspirations of the Indos, however, the able contribution of Mr. J. Th. Petrus Blumberger to the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, entitled *Indo-Europeesche Beweging*, might usefully have been consulted.

However, even where the reader may differ from the author's views or conclusions, or feel that lack of personal acquaintance with the daily life of the people may have unduly focussed his attention on the official side of measures and reforms and their effects, he will study with interest and profit his many comparisons between the course of events in the Dutch East Indies and in India and Burma, both for what they have in common and for their differences.

The sections devoted to education are full of useful details, but those dealing with public health do inadequate justice to a subject in regard to which official activity in the Indies goes back to the days of Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Nothing would have been more instructive in elucidating modern medical developments than to cast a glance at the strenuous efforts made by the Dutch East India Company throughout its career—and their utter barrenness in results. The omission is the less warranted since the publication by Dr. D. Schoute in 1929 of his admirable study on *De Geneeskundige in den Dienst der Oost-Indische Compagnie in*

Nederlandsch-Indië (1929) has placed the material ready to hand.

Unsatisfying too is the chapter dealing with the years that followed upon the world-wide slump of 1930. Although the book appears to have been completed in 1938, the figures and facts under this heading do not carry the story much beyond 1933-1934. Thus the important changes that have been taking place since 1935 and which look like ushering in an altogether new period in Dutch colonial history are not referred to. In this connection the notable change in Japan's position in the East Indies during recent years, and the failure of the efforts to establish Japanese farmer colonies in the healthy and fertile uplands of the Preanger, might usefully have been dealt with.

Another matter which one is somewhat surprised to find omitted from the very able and painstaking analyses of the economic relations between the colony and the mother country, is an estimate of the indirect monetary benefits that have been accruing to Holland from the Indian connection, quite outside any *Batig Slot* transferred from the colonial to the Dutch exchequer. Admittedly this fact is not always sufficiently appreciated in Holland itself, and yet there can be no doubt that the great development of Dutch commerce, shipping, banking, insurance, and warehouse business, among others, which has marked the first thirty years of this century is directly based not only upon Dutch East Indian trade, but upon the steady flow of dividends, pensions to ex-Government and public company servants, and of monies earned in the Indies but spent in Holland, or from there invested all over the world. It has been estimated that without the East Indian connection Holland would be unable to maintain her present population of 8 millions, but could probably support only 5 to 6 millions, and even those not on the present standard of living. This factor is not the least among those that must always condition the Dutch outlook upon developments in Insulinde.

A curious omission in the sections dealing with cultural activities is the absence of an adequate account of the fine archæological work carried out under Government auspices.

A Standard Work of Great Utility

But though one may express certain reservations on some of the authors' conclusions, or the wish that a few other matters had been more fully dealt with, this work will nevertheless stand out for a long time to come as the standard work for English readers in regard to the conditions under which Holland shaped and carried into effect her colonial policy during the whole of the

nineteenth and the first thirty years of the twentieth century. It will also enable subsequent writers to concentrate upon the detailed aspects of specific problems with the comfortable feeling that a general background for their statements has already been most ably and effectively provided.

In conclusion it may be observed that, considering the tendency of British compositors to maltreat foreign words, the author has succeeded to a remarkable degree in getting his Dutch titles and quotations faultlessly printed. One or two slips, such as "*Institut Koloniaal*" for "*Koloniaal Instituut*" (p. xvii), Oldenbarneveld for Oldenbarnevelt (p. 23), a better definition of *batik* (p. xxi), which is not "drawing with wax on cloth," but dyeing cloth after covering parts with wax, and suchlike, will no doubt be rectified in the subsequent editions which this work is sure to enjoy. The bibliographies mentioned both in general and in reference to individual chapters should prove most useful to serious students. The sketch maps are not particularly helpful, and surely the general map of the East Indian Archipelago should have made clear the relative position of these islands between India and Australia on the one hand, and between Australia and China and Japan on the other, even though the subject of defence falls outside the scope of this work.

The appreciative *Introduction* by Jonkheer A. C. de Graeff is doubly valuable as coming from one of the few Governors-General of recent years who made his career in the Java Civil Service, and is consequently able to appreciate Mr. Furnivall's account and comparisons from the point of view of an "insider," and not only from a vice-regal altitude. Finally the Cambridge University Press deserves credit for the good print and, notwithstanding its bulk, handy size of this volume.

WELFARE WORK IN THE FRENCH COLONIES*

By Gaston Joseph
(President, Société des Anciens Élèves de l'École Coloniale)

It is now more than thirty years since my functions as an Administrator in the forest district of the Ivory Coast brought me into contact with native communities hitherto unvisited by any Europeans.

The natives were living in the most deplorable sanitary conditions. The bush was closing in around the miserable dilapidated huts where they buried their dead. Before their doorsteps rubbish and offal were accumulating. The population was falling a defenceless victim to the epidemics which they fancied they could avert by chants, spells, and witchcraft.

When I mustered them they showed a pitiful array of very primitive human beings, completely unarmed against all the natural calamities. A heavy percentage among them proved to be suffering from very serious diseases and disablements, leprosy, ulcers, enormous elephantiasis, blindness, and very many other infirmities. Rickety children, often covered with horrible sores, were yet the fittest survivors after the ruthless selection made by death in babyhood. Infant deaths numbered as many as 75 and 80 per cent. Smallpox was rife and would wipe out whole communities.

Such a terrible amount of suffering and the inability of the individuals to find any relief was a truly heartrending sight. On this occasion I was in a position to gauge the immense task which had fallen to the lot of my country when taking into her guardianship those unfortunate peoples. I could but think of the benefits which our medical and social science would at last bring to these human communities lost in the deep and dark African jungle; I could imagine the expense and self-sacrifice involved if such a work were to be extended to our whole Empire, and were to be carried out rapidly and successfully. But I could also realize the very happy consequences that would result for France if the action were conducted with a boldness worthy of her, and if it saved millions of individuals and gave them a hitherto unknown relish for life: then their hearts would certainly be conquered even more effectively than their territories.

When the country was first occupied we were very short of experts and of financial support. However, doctors, civil servants,

* The text of this article was broadcast recently by Radio-Paris.

and colonists all set to work with a will, and their joint efforts were soon backed by admirable voluntary assistance.

It would be superfluous to expatiate in praise of the missionary sisters. With their gentleness, their kindness, their complete self-sacrifice, wherever human beings have lain in the most appalling misery, they have ever been ready to help. And how many of them, having fallen victims themselves to exhaustion and sickness, now rest under a small wooden cross in our colonial cemeteries!

In the early days of our colony of Congo these same sisters would travel on foot the 360 odd miles between Brazzaville and Loango. Under a leaden sky they would trudge on towards their charitable mission along the difficult and dangerous tracks followed by caravans. Many of them went with no thought of ever leaving the country; others would not allow themselves to be sent home until completely exhausted by many years of the hardest work.

I wish here to pay homage to their achievements, as also to those of a lay worker, of humble birth and of the most noble courage and devotion, whom we in Senegal used to call affectionately "Mother Thérèse." The Cross of Officer of the Legion of Honour was awarded to the merits of this big-hearted Frenchwoman. Mother Thérèse died recently, after having spent her whole life in helping the destitute and the sick. She was always first to bring her benevolent help to the most dangerous places; wherever an epidemic of plague or yellow fever happened to break out, she was at once on the spot.

Since those days, however, much progress has been made. The medical corps for the colonies has been considerably reinforced. Hospitals and dispensing clinics have been opened in large numbers, and are always full of patients. The economic prosperity of the Empire has brought an appreciable increase in the financial resources of the several colonies, and the portion thereof which is set apart for the sanitary and social protection of the natives is already quite an important one. Native doctors, midwives, nurses are trained in the Government institutions. And now that the whites can live in the colonies with their wives and families, Frenchwomen have become active and valuable volunteers in welfare work.

But with every fresh step along the path of progress, the magnitude of the task that remains to be done appears ever greater, its diversity ever more bewildering, its expenses ever more heavy. It calls for the contribution of private charity, for the ever wider co-operation of private individuals, whether belonging to the well-to-do Europeans or to the natives who have derived material profit from the labour of colonial communities.

The results achieved in Cochinchina may serve as an example

to be followed. In each province of this colony associations for mutual assistance and social welfare have been founded. They are controlled by a central committee to which may belong, regardless of their opinions or origins, all the persons who actually give moral and material protection to the destitute.

The institutions in existence make up a long, but not uninteresting, list. There are 28 infant welfare centres, 7 children's day wards, 22 dispensaries for children, 4 milk distribution centres ("Gouttes de Lait"), 26 orphans' homes, 4 boys' clubs, 2 girls' clubs, 21 school canteens, 3 schools for difficult children ("maisons d'éducation surveillée"), 16 homes for the aged, 1 school for the blind, 1 for the deaf and dumb, 14 hospitals for cripples and incurables, 10 night shelters, 2 committees for the assistance to the unemployed, 1 "Bureau de Bienfaisance," 1 committee for assistance to the victims of general calamities, dispensaries and laboratories for research, dealing with tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria, and syphilis.

Cochinchina has set a standard for the action to be waged in every part of our Empire. But to obtain the highest results this action should be controlled by a directing hand which can coordinate the various efforts to the best effect. It is also necessary to direct public benevolence towards the most urgent necessities, to avoid the dispersion or overlapping of efforts, and to schedule the various works to be organized in the order of their urgency.

Together with peace and the dispensing of unbiassed justice which our dominion has bestowed on the native peoples, our work of welfare and social assistance is doubtless most highly prized by the subjects of our Empire. Thanks to them, the many plagues and evils which victimized so many individuals are kept at bay, and so many benefits altogether accrue from them that they must contribute greatly to bind together the Empire and the mother country with such a strong link as will withstand any assault.

(*Translated.*)

ANTI-MALARIAL MEASURES IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

From a Medical Correspondent in Holland

Earlier History

Malaria is endemic in many regions of the Netherlands East Indies; in Java and the other islands. Not only low-lying lands in the coastal zone, but also hilly or mountainous regions in the interior may be badly affected. It is particularly the natives who suffer intensely from this disease, as they are still largely ignorant of protective measures. The malaria problem therefore is a vast one, but nevertheless the Colonial Government has tackled it with success.

Spurred on by Ross's discovery of malaria-transmission by Anophelinæ, investigations were made in Holland in the first decade of the twentieth century to ascertain whether the development of the malaria-plasmodia could also be demonstrated in the Netherlands East Indian Anopheles. These investigations were partly aimed at finding out as accurately as was possible at the time the causes that promoted the occurrence of malaria in certain places and how malaria could be best controlled. Although it was soon proved that the Anopheles from the brackish-water zone was especially to be feared, there was not yet adequate scientific knowledge for an organized control of the disease. A change was brought about in this situation when, thanks to the happy co-operation of Schüffner and Swellengrebel, the foundations of a rational attack on malaria in the Archipelago were laid about 1914.

The task was so comprehensive that the need of hygienists specially entrusted with this work became steadily more imperative. In 1924 a Central Malaria Bureau was founded as a subdivision of the Public Health Service. This Malaria Bureau keeps in constant contact with the Sanitary Department, thus furthering the co-operation between the engineer and the malariologist in sanitation problems. As, however, the majority of the Government physicians, as a rule, had insufficient time to occupy themselves with the details of a complete local investigation of malaria, the Malaria Bureau in 1926 opened a course for training so-called malaria-mantris (malaria native assistants). A second course followed in 1927, and there are now about 150 native malaria assistants spread over the entire Archipelago in the employment

of local bodies and self-governing districts. These native assistants are trained to determine the various species of Anopheles mosquitoes and their larvæ, to examine blood slides, to make stomach sections of mosquitoes and to chart simple local sketch-maps.

It has repeatedly been proved that malaria, even in the days before any malaria control was undertaken, had a greater detrimental influence on the mortality statistics of towns than of rural districts. The annual mortality in the Mangga Doea district of Old Batavia for instance was 105 per 1,000. This is partly to be attributed to the crowding together of the inhabitants, which contributed to the contagion. No other disease occurs in the Netherlands East Indies that causes as many deaths as malaria. The general death-rate for rural Java averages, according to Dr. J. G. Overbeek, Chief of the Malaria Bureau, 20 per 1,000. In regions where malaria, however, is chronically endemic, the mortality curve rises to between 25 and 50 per 1,000, and if malaria rages epidemically, the mortality may be as high as 400 per 1,000, as happened in the town of Kendal in the Regency of Cheribon (Java) in 1917.

When the knowledge concerning the infection of malaria by Anopheles mosquitoes had once been acquired, efforts against malaria were mainly directed in the towns, the most important centres of the native population, for malaria was just as serious in the towns as in the rural districts. Various coastal towns, both in Java and in the other islands, were notorious hotbeds of malaria. Owing to the fact that in the rural districts an extensive area is involved, while its population is scattered, it was not considered advisable at the time to commence costly sanitation works in these rural districts. Moreover, the entire urban organisation rendered the carrying out of control measures much easier than could be the case in the rural areas. The necessary control of the technical works could be better maintained in the towns. Sanitary engineering operations to combat malaria have been put into effect in various places along the coasts of Sumatra and Java since 1910—at Sibolga, Belawan Deli, Tjilatjap, Semarang, Tegal, Batavia, Soerabaya, Panaroekan, Patjitan, Toeban, Tambokbojo. In the Outer Possessions also a few more or less important sanitation projects were carried out.

Though after Ross's discovery that the Anopheles mosquito transmitted malaria from one person to another, people were at first optimistic concerning the possibility of stamping out malaria, subsequent years have shown that a careful study of the biology of these mosquitoes was necessary before a successful attempt to control the disease could be attempted. It was soon shown that, whereas almost thirty different kinds of Anopheles have been found in the Netherlands East Indies so far, the number of those

which cause malaria is practically restricted to eight or nine. But even then the malaria fighter is still faced with a problem of enormous dimensions. Thus the north coast of Java forms an almost continuous series of breeding-places of the most dangerous malaria transmitter of the Netherlands East Indies—viz., the *Anopheles Ludlowi*, a mosquito which, in Java at any rate, breeds almost exclusively in brackish water.

Undoubtedly malaria in its worst form prevails on the coast, and it is here that the most prolific field for malaria control is found. Not all coasts, however, are naturally dangerous in this respect. Some investigators state that the low, muddy coasts of Borneo and of East Sumatra are practically free from malaria in the regions where man did not intervene. Here the salutary working of high and low tides, which the Anopheles larvæ are not capable of withstanding, extends far inland, and asserts itself most of all in the broad mangrove forests. Generally speaking, the virgin coastal forest, which consists of various varieties of mangrove, is not considered dangerous in regard to malaria as long as it is regularly reached by the tide. Palembang, a town of 80,000 inhabitants in South Sumatra, and the principal towns of West and of East Borneo—Pontianak and Bandjermassin —owe the fact that they are comparatively free from malaria to their situation on coasts where the foregoing conditions prevail. If, however, man starts interfering with nature by constructing roads or dykes, the situation may become serious within a short time, for such activities are usually accompanied by the cutting of the mangrove forest. Thus there is every possible opportunity for the formation of stagnant brackish water, and as the latter becomes exposed to the glaring sun it is eminently suitable for the above-mentioned *Anopheles Ludlowi*, which prefers stagnant, brackish water and sunlight. Numerous instances could be mentioned of coastal districts becoming thus affected (Belawan).

In quite a different way the coast has been made dangerous from time immemorial chiefly through the native population laying out saltwater fish-ponds. After the forest has been cut down, the ground is divided into sections by means of dams, and thus the water is withdrawn from the regular influence of high and low tide. As the population, especially in West Java, believes that floating algæ form an indispensable food for the fish reared in the ponds, they promote the algæ vegetation as much as possible; as the small larvæ-eating fish, which are found in the brackish water zone, can only reach their prey in open water, brackish water with a considerable algæ vegetation ranks among the most dangerous breeding-places.

It will, therefore, cause no great surprise that, when the exceedingly noxious consequences of this pisciculture with an

intensive vegetation of floating algæ had been convincingly demonstrated, it became necessary to study the best method of controlling this state of affairs. By filling up the ponds all breeding of Anopheles could of course be prevented. For Batavia and Tandjong Priok this would involve an expenditure of about 20 million florins. Moreover, the natives would lose an important supply of food and bartering material. The fish-ponds are by no means found only in Java, but also in Celebes, Sumatra and the Lesser Soenda Islands.

Fish-Ponds

This salt-water fish-pond problem belongs to the most important questions in the matter of malaria control in the Netherlands East Indies. Dr. E. W. Walch, in collaboration with Dr. Reyntjes, planned the so-called "hygienic fish-pond exploitation method" consisting in keeping the surface of the ponds free from all vegetation (and thus free from the larvæ of the malaria-carrying Anophelines). Another method consists of re-establishing the tidal influx of sea-water. Between the years 1928 and 1933 over 791 acres of fish-ponds were improved on one of these lines on the northern boundary of Batavia. The length of the coast-line thus treated involved about 2½ miles, with an expenditure of 2 million florins of which 750,000 florins were allocated to the purchase of the ponds. Stocking with the larvæ-eating fish *Haplochilus panchax* naturally remains essential for the ponds treated in this way.

Although this method of sanitary exploitation was first started in the main centres, it slowly spread along the entire north and east coast of Java over the so-called rural areas. Large sums for this purpose were made available by the Government, and the malaria-infected regions greatly benefited by these control measures. Although in the beginning a certain reluctance had to be overcome, the people in the long run have shown a remarkable readiness to co-operate in this fight against the larvæ of the malaria mosquitoes. As a rule the native is not inclined to change his methods for the mere purpose of combating malaria, but as soon as he grasps the possible economic advantages which may accrue from a measure then he readily co-operates.

An interesting example of such an experience will be found in *Notes For and About Practical Work* (Landbouw, vol. xi., no. 2, August, 1935), as related by Mr. Schuster, an officer of the Inland Fisheries. A group of fish-ponds of about 500 acres in the district of Porrong in the Regency of Sidoadjo (East Java) could not be exploited efficiently on account of a lack of water supply. In 1930 the rental value of these ponds had dropped severely; in 1934 one of the ponds was rented by the Inland Fisheries to be exploited in

collaboration with the natives as a demonstration. As a result of the good supply of fish yielded by these ponds after the work was started, the interest of the people in their own ponds was aroused, but an efficient improvement of the entire complex could only be attained if the capacity of the supply channel could be raised. A local meeting of the village headmen and the owners of the ponds was called. The fish breeders declared themselves willing to pay a small contribution, while the village headmen arranged to have the work executed by voluntary labour in return for a small remuneration for the food of the labourers. The work was finished in one week! Each day from 800 to 850 labourers came to work. A good supply of sea-water became available, and within a short time the results became visible; a handsome profit was made by the sale of shrimps, the ponds could easily be kept clean from algæ vegetation and thus offered no opportunity for mosquito breeding. In an indirect way malaria was greatly reduced. On the basis of such successful experiments as described above, the Government can easily win support for the passing of decrees or regulations in order to make improvements permanent and to compel stubborn opponents to adapt themselves to the exigencies of public welfare.

Although the first attack on malaria was in the beginning primarily concentrated on the urban situation, this does not mean that the rural districts were neglected. Various important sanitation works were executed in the rural areas for the purpose of combating the so-called sawah (irrigated ricefield) malaria, beginning with the Tjihea and Tjiandjoer plains.

The name of Tjihea is held in special honour by the malaria fighters of the Netherlands East Indies, because on the plain of Tjihea they scored a spectacular victory. The name of Dr. R. M. M. Mangkoewinoto is linked with the anti-malaria control works carried out on this plain. As early as 1865 the then governing native Regent conceived the idea of flooding this poverty-stricken plain with water from the Tjisokan. Frequent landslides made the enterprise a failure, and the Regent succeeded in inundating only about 300 acres of ricefield. Later, when the Government became interested in the irrigation of this plain, the old project was reconsidered. After thirteen years of heavy labour and an expense of 5 million florins, the irrigation works were completed in 1904. A great number of sawah peasants were imported from other districts. The harvest fulfilled all expectations. The farmers hurried to reap prosperity, and they planted the ricefields in rapid succession so that the ground never had an opportunity to become dry. As soon as one crop was reaped, the fields were inundated again, which was possible because no planting regulations existed. This golden age, however, did not last

long, for owing to the constant inundation the fertility of the ground rapidly decreased and malaria claimed a heavy toll from the toiling workers.

The Tjihea Plain

Malaria had not been unknown in the Tjihea plain. According to stories circulating among its inhabitants, the army of Mataram, when it marched against Padjadjaran centuries ago, had been decimated by a severe outbreak of malaria. After the completion of the irrigation system a dangerous situation arose, because extremely favourable conditions for the breeding of Anophelines were created. Many peasants fled from the unhealthy region, which aggravated the situation as the ricefields were left flooded. The immediate result was a shortage of labour.

The continual floodings greatly favoured the breeding of *Anopheles aconitus*, a dangerous species which especially flourishes in wet, fallow sawahs after the harvest, and in neglected ditches. The density of *Anopheles aconitus* was continually on the increase and with it the occurrence of the dreaded malaria.

In 1919, on the advice of Dr. R. M. M. Mangkoewinoto, the following measures were taken to combat the disease: Complete drying out of the sawahs following the reaping of the crop and also of the unused sawahs, simultaneous planting of the sawahs, the maintenance of the supply and drainage canals of the irrigation system and the provision of a better outlet of surplus irrigation water. The result was striking; the annual death-rate, which in 1919 was 33·5 per 1,000 slowly dropped, and in 1935 was only 15 per 1,000.

Anyone who comes into contact with malaria control work is baffled by the complexity of this problem. No line of attack which has been followed successfully in one place can be relied upon in other places, although the circumstances may look alike. No general rule for a rational attack on malaria exists. Every situation has to be studied from the local angle, because, even if a new case may be apparently analogous to the foregoing one but for a small unimportant difference, entirely different control measures may have to be applied and adapted to that particular situation. Nature has countless ways of confounding man in his fight against her, and so it is that the malaria fighter is always confronted with an ever-changing and intricate problem.

Tjiandjoer

The history of malaria control on the Tjiandjoer plain differs in many instances from that of the Tjihea plain, because here certain conditions existed which, although unseen by the eye of

an untrained observer, demanded measures dissimilar from those on the Tjihea plain. Numerous permanent fish-ponds were found in this region, and in the sawahs a fish-breeding industry had developed. These new factors had to be taken into account. New planting regulations were put into effect and field irrigation works started. In 1936 the so-called Tjiandjoer I and II regions were technically irrigated over an area of 8,649 acres. The cost of this work amounted to 60,000 florins. The expenses involved in irrigating the remainder of the plain will amount to 400,000 florins. The completion of this work is not expected before the end of 1939. Furthermore, a campaign has been in progress to instruct the people regarding the hygienic exploitation of the sawah fish-ponds for the benefit of their industry and the simultaneous eradication of malaria.

The well-known methods of flushing or sluicing, oiling or spraying, drainage and shading are all applied whenever and wherever they promise good results. The biological method of shading was first introduced in West Java in 1930 to combat the *Anopheles maculatus*. As a rule the planning of new estates demands the cutting down of virgin forest, whereby are created all the conditions favouring the breeding of this mosquito, a sun breeder. The object of shading is to restore the original conditions and deprive the *Anopheles maculatus* of its chance to breed. This shading system has been successfully applied on various estates in West Java. In addition to the bush *Tithonia diversifolia* (Marigold), other trees and shrubs were also used successfully for this purpose.

The stocking of ponds with larvæ-eating fish is carried out on a large scale. The most important among the fish used in the Netherlands East Indies are the kepala timah (*Haplochilus panchax*), the *Haplochilus javanicus*, the djoeloeng and the *Libistus reticulatus*. The first mentioned has the advantage of being able to live in fresh as well as in brackish and salty water.

While all these technical control measures are mainly directed against the larvæ of the malaria-carrying mosquitoes, unremitting medical attention is being concentrated on the treatment of malaria patients and on the prevention of malaria. In this respect quinine has proven in the Netherlands East Indies, as everywhere in the tropics, to be the corner-stone of the treatment of malaria. The medical officers of the Malaria Bureau consider "quininization" of a population threatened by malaria essential. In several cases of a serious outbreak of malaria when everybody was threatened by the acute danger of being infected, a systematic "quininization," supported by an intensive propaganda campaign, was carried out on a large scale. As an illustration of how considerable results can be obtained in a comparatively short time, I

may instance the suppression of a malaria epidemic in 1926 in the subdistrict of Bonoredjo (18,000 inhabitants), north of Solo. A separate quinine distribution station was opened for every 500 to 800 inhabitants, and the drug was also distributed to the affected patients at their homes. A considerable fall in the death-rate concurred with the introduction of the systematic "quininization."

The League of Nations Commission

The important findings of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations have guided the malaria fighters of the Netherlands East Indies both as to the use and the dose of quinine. As is well known, this Malaria Commission recommends a daily dose of 15 to 20 grains of quinine during 5 to 7 days for treating an attack of malaria and a daily dose of 6 grains of quinine throughout the fever season to prevent malaria. On page 124 of its report (English edition), issued in 1938, this same Malaria Commission stresses the fact that the harmlessness of quinine makes it a suitable drug for administration by subordinate personnel without constant medical supervision, whereas such supervision is essential in the case of synthetic products. And again on page 125 of the same edition this Malaria Commission points out that among the anti-malarial drugs quinine still ranks first in current practice, by reason of its clinical effectiveness and almost complete absence of toxicity, coupled with the widespread knowledge of its use and dosage.

The short quinine treatment, as recommended by the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations and described above, has been successfully carried out for some years in the Netherlands East Indies. The history of the anti-malarial measures in the Netherlands East Indies proves that sound reasoning and common sense may still be considered powerful weapons in the hands of the malaria fighter when he is confronted with a native population which needs to be educated to an understanding of the economic and sanitary value of malaria control. Although the public mind may be somewhat slow in grasping the opportunities, it nevertheless ends up by being convinced that the people are the losers if the advice of the malaria specialist is not accepted. As already elucidated above, sanitation constitutes an important factor in the anti-malarial struggle. Medication, however, still occupies the front line. The cost of drainage is very considerable, and also the loss of time involved. Moreover, it can only be executed after a thorough and detailed investigation of all the aspects of the problem, and even then it runs the risk of failure.

Dr. Čedomir Simič, chief of the Yugoslavian Malaria Sanitation, in an article dealing with the malaria situation of southern Yugo-

slavia, writes: "The problems of complete eradication of mosquitoes is more complicated. To destroy all breeding-places of these insects is impossible, even if we had at our disposal the greatest financial help." And at the Geneva meeting of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations in 1928, Professor Nocht stated: "The treatment of malarious individuals is essential to all anti-malarial campaigns." Indeed, compared to sanitation, "quininization" remains cheap and effective, it relieves the patient forthwith and it prevents a lot of trouble. Fortunately, the combined efforts of the medical and sanitary authorities in the Netherlands East Indies have succeeded in awakening the mind of the native to the destructive rôle malaria plays in their individual and communal life. It is one of the achievements of which they may justly be proud.

TOTAQUINA

A NEW STANDARD PREPARATION RECOMMENDED BY THE MALARIA COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR "MASS TREATMENT"

By M. Ciuca

The cost of the treatment of malaria and in particular the cost of quinine is one of the problems connected with the extent of malaria and the various aspects of its endemicity which have had the special attention of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations since its creation in 1924. It was claimed that the great majority of patients were receiving no treatment at all, while hundreds of thousands of malaria deaths were returned by health administrations, particularly in tropical countries.

The production of quinine was maintained at the level of the demand, which amounted to approximately 600 tons a year. This figure pointed to under-consumption in view of the fact that almost one-fifth of the world's population is affected by malaria.

A number of malarious countries with limited resources informed the Malaria Commission in 1924 that it was economically difficult for them to buy enough quinine for the treatment of their patients. The above was confirmed by the results of an enquiry made by the Commission during 1931-32 with the collaboration of 93 malarious countries representing a total population of 1,590,871,000, for, although hundreds of millions of people were suffering from malaria, barely 17,750,000 *were receiving treatment, generally at the very low rate of less than one gramme of quinine per patient.*

Quinine was considered to be a costly drug for a malarious country in which the general epidemic conditions call for the regular treatment of communities.

The commission decided to make one of its chief objects the search for some new therapeutic means of relieving the situation in which the poorer countries found themselves, and drew up a programme of research into the possibility of *increasing the available amounts of drugs* and *decreasing the cost of treatment,* limited at that time almost exclusively to the use of quinine.

* * * * *

India's wide experience was made the starting-point of this research. In that sub-continent alkaloid mixtures and total

alkaloids of cinchona bark had been used in the treatment of malaria since 1874.

> Let us remember that the febrifugal properties of cinchona bark were recognized 300 years ago and that the original source of supply of cinchona bark was in South America, where cinchona trees are indigenous in the forests of the Andes between 10° N. latitude and 19° S. latitude.*
>
> The febrifugal qualities of cinchona bark powder, known in Europe before 1646 (*Cortex peruviana* has figured in the London pharmacopœia since 1677), are due to a complex of four principal alkaloids—quinine, quinidine, cinchonidine, cinchonine—and of a certain number of subsidiary alkaloids whose anti-malarial action is negligible. The proportion of the alkaloids in cinchona bark varies according to the species of cinchona, the different parts of the tree, the various climatic conditions in which it is cultivated, etc. The bark of the varieties of *Cinchona calisaya* was found to be the richest in quinine, the therapeutic efficacy of which is no longer open to discussion. The variety "ledgeriana" of *Cinchona calisaya* found by Ledger in North Bolivia gave bark of the most outstanding quality containing 8 to 13 per cent. quinine.†
>
> As a result of the extermination of cinchona forests in South America, the Netherlands (1854) and Great Britain (1860) started in Java and in India respectively cinchona plantation trials and experiments for the selection of cinchona varieties particularly rich in quinine.
>
> *C. succirubra* and *C. robusta* (a hybrid of *C. officinalis* x *C. succirubra*), which are more resistant but yield a lower proportion of quinine, are particularly rich in *total alkaloids* (6 to 12 per cent.),‡ the anti-malarial efficacy of which was demonstrated in India as far back as 1876.
>
> Since that time "cinchona febrifuge," a mixture of the total alkaloids of *C. succirubra*, has been used in the treatment of malaria. The composition of this mixture has been changed since 1903 and now consists generally of the "residual alkaloids" remaining after the quinine has been extracted, with the readmixture of a certain amount of quinine. The reader will certainly appreciate the extent to

* Imperial Institute, *Indian Trade Enquiry*, 1922. (London, John Murray.)

† M. Kerbosch, "Cinchona Culture in Java: Its History and Present Situation" (*Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, No. 4, Vol. 71, 1931).

‡ *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the First Recognized Use of Cinchona* (St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A., 1931).

which the alkaloid content varies in mixtures extracted from different species of cinchona bark containing varying proportions of alkaloids, by methods which may also differ from one factory to another. The anti-malarial efficacy of the different alkaloid mixtures varied to the same extent.

* * * * *

PROGRAMME AND METHODS OF WORK.

In its search for an anti-malarial preparation cheaper than quinine but with the same efficacy, the Malaria Commission (*a*) instituted *control research into the efficacy, compared with that of quinine, of a certain number of secondary alkaloids and cinchona alkaloid mixtures such as Kinetum, Chineto, cinchona febrifuge, etc., used in the treatment of malaria in various countries.* The alkaloid contents of these preparations differed as much as their names. These preparations were analyzed chemically in order to establish the relation between their alkaloid content and their therapeutic qualities. Research carried out according to a common plan on over 4,000 *patients* belonging to a number of malarious countries with differing endemic characteristics proved that *the efficacy of preparations containing* 60 *to* 80 *per cent. crystallizable alkaloids including* 15 *per cent. quinine was equal to that of quinine alone.* It was therefore clear that these mixtures retained the febrifugal qualities of the alkaloids other than quinine.

The results of this research confirmed previous information concerning the anti-malarial efficacy of mixtures of cinchona alkaloids and pointed to *the necessity of standardizing these preparations,* for the experiments had shown that their efficacy was related to their alkaloid content and to the proportion in which the various alkaloids were present in the mixture. In 1931, the Commission recommended the use of a new standard preparation, *Totaquina,* containing 70 per cent. crystallizable alkaloids, including 15 per cent. quinine, and less than 20 per cent. amorphous alkaloids. The definition, characteristics, methods of analysis and the biological test of the new preparation were laid down by Giemsa, Groothof and Henry, and it was on these characteristics that its ultimate inclusion in national pharmacopœia was based.

(*b*) Arrangements were subsequently made for a new series of comparative experiments on five samples of Tortaquina prepared for this purpose: (1) Two samples of Type I. made by the extraction of alkaloids from *Cinchona succirubra* using the process employed in cinchona alkaloids factories up to the point at which the separation of the individual alkaloids is effected. (2) Three samples of Type II. made from "residual alkaloids" adjusted to the Malaria Commission's standard specification. The following table gives the composition of these samples:

COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLES OF TOTAQUINA USED FOR THE CLINICAL TESTS

	Type I.			*Type II.*				
	B. & W. Madras.			*Turin IIa.*		*Turin IIb.*		*Howards.*
	Analysis by					*Analysis by*		
	WCRL.	*Factory.*	*WCRL.*	*Factory.*	*WCRL.*	*Factory.*	*WCRL.*	*I.M.R. Kuala Lumpur.*
Quinine ...	32·5	32·0	26·1	15·84	17·0	26·90	28·5	19·3
Cinchonidine	34·2	30·0	31·2	7·91	6·6	25·58	21·1	5·3
Cinchonine	20·1	10·5	14·1	55·12	50·9	25·12	23·2	49·9
Quinidine ...	—	0·8	5·7	0·27	1·1	5·40	2·6	2·8
Total crystallizable alkaloids ...	86·8	73·3	77·1	79·14	75·6	83·00	75·4	77·3
Amorphous alkaloids	9·9	15·0	23·1	12·67	13·5	15·30	18·2	14·7
Moisture ...	2·6	4·8	—	3·28	3·0	—	—	2·3
Ash	0·2	4·5	0·7	3·94	4·3	—	trace	1·8

A special card, used by the workers of seven malarious countries, prescribed a five-days treatment with a dose of 0·60 gr. Totaquina per 70 kilos body weight in cases of benign tertian and 1·20 gr. in cases of malignant tertian or quartan. The lapse of time between the administration of a certain number of doses and the subsidence of the fever and the disappearance of parasites from the blood was taken as a basis in the statistics relating to the observation of the patients under treatment. The influence of the drug on the occurrence of relapses and on splenomegalia was also taken into account.

A control group was treated under the same conditions with the same doses of quinine.

The results obtained on 1,144 patients in seven malarious countries in Europe, Africa and the Far East were made the object of a critical examination by W. Fletcher and of a statistical study by E. J. Pampana. The conclusions, which were adopted by the Malaria Commission, were as follows:

> "Its efficacy is equal to, or only slightly less than, that of quinine; this substance seems able to fulfil the purpose laid down by the Commission in 1924. The facility of its preparation and its lower cost price should enable malaria treatment to be extended over a wider field."

* * * * *

The practical advantages of this new preparation are appreciated particularly by those malarious countries which possess cinchona plantations and those whose climatic conditions favour the cultivation of different species or hybrids rich in total alkaloids.

Totaquina, prepared by the total extraction of the alkaloids in the bark of *C. succirubra* or *C. robusta*, has the advantage of a distinctly lower price.

According to Marañon *et al.*, Totaquina could be obtained by the Government of the Philippines at one-seventh of the price of quinine sulphate imported from Java. Totaquina prepared from residual alkaloids and brought up to the required standard by the addition of quinine costs one-half of the price of quinine hydrochlorate in Malaya (*Annual Report of the Malaria Board*, 1937). In India the price of Totaquina is below that of sulphate of quinine and slightly higher than that of cinchona febrifuge (residual alkaloids). The reason for the difference in price of Totaquina in the Philippines and in other countries is to be found in the method of extraction and the local policy. Factories which are equipped for the extraction of quinine and for its subsequent addition to the residual alkaloids necessarily have higher investment charges than *those which are equipped solely for the total extraction of alkaloids.*

Summary

The theoretical result of ten years' research work with the co-operation of health administrations, experts and malariologists from malarious countries is an *increase in the amounts of anti-malarial preparations* available owing to the use in the collective treatment of malaria of total alkaloids in the bark of all species of cinchona, including those more easily cultivated than *C. ledgeriana.*

Totaquina is the name given by the Malaria Commission to the new preparation, which is a mixture of cinchona bark alkaloids containing at least 70 *per cent. crystallizable alkaloids and not less than* 15 *per cent. quinine.* The mixture should not contain more than 20 per cent. amorphous alkaloids nor more than 5 per cent. water, with 3 to 5 per cent. minerals.

Its efficacy is equal to that of an equivalent quantity of quinine (*i.e.*, 1 gramme Totaquina: 1 gramme quinine sulphate).

Totaquina Type I. is prepared by extracting the total alkaloids of the bark of *C. succirubra* or *C. robusta.* Totaquina Type II. is obtained by the addition to the "residual alkaloids" remaining after the extraction of quinine from the bark of *C. ledgeriana* or *its hybrids* of a sufficient amount of quinine or of crystallizable alkaloids to bring the mixture up to the required standard adopted.

As a matter of fact Totaquina Type I. has an efficacy slightly superior to that of Totaquina Type II. owing to the considerable proportion of quinine, cinchonidine and cinchonine present in the mixture. The samples of Type II. which contain a higher proportion of cinchonine (with febrifugal qualities inferior by some 50 per cent. to those of quinine) are slightly less effective.

Even when used in the strong doses necessitated by the special conditions of the disease in tropical countries, the cinchonism disturbances it produces are no greater than those caused by quinine.

All alkaloid mixtures used in the treatment of malaria should be standardized according to the new standard "Totaquina."

In spite of the fact that it is prepared in various ways the price of the new product is lower than that of quinine.

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ECONOMIC TRENDS IN INDIAN STATES

By R. W. Brock
(Formerly Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta)

Export credits are being granted so freely by the British Government to certain European countries, mainly to assist rearmament, that it might be profitable to consider a wider application of this effective and elastic method of promoting British exports by utilizing it, for example, to finance public utility works in India, including the Indian States. Many potent arguments might be adduced in support of such an innovation. In the case of Turkey, export credits have been employed to assist in financing the erection of steelworks and other important industrial establishments, to the great advantage of British suppliers of capital equipment. There is no good reason why Empire countries, including India, should not be assisted, to our mutual benefit, by the same process. The former flow of British capital to India, which for many years made such a substantial contribution to British exports, has virtually ceased, or, to the limited extent that it still continues, it takes the form of competitive investment in branch factories, thereby reducing exports still further. The inclusion of India within the ambit of the export credits scheme would assist to offset that tendency. There is ample scope in India for public utility projects to which export credits could be usefully applied, and as an expansion in British exports has never been more urgently needed, it seems a pity not to finance them.

Sir William Barton, as reported in the last issue of The Asiatic Review (pp. 443-4), mentioned one such project when he alluded to the urgent need in Kashmir for large hydro-electric installations to supply power for transport, industrial, and various other purposes. Every Province and important State in India could supply details of dozens of equally promising projects, all capable of using British capital equipment, and all only awaiting finance to bring them to fruition. Capital outlay on railway extension in India, which not so long ago averaged £30,000,000 a year, has fallen to diminutive proportions—to the detriment of British suppliers of railway equipment—but there are many alternative outlets for mutual enterprise, all of them requiring "capital" goods, and the availability of export credits would enable this country to supply them. A Kashmir hydro-electric project has been mentioned, but, as all the expert authorities agree, the scope for power supply schemes throughout India is almost limitless, and, if

developed, would involve orders for equipment ample to keep British suppliers busy for two or three decades. India is no more desirous than other debtor countries of making long-term additions to her external indebtedness, but the export credits system avoids that handicap; at the same time fostering bilateral trade which, as regards this country and India, is exactly what is desired and needed. A general over-riding consideration to be borne constantly in mind in considering British trade with India is that, as India is producing locally an increasing percentage of the "consumer" goods formerly imported, mainly from the United Kingdom, unless steps are taken to develop our export trade in "capital" goods our shipments to the Indian market will show a progressive decline. And the effective demand for "capital" goods, always and everywhere, is mainly a matter of finance. If any doubts exist in the Department of Oversea Trade concerning the existence of profitable opportunities in India for the utilization of export credits it will suffice, as a practical test, to announce that such facilities are available—and await applications.

It is probably a safe conjecture that if Kashmir possessed adequate transport facilities, and applied itself on an appropriate scale to the provision of other essential amenities, employing international publicity methods to make its natural attractions more widely known, it would in due course become one of the great pleasure grounds of the world. The advent of speedy air travel—a genuine international peace being predicated—renders this now an attainable ideal, and not merely, as hitherto, a remote possibility. In its latest administration report, the Jammu and Kashmir Government indicate full consciousness of the potentialities of the tourist traffic, including the financial advantages, but state: "In a mountainous country like Kashmir the problem of communications is very important." The amount available annually, however, for all works of public utility is under £200,000—viz., in an area covering over 84,000 squares miles! The Jammu-Suchetgarh Railway, which is about 17 miles in length, is so far the only railway in the State. Motor road services connect all districts, and a beginning has been made with air transport; but it is obvious that external capital and technical assistance will be required if Kashmir is to attain its own declared objectives within any measurable period. Kashmir has its industries—the silk filature in Srinigar is claimed to be the largest of its kind in the world; and its mineral resources, including valuable supplies of bauxite, are not inconsiderable. But unquestionably its most valuable endowment is the natural charm which, sooner or later, will enable it to attract visitors on a scale limited only by its accessibility, and the accommodation and amenities provided. To quote the administration report: "Jammu and Kashmir provide a vast field

of interest for men of different tastes. The holiday-maker finds in Kashmir the chief garden of Asia, with scenery hardly surpassed anywhere else in the world. For the lover of sport, a wide range of game is available. The botanist and the zoologist have here a great wealth of flora and fauna. The lovely glens and the shaded mountain spurs in their picturesque settings provide an inexhaustible theme to the genius of the poet and a background for the contemplation of the philosopher. For the linguist the State has a variety of dialects belonging to different branches of the human family. For the geologist the State offers an interesting study of soils and rocks with chronological data unobtainable elsewhere in India. For the archæologist, there are numerous monuments of different ages and traces of cultural influences showing the interplay of civilizations. The scholar has an extensive field for research in systems of philosophy peculiar to Kashmir. The explorer has mysterious lands on the boundaries and the lofty mountains to merit his attention."

It is, however, a measure of the extent to which this unique combination of attractions has remained unutilized that the average number of visitors to Kashmir is still below 25,000 per annum. A State covering over 84,000 square miles, whose only railway extends but 17 miles, and where there are only 400 miles of metalled roads, must obviously incur considerable expenditure on providing additional transport facilities if it desires to expand its share of the tourist traffic. There is every reason to assume that, in the long if not the short run, such expenditure would prove highly remunerative to the Government concerned, and, indeed, to the State generally. A rapid and extensive increase in the mileage of motorable roads is perhaps Kashmir's greatest and most urgent need, and the revenue to be expected from the consequential increase in the number of motor vehicles, supplemented by other gains, would more than justify the outlay involved. There are other and equally essential facilities to be provided, but a vigorous and courageous policy of road improvement and extension stands out as the initial requirement. Having arrived at a given centre in Kashmir, the visitor at present finds himself practically immobilized; and that handicap must be removed. When the Government have completed the road construction programme, private enterprise will not be slow to respond to other requirements, including more adequate and wide-spread hotel accommodation, hydromineral stations, facilities for sport and other forms of entertainment, and, in brief, "amenities" of every kind. For the most part tourists to Kashmir will conform to the higher-income categories, and their *per capita* expenditure will probably reach a high level. India will supply the majority, but, as international conditions improve and tourism revives, Europe and

America will certainly add a substantial quota, many of whom may also be expected to signalize their visits by acquiring supplies of certain specifically Kashmiri products, including silks, shawls, and the like. For, if a country cannot export its goods in the normal fashion, owing to one difficulty and another, the next best thing—if it is fortunately circumstanced—is to be able to import potential customers; and as a tourist centre, fully developed, Kashmir would enjoy that advantage. An exhibition of the arts and crafts of Kashmir has been held annually at Srinigar since 1929, and has proved highly successful; but it can be reasonably estimated that if the number of visitors to Kashmir averaged, as it well might, 100,000 instead of 25,000, the offtake of Kashmiri products would show a substantial increase. Even today high-class carpets are manufactured in Kashmir and exported to Europe and America, but a Government subsidy has been found necessary in order to keep this ancient industry alive. Experience elsewhere indicates that wealthy visitors are not only ready purchasers of specialized products of this character, but that, in self-justification, they also become warm advocates of such products when they return to their own countries. The Industries Department in Kashmir would therefore find the contemplated Tourist Department a powerful ally in spreading appreciation of, and demand for, local products in the right quarters.

Kashmir production is not, however, limited to luxury products, and in certain important directions valuable initiatives have been taken. It will perhaps be many years before India secures her appropriate share in the large trade in imported fruits carried on in the United Kingdom, but the potentiality undoubtedly exists, and it is encouraging to learn that, in Kashmir, "fruit-growing has in recent years received a great impetus, and pears and apples, the principal fruits of the Kashmir valley, are exported in large quantities." Forest and mineral products also offer possibilities of fuller exploitation. The State forests cover over 10,000 square miles, containing *deodar*, blue pine, and fir, and yield an income of about £375,000 annually to the State besides providing employment for thousands of villagers. A mineral survey has disclosed bauxite, coal, lignite, Fuller's earth, kaolin, slate, zinc, copper, and talc. The possibility of the existence of gold in the Frontier District is being investigated. There are also indications of oil being found in Ramnagar and Koth Tehsils. Silk manufacture remains important, as in Mysore, but not many industries located in Indian States have yet received the tariff protection so freely accorded to industries in British India, and the Jammu and Kashmir Administration reiterates the familiar complaint that the industry "is passing through hard times on account of competition by the Japanese and Canton silk." Furthermore, protective

assistance has been withheld despite the circumstance that: "A special quality of raw silk has been produced in Kashmir, which can favourably compete with silk produced anywhere else. It is interesting to note that the rearing of cocoons for silk provides employment for thousands of homes in the villages, exclusive of the labour that finds employment in the factories themselves. The Kashmir Silk Factory also produces about 20,000 ounces of local seed for rearing." The woollen industry of the State is being reorganized in conformity with recommendations formulated after local investigation by Professor A. F. Barker, of Leeds University, and new industries recently started include a match factory and a santonin factory. Another new enterprise—viz., Kashmir Willows, Ltd.—in which Government have taken 80 per cent. of the shares, manufactures 250 cricket bats a day. A rosin factory has been provided for, and will co-operate with the Punjab factory in the matter of sales. In another sphere the Kashmir Government indicates pride in the fact that the State is now connected with the general trunk telephone system of British India and that its citizens "can now talk on the telephone from Srinigar to any place in India." Wireless services exist, and are being gradually improved, and a scheme for the establishment of aeronautical services between the State and British India is engaging attention. The era of semi-isolation, it would seem, is drawing to a close, and the progressive outlook of His Highness the Maharaja and his able Council of Ministers offers the assurance that completion of the period of transition will not be unduly delayed.

As a footnote to my own article, "India's Greatest Need," in the July REVIEW, in which I sought to elaborate the arguments for drastic handling of rural usury, I note with satisfaction the Kashmir Administration's assurance that: "One of the most beneficent measures passed in recent years is the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation, which has freed the peasants from the rapacity of moneylenders. Under the Regulation, a debtor can bring his creditors to court for settlement of accounts. The courts are required to disallow interest in excess of the prescribed limit, to see that the total interest does not exceed 50 per cent. of the capital, and to fix instalments on the basis of the reasonable paying capacity of the debtor." Furthermore: "The Land Alienation and Right of Prior Purchase Regulations have been passed to prevent the transfer of land belonging to the agricultural classes."

In Bhopal, as we learn from an admirably designed and comprehensive survey, "Bhopal in 1936-37," issued by the Publicity Officer, "the most notable event of the period is the inauguration of an industrial era through the formal initiation of important schemes of industrial development. The way for this was carefully paved early in 1936 by the creation of a Department of

Economic Advice under Sir Joseph Bhore, who was entrusted with the task of planning general lines of development, for the State, by means of such schemes of economic expansion as in present conditions might seem to be practicable." The advice of the former Commerce Member of the Government of India has already proved fruitful to a remarkable degree. A textile mill has been established, "jointly promoted by the State and the Oversea Industries of Manchester, under the management and direction of Messrs. Forbes, Forbes Campbell and Co., a group of the largest textile manufacturers and finishers in the world. This industry possesses excellent prospects, for among State imports the cotton goods represent the largest single item; while Bhopal has long been noted for the cultivation of a special class of cotton of which the possibilities, proved by experiment, are believed to be highly promising." Cotton research farms have been established in selected tracts "both to study the scientific methods of cultivation and to evolve an improved staple of the fine cotton which furnished the material upon which the reputation of the fine Malwa cotton industry was formerly founded. Some deterioration in the fine quality of the fibre has, unfortunately, occurred through a careless intermixture of inferior seed, but it is hoped that the law recently enforced to prevent adulteration will eliminate the inferior strains and restore the staple to its pristine quality." The imposition of protective tariffs, whose effect has been to reduce the importation of oversea cotton goods, reflects the trend towards economic self-sufficiency on the part of India as a whole; but the Bhopal enterprise, one of many, reflects the further trend towards self-sufficiency, especially as regards cotton goods, on the part of each Province and State. A second industry established in Bhopal is sugar manufacture, and a third is represented by the Narbada Valley Refrigerated Products Factory, which is described as "an interesting, pioneer effort to explore the possibilities of the export of refrigerated products. This is expected to call into being a new agricultural industry—dairying—which will react to the direct advantage of cattle-owners in the State and perhaps pave the way for building up an export trade in other agricultural products such as fruits and vegetables." It is rightly emphasized that: "These concerns which mean the inauguration of a new era of industrial development are all intimately concerned with agriculture, the main prop of the people in this country. The demand of these industries for increased supplies of raw material will afford an incentive to production on a larger scale. This in turn will stimulate competition within the State and will encourage the extension of transport facilities; while the growing export trade will infuse new life into external and internal commerce alike, thereby widening the circulation of money and leading to an improve-

ment in the general standard of living. Perhaps even more important than all this, the new industrial development will open to the people new avenues of employment, and afford relief in a quarter where relief is badly needed."

An example of the tendency, already mentioned, towards regional self-sufficiency, is reflected in the intimation that "it was found necessary to impose specially heavy duties on matches to prevent unhealthy competition against the local match industry. Such action," it is claimed, "points the direction in which consistently with the economic rights of other States and Provinces, the customs tariff would tend to function, if and when the development of resources, in other fields, enables any considerable diminution or abolition of duties to be undertaken consistently with the stability of State finances." Contrariwise, readiness for what may be called economic federalism is reflected in the further announcement that: "So far as relates to the export trade in matches, Bhopal has pooled itself with the Indian match industry. Under this arrangement, the proceeds of the banderol duty are credited to the common pool and shares in the net receipts are assigned to participant States on the basis of consumption *per capita* of the population."

A marked feature of industrial development in Bhopal, it is pointed out, is the active assistance given by the State in the organization of supplies of raw material for these concerns. In regard to cotton, steps have already been taken to revive the cultivation of the famous Ashta variety, while several schemes and small irrigation projects have been initiated to start the cultivation of sugarcane as a development ancillary to the needs of the sugar industry in the State.

Hand in hand with this programme of industrial development, the Government of Bhopal are advancing with an elaborate plan for the improvement of communications. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway traverses the length of Bhopal territory, forming, as it were, the spine of the communication systems. Quite apart from some 68 miles of municipal roads in and around Bhopal City, the commercial as well as the political capital of the State, there have been constructed about 380 miles of metalled roads connecting large portions of the interior of the State with the nodal points of the railway system. Along the network thus provided, agricultural produce intended for export can readily travel. This programme still leaves ample scope for further development, but it is explained that other metalled roads under new plans have not yet been taken in hand on account of financial stringency. In addition to these there also exist unmetalled roads, of which 200 miles are under the supervision of the Public Works Department, while the State Forest Department maintains another

line of about 500 miles. It is recognized that the means of transport, characteristic of the more remote rural parts, are still of a most primitive character. But on the main metalled roads mechanized transport is becoming increasingly available. Motor services launched by private enterprise and under general State control run between all the main centres; and, as new lines open, easier access will be afforded to the resources in the interior of the State. Happily, Bhopal finances are on a sound basis, and the economic programme outlined foreshadows productive capital outlay as and when funds permit: "for the last three years the budgets of the State have been balanced without neglecting either the efficiency of administration or any of the essential utilities of political and social welfare."

In most countries today State budgets, unhappily, are balanced only by unbalancing the individual budgets of taxpayers through progressive increases of taxation. In Bhopal the State is endeavouring to increase the income of cultivators by building up a vast system of irrigation through a large number of small projects. That is a policy in the right direction, but, owing to the conservative character of the cultivator and his tenacious adherence to ancient traditions and practices, it is not always easy to assist him. "In the first place the peasant has not yet learnt the value of co-operation: his social customs and laws, which force him to marry his children before puberty and assign a prior call upon his inadequate resources to such unproductive purposes as the observance of festivals and other communal functions, force him into the vicious circle of unceasing debt and his living as well as technique of work and method require a renovation in the light of experience." The agricultural officers are showing growers methods of improved cultivation, but co-operative credit—the only effective alternative to usury—makes little progress, and consequently "solvency is a condition foreign to the economics of the cultivator. His increasing debts leave him only a share of his earnings, of which the major portion is devoted to payments made on account of the principal and the ever-increasing interest." A valuable innovation is the introduction of seed grain depots for the use of the cultivator. "The present extent of the agriculturists' indebtedness to the sowcar for his seed is estimated at any sum between 25 and 30 lakhs, on which 7 to 8 lakhs in interest is paid. If this aspect of co-operation succeeds, it will be a source of infinite blessing to the cultivator and give the State a control over the seed which it can improve to the advantage of common benefit." A further valuable innovation in Bhopal is that Government now relate the revenue demand to the price of the principal agricultural produce in the State. This has resulted in the grant, as a matter of course, of a remission at an average of 6 lakhs a year, or

over 17 per cent. of the total annual demand on account of land revenue. But self-help, as well as State help, is essential if the cultivator is to attain solvency, and if some of the energy and ingenuity devoted to political agitation could be diverted to social reform, a higher level of rural prosperity would be more quickly achieved.

In Jodhpur, of which a bird's-eye view is supplied in a brochure issued under the authority of H.H. the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur by the Chief Minister, the surplus of revenue over Service Head expenditure has enabled the Government to finance capital outlay of more than Rs. 199 lakhs, of which Rs. 45 lakhs has been applied to remunerative works and Rs. 145 lakhs to other works in the Public Works Department. The value of the invested reserves has risen from Rs. 330 to 400 lakhs, which is all held in gilt-edged Government securities and approved trustee securities. The impression of financial strength and soundness conveyed by these figures is reinforced by the further calculation that the total capital invested in the Jodhpur Railway amounts to Rs. 4,78,80,749 and that the percentage of net earnings on the capital outlay comes to 8.97. The predilection of the State for modern forms of transport finds further reflection in the announcement that, in the recent past, considerable additions and improvements have been made to the Jodhpur aerodromes and that nine more landing grounds have been constructed in the districts, raising the total to 22. There are 1,577 miles of roads in the State of which 303 are described as metalled, and 1,220 as "dressed up motorable roads." In an extensive tract of 36,000 square miles with varied physical conditions and vagaries of rainfall, a uniformly good year is rare in Marwar. The submontane tract stretching from north-east to south-west is less liable to famine, but the rest generally, and the "Thar" belt in the north-west in particular, is susceptible to its ravages. The general slump in prices has been followed by a cycle of bad years, necessitating the usual relief measures in which His Highness has taken an active interest. Animal Husbandry and Marketing Departments have been inaugurated, and, somewhat belatedly, a Co-operative Department was established in 1937. Marwar is a pastoral and agricultural country, and in the past no attempt has been made to start any major industries. A start has, however, been made in the direction of industrialization by the recent establishment of a cotton mill, and the Government contemplate an economic survey of the State with a view to revitalizing and increasing cottage industries for the benefit of the peasantry.

INDIA'S RAILWAYS

By Robert Parry-Ellis

The shores of India, once the home of a complacent philosophy of life which moved slowly between birth and death, have become the boundary of a network of railways great enough to circumscribe the world twice, 50,000 miles in all. It seems difficult to realize, in this vast country, where illiteracy is still rife, where creeds and tribes have been living a hitherto insularized life in their individual communities, that the railway industry should provide enough work to employ the entire population of a town the size of Liverpool—that is, almost 700,000. Yet it is so. It is significant that, of this vast number of men and women employed by the State Railways, only 2,692, about a half per cent., are Europeans, whilst little more than half that number are Parsis. By far the greatest and ever-increasing percentage are Hindus, of whom more than fifty per cent. of the staff is composed.

The annual report of the Indian Railway Board has been a yearly chronicle of progress for a decade. In their latest report they were able to declare an increase in receipts of nearly £2,500,000. Although a considerable amount of this increment can be accounted for by the large numbers of tourists who flock annually to the beauty spots of a civilization almost as old as mankind itself, the Railway Board are taking into account the more favourable attitude of the Indian to travel by rail, and the improved economic conditions which have made it possible, instead of living his span in the village in which he was born. Although those who visit Agra, Udaipur, Benares, and the thousands of other places whose magnificence has to be seen to be believed, are numerous, India's man in the street travels too. Towards the middle of 1938, in fact, railway authorities took an unprecedented step in questioning 10,000 of the country's 521,000,000 passengers as to where they were going and why. Although the greatest percentage admitted to the rather generalized category of "obligatory," which included travelling to lawsuits, on business and to sick relations, as many as 29 per cent. travelled for pleasure.

There had, during the year, been no marked decrease in fares. Indians can still travel approximately four miles for a penny. Many of the State Railways have made arrangements for varying types of holiday concessions, and special "zone" tickets, whereby passengers may travel at will for a certain time through a given area, are obtainable. This question has also been discussed by the

local Railway Advisory Committees. Although originated in various forms on several railways, to combat the growing road competition, this form of travel has been accepted by almost every State railway. The Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, who about two years ago inaugurated a special week-end fast service between Bombay and Surat, called the "Flying Ranee," have devised a type of coupon book through which traders can travel 500 miles at a greatly reduced rate. The East Indian Railway, on the other hand, have accepted a sliding scale system of charges for long distance return journeys. Other railways, such as the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways, have issued joint "zone" tickets with other adjoining units.

Surplus After Interest Payments

It is partly on account of such enterprises as these that the Indian State Railways can claim to be the only railways in the world showing a surplus after paying interest charges. In the years 1936-1937 and 1937-1938 respectively the figures in their financial statement are approximately as follows. The total earnings increased from £78,500,000 to about £80,500,000, while the total working expenses also showed an increase of from nearly £51,000,000 to just over £52,000,000. This shows an increment in profits of from £27,500,000 to £29,000,000, out of which interest charges of £5,245,926 and £5,188,907 were paid in the respective years. As can be seen by these figures, a surplus of more than £2,000,000 was shown in both years.

Altogether 35 miles of new line were opened during 1938 and several unremunerative lines closed.

In February last year a small railway with a little more than 50 miles of line, the Beswada Masulipatam Railway, was bought and is now operated by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. For the Assam and Bengal Railway, too, there was an important event when Government notables were present in full force to witness the opening of a new bridge between Ashuganj and Bhairab Bazar by the Chief Commissioner for Railways, the Hon. Sir Guthrie Russell. The bridge, which is designed to offer an alternative route between the southern parts of the Assam and Bengal Railways and Calcutta, was, by gracious consent of his Imperial Majesty, named the King George VI. bridge. At the time of the last available report it had been in use for so short a time that its full significance could not be estimated.

Quite apart from their concentrated effort at fare reduction and the diminution of travelling time in every part of the country, the Railway Board have had the wisdom to consider also the comfort of its passengers of every class. Although circumscribed by the

amount of funds available there was considerable progress in this direction in the course of 1938, extra waiting-rooms being provided and arrangements being made for an adequate supply of water at every station. During the hot weather, in fact, the number of watermen on the permanent staff was increased by a full fifty per cent. Broadly, during the last year, improvements and additions to the services have fallen into two main categories; those which were more or less essential and those which were desirable. With regard to the former, which includes frequency of service and destinations available, it is a salient fact that the mileage travelled by passengers showed an increase of from 18,270,659,000 miles to 18,847,246,000 miles in the years 1936-1937, 1937-1938 respectively. Rightly can this be taken as an indication that travelling and touring facilities are being improved simultaneously with the Board's care for the comfort of its passengers. Discomfort by overcrowding is negligible in the first-class service where air-conditioned coaches have been introduced on some trains. Overcrowding was—the word "was" is used advisedly—far more prevalent in the third-class, and even in this case was due to circumstances which were impossible to foresee, such as large marriage parties or unusually strong attendance at some fair or festival. For lengthy journeys, such as the annual pilgrimage from Mysore to Mecca, arrangements for the part of the journey on Indian soil could be taken well in hand at an early date and special trains, often a hundred in number, accumulated to accommodate many thousand Muhammadan devotees. In many cases it has been found a matter of urgency to erect temporary booking halls for occasions when there is a likelihood of excessive traffic, and there is every possibility that, when funds permit, these will be converted into permanencies.

Installation of Suggestion Books

One phase of Indian railway administration which is completely unknown in the British Isles is that of complaint and suggestion books. Whereas the railway companies of England are of the opinion that there is apparently no room either for complaint or improvement or that all complaints will be recorded in the correspondence columns of the newspapers, the Railway Board are ready to accept praise or criticism from those who make use of their services. The installation of these books is entirely at the discretion of competent local authority, but the tourist will find it adopted, in many cases with large notices drawing attention to its presence, in almost every important station or halt in the country. The names of stations where these books may be found are printed on every timetable, and the Eastern Bengal Railway and the Great

Indian Peninsula Railway have copies conveniently placed in every passenger train in service. Indians and the European travellers regard this gesture, coupled with the interest attached to every suggestion, as proof positive of the goodwill of the Railway Board as a democratic institution for the passengers rather than as a capitalist plutocracy. Suggestions may be written either in English or any of the Indian languages.

Local Railway Advisory Committees, twelve of which are appointed under the Central Advisory Council for Railways to deal with more immediate matters of local administration, continue to show an especial regard for the cleanliness of lower-class compartments, often neglected by passengers themselves. Soap brackets and mirrors have been fitted to 161 third-class compartments on the Assam and Bengal Railway and similar facilities are being provided in other units, in some cases handbasins being added as an experiment. In the interests of cleanliness, varying arrangements have been adopted by local authority. Most cases, such as the Eastern Bengal Railway, provide for a thorough cleansing at terminal stations and for sweepers to enter trains at three or four intermediary halts. The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, on the other hand, have spent a large sum for travelling sweepers to accompany trains en route.

Apart from short journeys of under 100 miles, the average "fare" travelling only 18 miles, third-class accommodation is used mainly for travelling to and from fairs and festivals and for devotees making annual pilgrimages. This being so, the Railway Board has taken considerable pains to popularize these festivals in parts of the country far removed from their venues. Before the appointed time of each festival, as for instance the famous Kumbh Mela at Hardwar, in addition to the usual methods of publicizing the event, an area of 30,000 square miles was systematically covered by aeroplanes dropping leaflets, written in English and vernaculars, at every village. Aerial loudspeakers were also used to stimulate the interest of prospective passengers and publicity in the Press served to attract the European tourist to an extremely picturesque event. As a result the attendance was more than double that of ten years ago. Similar increases were prevalent at every other important mela. So popular, indeed, has the Kumbh Mela become that a new, ultra-modern station has been built at Hardwar (Plate I). It is difficult for those of the West to grasp the abnormally exact organization engendered in moving vast numbers of people to distant parts of a land many times larger than their own, and in a far hotter climate. Special sanitary and anti-malarial precautions are taken with medical stations at every important halt, so that nothing is left to chance. As food and water, in the hot Indian sun, become bad in such a short time it

must be exactly gauged how many people are likely to attend a certain festival so that station restaurants may be adequately stocked. On the Assam Bengal Railway there was a phenomenal increase of 78 per cent. in the numbers of people travelling to melas and, although this may largely be attributed to the improvement of the economic conditions of the district and the more thorough emancipation of the working man, this is being made the subject of a special investigation.

Steps to Preserve Honesty

Further steps have been taken in the course of the year to put an end to illegal gratification, which is an offence looked upon very severely by both the local and central authorities.

Many of these attempts to preserve the railway employees' reputation for honesty are of an unusually enterprising nature. Wherever there are training schools special lectures are given, not only to teach the raw recruit how to comport himself in his duties, but also to instil in his mind the essential spirit of service. Slogans are circularized by word of mouth of a type likely to enjoin honesty and civility. These measures are also taken at refresher courses all over India. The effect of this has been very satisfactory, and in the complaints and suggestion books referred to earlier there have been few cases reported of incivility or dishonesty on the part of the employees. The Central Advisory Council have recommended that serious disciplinary action be taken by local authorities in all cases where dishonesty or incivility is brought home to an individual. In most cases the penalty is dismissal despite the length of the culprit's service. This involves the loss of a Provident Fund bonus equal to a month's pay for each year of service.

Reason for such a direct personal interest by the Railway Board in this matter, which should at first sight be one that could be left to local administration, is their desire to establish closer contact with business and passenger communities. Another phase of this "closer contacts" move is that which deals with business men who use the railways as a medium of conveying goods from one town to another. In both the Bombay and Calcutta districts committees of railway officials have been set up to whose meetings chairmen of the local Chambers of Commerce and managing directors of industrial concerns are welcomed. As a result of these meetings many questions were dealt with, including the possibility of a freightage charges reduction designed to combat growing lorry competition. The case of the smaller business men was also considered. Commercial inspectors make a point of calling on him informally to acquaint themselves with the trader's

requirements and to inform him of any alteration in freightage rates.

Freight Tonnage Increase

It was generally found that this concentrated effort to create an identity of understanding between trader and authority increased their mutual advantages. Cases reported in previous years where traders had sent their goods by road solely on account of their ignorance of the fact that railway rates had been considerably reduced are, according to the latest report of the Railway Board, now few and far between. So great, in fact, was the appreciation of this genuine effort to understand the difficulties of both public and private trader that the number of freight tons carried during 1937-1938 showed an increase of more than 5,000,000 tons on that of 1936-1937, and the resultant revenue increased proportionately by approximately £1,250,000, which was itself a considerable advance on that of 1935-1936. Rates have shown a steady annual decrease, thanks to the rise in business.

Both from a freightage and passenger point of view the reductions in fares and special concessions previously enumerated have done much to combat road competition. Whilst every effort is made at co-operation and co-ordination of timetables with legitimately conducted enterprises in the road transport field, several disquieting facts have come to light and are being investigated as a result of a report from His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad's railway, which is the largest privately owned railway in the world. This is mainly concerned with overcrowded omnibuses operated on monopoly routes in direct contradiction of agreed conditions and lorries registered as privately owned plying for hire. Realizing the desirability of amicable co-operation between omnibus companies and local railway authorities, the Board has, during the past twelve months, been doing everything within its power to encourage this phase of its progress. Similarly the possibility of a like co-operation with the many State-owned air lines which are now approaching regular use is not being overlooked. Should the Government allocate any subsidy to the furtherance of these State schemes, special services would no doubt be instituted to enable air passengers to arrive at destinations, not directly served by these lines, in the quickest possible time. The future will probably see combined air and rail tickets just as today combined rail and steamer tickets are being issued. Such an arrangement would also undoubtedly have the effect of an even further speed-up in the delivery of mails to the more distant corners of the vast country.

Appointment of a Conciliation Officer

The constitution of the Indian railways is such that the possibility of disputes between individual companies and employees and their companies cannot be ruled out. The railways of India were established in the middle 1850's. With the exception of four, which are entirely owned and controlled by the State—*i.e.*, the Eastern Bengal, the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, and the North-Western Railways—they have the following relations with the Government, who own the greater part of the capital. The lines on which they operate are the property of the State, and the companies themselves are responsible for maintaining these in good condition and providing an adequacy of rolling-stock and staff. Grants for improvements or additions may be made at the discretion of the Secretary of State, who has the power to require alterations from the companies. Expenditure and accounts of companies must all be submitted to the latter for his approval, while he retains the right, on reasonable terms, to request a company to enter into an agreement with other adjoining companies in regard to fare concessions, interchange of rolling-stock or any other matter deemed necessary.

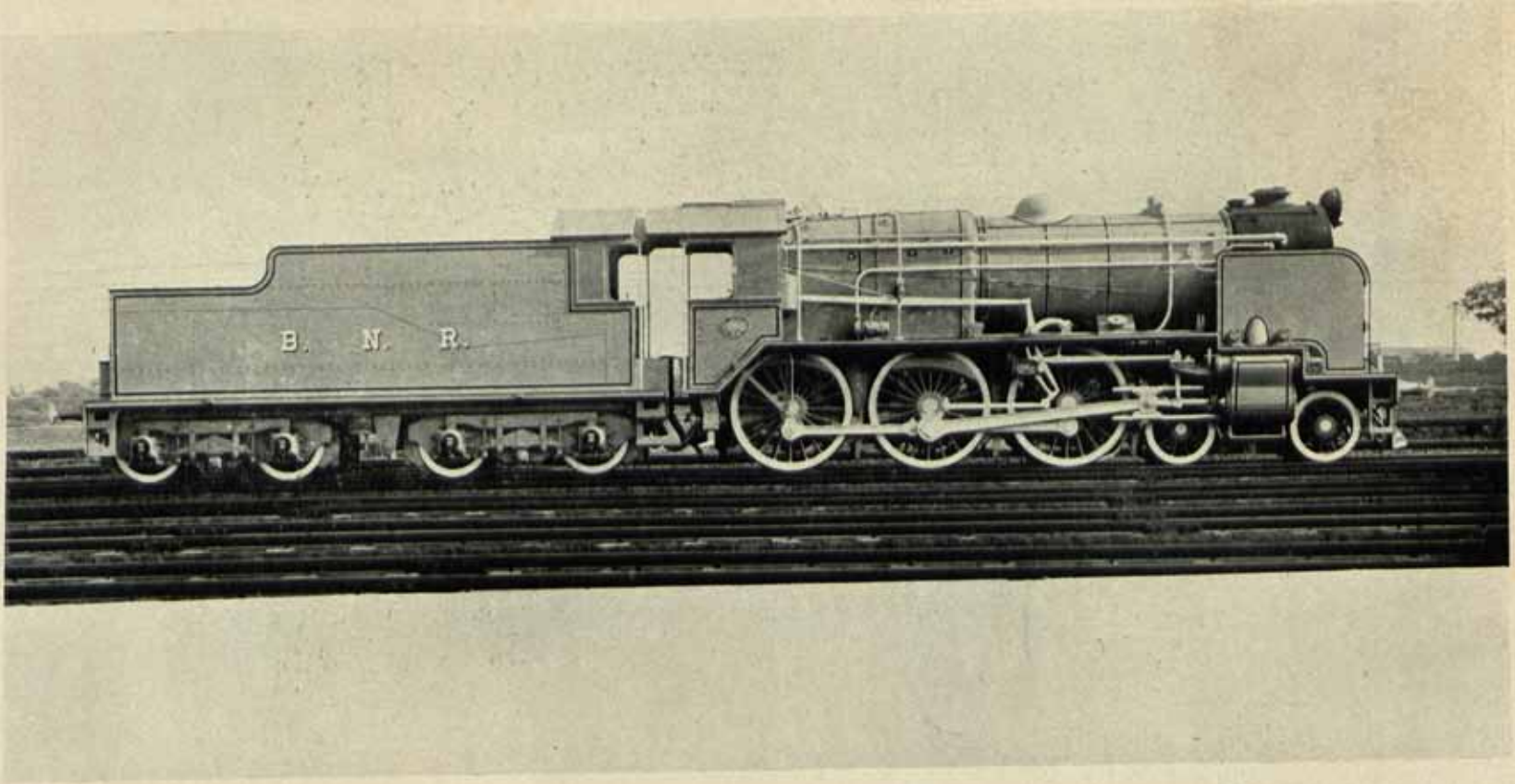
A full understanding of the position of the railway companies will enable the reader to appreciate the significance of a step taken by the Board at the end of 1937, the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Wagstaff as Conciliation Officer as an experimental measure. Stationed at Calcutta, his duties are what his title implies. He is to be responsible for establishing contact with the administrations of the particular companies with whom he is concerned and with the committees and recognized unions of the employees. In the event of any actual or threatened trade dispute, it would be his direct responsibility to bring the parties to an amicable settlement. In times of harmony he is to use his influence to preserve good relations. After this had been done it was planned to establish an Industrial Advisory Board under the Chairmanship of Sir Zahid Suhrawardy to deal with any matter referred to them by the Conciliation Officer. Although, in the year under review in the last report by the Board, Lieutenant-Colonel Wagstaff had been only three months as Conciliation Officer, during which time he had mainly been engaged on establishing the necessary contacts, unofficial reports, more recent, regard the move as an eirenicon of colonial railway administration. Whereas the Government of India, through the Railway Board, have done as much in eighty years under far more difficult conditions, as in England has been achieved in a century to set the "iron way" on the iron-firm road to economic security and industrial and social importance, this new appointment will be



HARDWAR STATION.

PLATE I.

To face p. 798

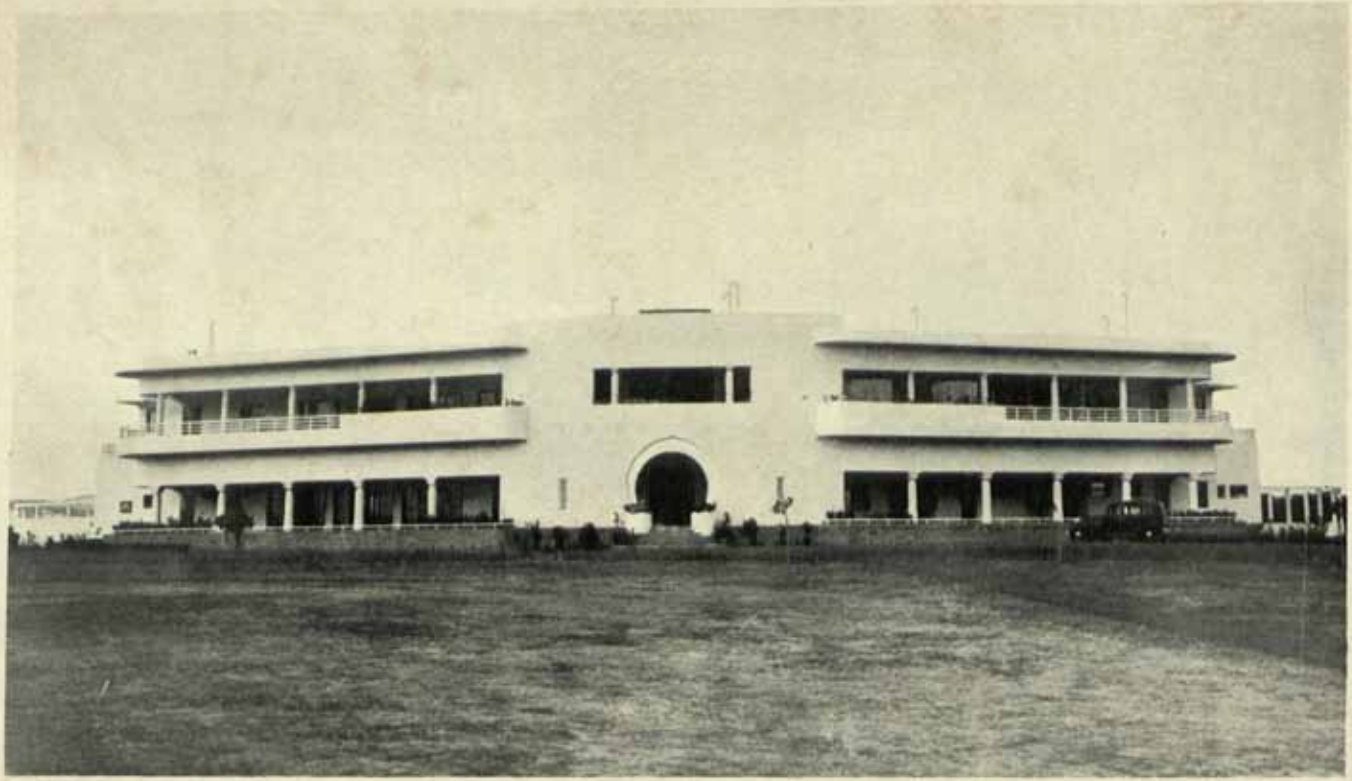


A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE IN INDIA.



INTERIOR VIEW OF AIR-CONDITIONED TRAIN.

To face p. 799



STATE RAILWAY HOTEL, AURANGABAD.

regarded as an important step in the direction of bringing the Indian working man into his own. Here will be a man to listen to their grievances through the medium of their Unions and to recommend their rectification; a man to put even the humblest waterman on the same level as workers of other democratic institutions all over the world. Perhaps, by this move, the Railway Board has laid a strong foundation for another century of social progress—in the space of a few months.

H.E.H. the Nizam's Railway

Operating over a vast area in the centre of India is the largest and most enterprising private railway in the world, that of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. It has been thought advisable to deal with this railway separately from the general review of the Indian State Railways' activities for 1937-1938 as a preliminary report up to March of this year is obtainable. From a financial point of view, largely owing to the amount of money spent on improvements whose benefits are not yet apparent, the net earnings have showed a decrease of from Rs. 130 lakhs to Rs. 123 lakhs. This compares not unfavourably with the figures for 1936-1937, when the net earnings were Rs. 119 lakhs. Working expenses for 1938-1939 increased by Rs. 5 lakhs. An interesting phase of the figures is that which shows the consistence of the net earnings of the 58 miles of railways in the Government of India sections. These have been Rs. 7 lakhs for each year.

Beyond routine improvements, such as the rebodying of coaches and repairs to the railway, a new line to Adilabad, mooted some time before, was sanctioned by the Nizam and is now under construction. The railway, which is the only one in India with its own bus service, has also consistently kept in step with modern improvements and amenities for the comfort of its passengers, while its interest in the welfare of its employees is a by-word, and there are always several hundred on the waiting list. "Travel-as-you-like" tickets were issued on three occasions, and concession cheap return tickets for third and second-class travel were introduced, while five of the standard circular Indian tours extended over the territory covered by the Nizam's Railway. Another enterprise which tourists have found a most attractive amenity is the new railway hotel at Aurangabad. Since this was opened in March, 1938, more than 460 visitors have made use of it and at some periods the whole available accommodation was occupied. It is felt that this has supplied the answer to the question of tourist accommodation within easy reach of such towns of historic interest as Ajanta and Ellora.

A review of the work of this railway would not be complete

without something more than a passing reference to the important social work which is being carried out for the benefit of every employee. Welfare centres and children's playgrounds are being established at institutes in different parts of the railway's territory, while fully qualified medical officers are at the disposal of the employee. At Purna a cattle shed is being provided to house the cattle of employees in the most hygienic conditions possible, while members of the railway colony at Lallaguda are provided with a supply of butter and milk from the central depot. Hospitals are free to employees and, to care for the spiritual side of their lives, schools, both for adults and children, have been erected to give one and all an equal opportunity for promotion.

ERRATA

ASIATIC REVIEW, JULY, 1939

Page 509, line 23, *for* Sandeman *read* the Commissioner
line 29, *before* 40 *insert* often
line 44, *for* delta *read* one

Page 510, line 21, *after* apologies *read* . So
line 31, *for* Mir *read* Man

Page 511, line 22, *for* incoherent *read* coherent
line 25, *for* trail *read* tract
line 31, *for* pagalis *read* jirgahs
line 37, *for* over *read* as with
line 40, *for* boradi *read* bandi

Page 512, line 5, *for* 1899 *read* 1898
line 10, *for* Commander *read* Commissioner
line 26, *for* impudently *read* imprudently

Page 513, line 9, *for* Dalwathi *read* Gumathi
line 10, *for* Idali *read* Idak
line 16, *for* Dodds *read* Dobbs
line 18, *after* Sandeman's *omit* semicolon

Page 514, line 2, *for* later *read* take.

JAPAN AND THE EUROPEAN WAR

By O. M. Green

Great is Amaterasu of the Japanese! So might Japan echo the cry of the Ephesians of old as she sees Europe once more embroiled in deadly strife, at a moment so convenient for herself. It really does look as if the Imperial Ancestress had been watching over her people, whose fortunes in the past three months have passed through amazing extremities of light and shade. So recently as June things seemed to be going remarkably well for Japan. Great Britain still remained passive under the indignities of the Tientsin blockade and anti-British campaign, and to all appearances would be browbeaten into recognizing Japan's new currency in North China. Major military operations had subsided and the guerrilla nuisance could no doubt be subdued in time. No danger threatened from any other quarter.

Then suddenly the skies clouded over. America, whose friendship—or at least forbearance—the Japanese had done everything possible to retain, showed her displeasure by giving notice of the abrogation of her trade agreement with Japan. Great Britain unexpectedly rejected the Japanese currency demands. And, worst of all, Germany announced her agreement with Russia, thus tearing up the Anti-Comintern Pact and setting free Japan's most dreaded antagonist, the only Power in the world so placed as to be able to deal Japan an effective blow, to do as she likes in the Far East without the fear of Western complications which had hitherto restrained her. The insult to Japanese pride, which to this sensitive people is really the hardest part of the Russo-German agreement, is that while it was being secretly negotiated Japan was actually debating whether she would form a military alliance with Germany.

The War in Europe

Yet once again fortune's wheel has turned. Great Britain at war would seem hardly to have much time to concern herself about the Far East. America bids fair to be so much interested in the European struggle that she should not be too hard to deal with when the new trade agreement comes to be discussed in January. Even Russia seems suddenly to have turned amiable, and proposes to settle the old Mongol-Manchurian frontier quarrel, cause of so many "incidents." But where Russia is concerned it is for the Japanese a case of *et dona ferentes*. The extraordinary varieties of their position in the past three months may well have made the cautious Japanese statesmen slightly dizzy, but doubly cautious. They will be ready enough for local settlements with

the Soviet which will relieve them of some anxieties in their work in China. But it is impossible that their "clean slate" in foreign policy can have been wiped really clean of that mistrust and dread of Russia, now deepened by hatred of Bolshevist ideology, which have coloured all Japanese foreign policy for fifty years past.

The resignation of Baron Hiranuma's Cabinet in consequence of the Russo-German agreement was inevitable by every rule of Japanese etiquette. Although it was generally agreed that the demand for an alliance with Germany—rejected in June through the Navy's opposition but vigorously revived in August by the extreme Army men—would again have been refused, the statement which Baron Hiranuma was just about to make when the Russo-German agreement came to light, must, if only for the saving of face all round, have shown some further leaning towards the Axis. All the Hiranuma Cabinet's policy has been bound up with the Axis. Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, was one of the chief architects of the Anti-Comintern Pact, which General Itagaki, the Minister of War, had praised as an epoch-making piece of diplomacy. No Japanese Government so compromised could have remained in office.

Moreover, the Hiranuma Cabinet was never popular. Its chief members came to office with the reputation of being strong reactionaries. Like others before them, they found that there is all the difference in the world between being in and out of office. It seems evident that they quickly realized that Japan could not indefinitely bear the enormous burden of the unending China War, and that she must be more careful of her dealings with the democracies. The Tientsin blockade, started by that irrepressible Kuantung Army, which since the occupation of Manchuria has become a law to itself, was strongly disapproved in Tokyo. Nothing could be more significant than that Mr. Arita succeeded in getting the negotiations with Great Britain transferred out of North China to Tokyo. It is openly said by well-informed Japanese that he literally risked his life to do so. In fact, the Hiranuma Cabinet fell between two stools: it was not extreme enough to satisfy the hotheads nor liberal enough for those who, long before Germany's desertion of Japan, had begun to press for a new cast of policy. Its resignation, said one sarcastic Japanese paper, was the only decided thing it had ever done.

The New Japanese Cabinet

The new Cabinet is something of an enigma. General Abe, the Premier, has the rare distinction of never having seen active service, and has been in retirement for three years. He has the reputation of being an amiable moderate man, liked by everyone.

The Times Tokyo correspondent rather unkindly calls his Cabinet a mixture of moderates and mediocrities. But General Hata, the Minister of War, would certainly not be deemed a mediocrity by the many Britons who have known him since long before the war, and have a high opinion of him; nor can Vice-Admiral Yoshida, now Minister of Navy, have become Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet by mediocrity. Mr. Aoki, the Minister of Finance, has done very good work as head of the Planning Board. And the Premier certainly played a man's part when, after the famous Tokyo mutiny in 1936, he took the lead in insisting that the Imperial General Staff must resign.

The Cabinet's predominantly military character is clearly a concession to the Army. On the other hand, the fact that General Abe was so quickly chosen by the liberal-minded Prince Saionji (who must almost have forgotten how many Premiers he has made) and the no less liberal Mr. Yasuda, the Lord Chamberlain, and none the less immediately accepted by the Army without demur, suggests much. It is also worth noting that General Hata, as chief A.D.C. to the Emperor, is closely in touch with the liberal influences which surround, and are believed to be shared by the Throne.

The plain fact is that, even with the favourable circumstance of the war in Europe to help her, Japan is confronted with some of the knottiest possible problems. The war in China has been badly bungled: it is no use to overrun a number of provinces which cannot be properly controlled or worked for a profit because the Chinese are so shortsighted as to refuse to be conquered. The people of Japan have had their expectations stimulated to absurd heights by injudicious propaganda. The "Young Officer" class, who are genuinely feared by their superiors, must somehow be put down if discipline in the Army is to be preserved. And with an expenditure on the first two years of the war of 7,000,000,000 yen, most of it borrowed—the whole of the Russo-Japanese War only cost 1,716 millions—it will not do to quarrel with the Western democracies. These difficulties are as plain to the leading Japanese generals as to any civilian.

It is by no means unlikely that Tokyo is more concerned with the senseless quarrel with Great Britain, into which it has been led by the military hotheads operating in China, than is commonly supposed abroad. This quarrel has two sides: the sentimental one consisting in Japan's incredulous anger at the overwhelming popular sympathy for China felt in this country, and the very practical one that, while British mercantile and industrial interests and especially British banking keep their foothold in China, it is impossible for Japan to obtain that complete control of China and her trade which she desires.

This is the real inwardness of the blockade of Tientsin; the demand for the surrender of the four Chinese accused of murdering a member of the Peking puppet Government was merely a pretext, as was very quickly shown when Sir Robert Craigie and Mr. Arita began their conversations in Tokyo.

The Currency War

Since Japan has failed to crush China militarily, she is seeking to do so economically. Part of the device was the establishment in North China last March of the Federated Reserve Bank, coupled with an order that no exports would be allowed unless financed in F.R.B. notes, through the Yokohama Specie Bank. The object was to break the National currency, or *fapi*, and by getting control of exports to obtain the foreign exchange which Japan needs in order to pay for the many raw materials she must buy abroad. But since the F.R.B. notes had no metallic backing, and could not be exchanged into any foreign currency, even Japanese, the Chinese in the interior, who have the produce to sell, refused them, as did the foreign banks. The blockade of Tientsin was meant to compel Great Britain to recognize the F.R.B. currency and to give up the Chinese silver, about 16,000,000 dollars, held in British banks in Tientsin. As it was plainly impossible to do either without completely reversing her policy during the war and disowning China—not to mention that other nations are concerned in China's currency and the silver is not ours to give away—Great Britain refused, to the consternation of the Japanese, who had confidently counted on her surrender. The conference between Sir Robert Craigie and Mr. Arita was broken off and remains in a state of suspense.

Since then the currency war has broken out in a new direction, via another Japanese bank, the Huahsing, at Shanghai. This institution is in a way more respectable than the Federated Reserve, as it was started with 50 million silver dollars in its vaults. But it is none the less to be regarded as an engine to break the *fapi*. This was made clear at the beginning of last month, when the puppet Government at Nanking gave orders that all Customs dues at Shanghai must be paid in Huahsing notes, pegged at 6d., or in *fapi*, the rate for which would be fixed from day to day. As the *fapi* is worth an uncertain 4d., the hardship on importers who use it is obvious. If the Treaty Powers submit to this order they automatically recognize the Nanking Government, commit a palpable breach of neutrality towards China and accept a violation of the Customs integrity—a cardinal point in all dealings with China for eighty years past.

The fact that America, the largest exporter to China, is even

more interested in this matter than Great Britain, may lead to reconsideration of the order, though at the moment of writing there is no indication of what will happen. But America supplies Japan with 56 per cent. of her petrol, copper, scrap-iron, machinery, and other indispensable commodities; and with this uncertainty about that new trade agreement to be made next January, the Japanese will hardly provoke the United States Government unnecessarily.

Neutrality

The Japanese declaration of neutrality, or at any rate non-participation, in the European war was a foregone conclusion. Germany's perfidy has taught the Japanese a lesson, no doubt reminding them of the great Emperor Meiji's wise admonition to his people never to meddle in Western politics. Incidentally, the German propagandists have done their country no good in Japanese eyes by spreading reports that Japan is about to form a pact with Russia, a fabrication which Japan has officially and vehemently denied. And she certainly does not wish to break with the democracies with which she does the bulk of her trade, and naturally hopes to do more, as she did in the last war.

But new light is thrown on the Far Eastern situation by the statement made to the Press by General Abe on September 10, which certainly suggests that something more than mere neutrality is in the minds of Japanese rulers. He deprecated the idea that Japan would seize the present opportunity to drive foreigners out of China; expressed his anxiety to resume the conference with Great Britain if she would show sincerity; and emphasized that Japan must act independently on a moral basis. We have heard the same sort of thing before, of course, from Tokyo, but in the circumstances prevailing and from such a man, General Abe's words carry more conviction than the smooth platitudes of Prince Konoe or the acid commentaries of Baron Hiranuma.

The War with China

What Japan wants above everything else—her generals as well as her civilians—is to finish the war with China. For a long time past there has been a party in Japan which, foreseeing the deadlock into which the war has sunk, has pinned its hopes on the ultimate use of Great Britain's good offices for its solution, and there are grounds for thinking that this party has not grown less active in recent times.

Two great obstacles block the way, the first being China herself and her power of resistance. Although the war in Europe

must sadly reduce her supplies from abroad, Russia is likely to be more rather than less generous in this respect since her agreement with Germany; and China's own resources are by no means negligible as the development of the south-western provinces proceeds apace. The guerrillas, too, are becoming more and more formidable, causing their enemy serious wastage of men and materials and preventing him from obtaining those supplies of raw materials which he so much needs. There is not the slightest sign of desire on China's side to compound a peace, nor of any need for her to do so.

The second obstacle was that injudicious declaration at the beginning of 1938 that Japan will have no dealings with General Chiang Kai-shek. At present she seems to pin her faith to a new Government to be formed by Mr. Wang Ching-wei. Possibly it may be announced before these lines are in print. But Mr. Wang seems very slow in getting his Ministers together; and even if he succeeds, it is the opinion of all who know China that his followers are few and his influence small. As the favourite secretary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and an ex-Premier, he has a name. But the practical Chinese long ago discovered that while he can make a stirring oration and write a pretty poem, he is useless for the hard work of constructive statesmanship. A new Government headed by Mr. Wang would obstruct rather than further the cause of peace.

So the future still holds its secrets. Of the new Japanese Cabinet one cannot but have some hope that the combination of General Abe and General Hata offers more prospect of real statesmanship than any Japanese Cabinet since the war began. On China's side, though no one would even suggest that she should accept anything less than her full rights after all she has endured, the possibility of peace must surely be very sweet; and if peace were restored, the opportunities of making the wherewithal to build up her ruined lands by the sale to Western combatants of her rich commodities are boundless.

Is it beyond hope that, seeing Europe at war, the peoples of the Far East might undergo a revulsion of feeling which would induce them to adjust their own differences?

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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"RECORDS AND REACTIONS"*

A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

By Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

[When the Editor of the Asiatic Review invited me to review this book by Lord Midleton, I could only say that, considering his position, I did not feel competent to do this. If, however, he so desired, I might be able to give him a personal view of some of the incidents with which Lord Midleton deals, and with which I was also concerned in a subordinate capacity, in case a parallel opinion on these incidents and their consequences and repercussions up to date might be of interest. He asked me to write this, and I have done so with some misgivings, as I have perforce to be autobiographical and old memories are sometimes fallacious.]

In his *Records and Reactions*, and he might well have added Revelations, Lord Midleton has written a very frank, interesting, and valuable aid for the consideration of an important period of modern history, including his Secretaryship for India during the Kitchener-Curzon controversy. He entered political life as an M.P. at the early age of twenty-three after an education at Eton and Balliol, where, of course, he met many of the men, such as A. Lyttelton and Curzon, who were afterwards our leading statesmen. From his account of conditions at Eton, though these were improving, one is inclined to revise one's ideas that such men succeeded in consequence of an education at Eton and to think that it was in spite of this that they did so well.

He entered Parliament just after the Conservatives had been signally defeated in the constituencies in 1880 on Lord Beaconsfield's spirited foreign policy, including the military operations in Afghanistan. The Liberals at once plunged into a policy of Reform at home, Home Rule and Land Reform in Ireland and a complete reversal of Lord Lytton's policy in Afghanistan; but all their plans were upset by the course of events, and the United Kingdom has rarely been more actively engaged in foreign troubles, including troubles in Egypt and the very dangerous Panjdeh incident in 1885 with Russia than during the years 1880-85 of Gladstone's Government.

Ireland

Mr. Brodrick, as he then was, came of an Irish family of Midleton in County Cork, and his ancestor the first Baron and

* *Records and Reactions*, 1856-1939, by the Earl of Midleton, K.P. (John Murray).

Viscount, 1713 and 1717, had been Speaker of the House of Commons, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Lord High Chancellor in Ireland. Unfortunately the Midleton estates were a typical instance of the evils of absentee landlordism as the family had gone to live at Peper Harow in Surrey, and the owner very rarely visited Ireland until Mr. Brodrick's father succeeded. Even the best of agents is not an adequate substitute for the owner in Ireland and the property suffered. However, Mr. Brodrick was taken over there and at once took a deep interest in the condition of the Irish peasants and of the 250,000 Unionists in south Ireland, and his efforts throughout his subsequent career right up to the final surrender to the Home Rulers in 1923 deserved success, though as usual they were frustrated by the incapacity of the English to understand the Irish.

His first action in 1880 was to speak against the Compensation for Disturbance Bill for Irish tenants who could not or would not pay their rents under the No Rent Campaign which was being started. In doing this, however, he was forced to sympathize with the tenants in the west, and won approval from Gladstone for candour and love of truth. These qualities distinguished him throughout his career, even though they sometimes led to awkward situations. There are other Brodricks in south-west Ireland, and they seem to have the same capacity of getting up against things, as the following incident will show. In 1899, as my eyesight had suffered from overwork and in view of rumours as to Lord Curzon's intentions as regards the North-West Frontier, I left India on furlough and took up the position of Resident Magistrate at Tralee in County Kerry, which I held for two years. I attended a very full meeting of the county bench before I was sworn in to observe proceedings. A case of adulteration of butter by too much water was heard, and I looked over the Act with which I was not familiar in India. The defendant butterman was represented by Mr. Brodrick, an able solicitor, who was the terror of the magistrates, as he was fond of entrapping them in legal errors followed by a writ of certiorari and fines in the King's Bench. The certificate of Sir Charles Cameron, the Public Analyst, was put in by the police as usual. Then Mr. Brodrick said, "I object," but did not specify his reason. The Bench said, "But this is ordinary practice; what are you trying to do?" The solicitor gave no explanation, and a struggle between Bench and Bar was staged. I had found a section in the Act which provided that the certificate of the Public Analyst was admissible in evidence, but if either party so required should be proved. I pointed this out to the Chairman, my predecessor, and he said: "What are we to do now?" I said: "I do not know what your practice is, but I would suggest that Sir C. Cameron be

called at the cost of the defendant." This was adopted, and Mr. Brodrick, rather crestfallen, had to say: "As Your Worship pleases," and left. In a few minutes in rushed the butterman shouting loudly: "For God's sake, gentlemen, fine me my 30s. and let me go. I never told Mr. Brodrick to have Sir C. Cameron summoned, and I cannot pay £10 or £15." After due consideration and his refusal to bring back his solicitor, his plea was accepted and the Bench escaped a writ of certiorari, and my position as a legal luminary was established on a higher level than I could have expected.

Like his namesake, Mr. Brodrick occasionally got into difficulties during his political life by his inability entirely to subordinate his views on the merits of a case to the opinions of others. Like him, I am of Irish descent but an Enniskilliner of Ulster, and descended from Paul Dane, Provost of Enniskillen in December, 1688, when King James's Romanized troops were driven off the town. I was educated in Dublin, and fortunately served in the Punjab, a country of peasant proprietors and tenants of long standing, and in many ways resembling the Irish in their character. No less than seven Governors of the Punjab since 1846 have been Irishmen, and whether Ulstermen, as four of us were, or from Southern Ireland, they have all realized that the contentment of the owners and peasants must be the first object in good government, and this has made the Punjab the prosperous and progressive province which it now is. Lord Morley told me that Gladstone was largely influenced by the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1868, providing for fixity of tenure at a fair rent, in his Irish legislation in 1870 and afterwards. I am by descent and always have been a firm Unionist, but one cannot help feeling that, if the merits of a good land Act of this kind had been realized by all parties at an earlier date, much of the subsequent trouble in Ireland might have been avoided. Lord Midleton evidently was of the same opinion, and his courageous defence of that great Lord Lieutenant, Lord Spencer, in the Maamtrasma affair in 1885 was a fine stand for honesty in politics, and the action then of some prominent Conservatives led to Home Rule being adopted as a policy by the Liberals. It is a great pity that Lord Midleton could not have continued to take a leading part in Irish affairs during the period from 1886 to 1910. His knowledge of the conditions of Southern Ireland and his view, that the remedy in Ireland was, not so much political and a recasting of constitutions, but social, and based on land reform and uplift, would have been invaluable when Arthur Balfour and his brother were rendering yeoman service in Ireland with good and firm government. He might well have induced them to make the necessary political changes when the atmosphere was so favourable.

Things were so peaceful when I was summoned by Lord Curzon to return to India in 1901 that I was asked by the Castle if I did not think it would be a good thing to abolish the Resident Magistrates. I replied that undoubtedly they were too numerous and the qualifications of some were not high. They were expected to do all the uninteresting petty case work. I once had to drive eighteen miles out and back in an Atlantic gale to a petty sessions, where the only business was a case of trespass on reserved pasture by three geese—maximum fine, 2d. a goose—and the experience made me realize that I was a goose to be employed on such work. I said, however, that you could not calculate on continued peace in Ireland, and suggested that some of the best Resident Magistrates should be retained on better pay to act as Divisional Magistrates as the backbone of a law and order service in time of trouble, and the redundant less good men retired.

Such were the conditions then, and if Arthur Balfour had not been worried to death with the splits in his Cabinet and party on Free Trade and suchlike matters and he had had Lord Midleton as Lord Lieutenant, he might well have settled the whole question.

But it was not to be, and on the change of Government Mr. Asquith, with an eye on the Irish vote in the Commons, decided in 1906 that Ireland was so peaceful and prosperous that it was time to take a bold step forward for Home Rule, and all the old troubles soon started again and became worse than ever. Lord Midleton in 1910 became Chairman of the Southern Unionists Council, and did his best thereafter to hold them together and to get the Ulstermen to co-operate reasonably in securing a proper share in the reorganization of the Government on a Home Rule basis, which was then bound to follow. He describes sadly all the steps taken between then and 1921 to secure joint action by all the Unionists in Ireland with the moderate Home Rulers. He was a protagonist when the case was being dealt with in the Convention in 1917, and seems nearly to have achieved the impossible after Sir Roger Casement landed at Fenit, near Tralee, my old station, in 1916. But for the wrong impression of the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, that the U.S.A. might be disgruntled if Home Rule was not granted and stop the supply of munitions, he might then have carried through conscription and re-established British authority in Ireland, though after Mr. Asquith's most unfortunate visit to Kilmainhan and his sympathizing with the leading rebels there confined after the rising of Easter, 1916, this was almost impossible. Still, Lord Midleton's efforts were well conceived and well sustained, and deserved success.

Mr. Asquith was subject to curious changes of temper. When I returned to England in 1913, after five years as Lieutenant-

Governor of the Punjab, Mr. Montagu, who had stayed with me in camp there, was good enough to bring me into contact with the Premier, who asked me if I would go over to Ireland and give him a note of my view of the situation. I did this in August and September, and, as I knew the South fairly well, spent most of my time in Ulster, which I realized was the crux of the position. I had assisted my cousin, R. M. Dane, when he won the Fermanagh seat in 1892, and I had the advice and help of his brother, J. W. Dane, Clerk of the Crown and Secretary of the Kildare Hunt, and a very experienced Irish electioneer. The Home Rule Bill, as drafted, was obviously inacceptable to all Unionists, and I ventured to propose several amendments, and suggested that the Senate, in which the Unionists would be strongly represented, might be given similar powers as the U.S.A. Senate of dealing with finance and high appointments in the Judiciary, Police, etc., and other matters. In fact, I made much the same case as Lord Midleton did in 1916 and later. I told Mr. Asquith that I felt it was highly improbable that British troops could be used to compel the Unionists in Ulster to accept Home Rule under the Bill, as in Kerry and elsewhere in the South, even when I was there, they could not leave barracks except in parties of three, and were spat upon by the people. The Ulster men were well organized and had arms, and the more quiet they kept the more dangerous they were. Exclusion of Ulster would not really be popular in the Province, and it would be hated by the rest of Ireland, and would be a betrayal of the Southern Unionists. Given the necessary changes in the Bill, which I had discussed with the Grand Master of the Orangemen and leading Unionists in the North, I had every reason to believe that a measure of Home Rule duly protecting the interests of Ulster would be accepted. Mr. Asquith replied to my letter: "I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of September 12, 1913, and the accompanying note, which I have read with much interest. Without expressing any final opinion, I may say at once that your suggestions—unlike many that are being put forward—seem to me to be of an eminently reasonable and practical character. I will, in consultation with my colleagues, give them full consideration."

Unfortunately an attempt was made to short-circuit the case by offer of the exclusion of six Ulster counties, in haste accepted by Carson, and the amendment of the Act was left over. All that I predicted about the attitude of the troops and of Ulster came true, and the issue of partition is still the battlecry in Ireland. I could not get Mr. Asquith to take the matter up again. Lord Midleton's attempts in 1918 on similar lines broke on the Ulster rock of suspicion, though that suspicion is really due to the

way in which the British Government seeks from time to time to conciliate the dissident Irish at their expense. A notable instance of this was the case of Mr. Justice Feetham's award on the boundary of Ulster. He was appointed at the instance of the Home Rulers and made an exhaustive inquiry. His boundary would have remedied many of the defects of the present counties' boundaries by excluding large numbers of Romanists and including Protestant areas closely connected with Ulster. But the Home Rulers, when they saw that the award was not so favourable as they hoped, at once clamoured that it should not be carried into effect, and the Ulstermen unfortunately merely said, "Well, we did not ask for the inquiry. We are willing to accept the proposed boundary; but, if the British Government wish to allow it to lapse to suit the Home Rulers who pressed for it, we have nothing to say."

When things were *in extremis* in 1918 Lord Midleton was asked to take the office of Lord Lieutenant to enforce conscription and Home Rule simultaneously in Ireland, and after pointing out the difficulties he agreed, if given a free hand and full support, but he asked that these two matters should not be pressed at the same time. Mr. Lloyd George would not agree to let conscription be taken up first, so Lord Midleton wisely refused to accept the appointment. The Irish Unionist Alliance collapsed in October, 1918. Things in Ireland went from bad to worse. At one time firm government was proposed, but this was soon dropped. The action of the extra police (Black and Tans) very nearly reduced the rebels to terms, but with the usual malignancy of fate in Irish affairs these agents were discredited and dropped when success was within the grasp of Government against the rebels, after which remedial measures would have been possible.

It is a curious thing that the English often seem to suffer from an inferiority complex, and are always prepared to feel that their agents abroad, and especially in Ireland and India, are in the wrong. Thus the woes of Ireland, due to Cromwell, are usually accepted as a fact, but the Irish never mention the base plot in 1641 for a St. Bartholomew's day, when all the Protestants were to be assassinated. Thousands perished. In Enniskillen we escaped, as a servant gave information to Sir W. Cole, the Governor, and enabled him to take measures for the safety of the place. (Cromwell was really only redressing the wrongs of the injured Protestants, and, if his measures were rough, they were necessary and successful.) So with the Black and Tans, the plan of secret murders and burnings was started by the Irish rebels, and these extra police were only introduced to combat this. In 1921 Lord Midleton was asked by Mr. de Valera to see him about the proposed truce, which shows that his fair-mindedness was

appreciated. His proposals were sound and might well have been accepted by the Irish, but everyone was exhausted and the so-called Treaty was signed. This led him to seek rest from Irish affairs, with which, like so many others who wish to help that country, he was so grievously disappointed. All Irishmen, except that impossible fraction which is always "again" the Government whatever that Government may be, will appreciate his honest endeavour to secure a fair and lasting settlement. When they appeared to be succeeding, screams of horror at the atrocities not of the rebels but of the British forces were raised. The same thing is happening again now. The irreconcilable and irresponsible rebels have started a campaign of bombing and incendiarism regardless of damage to human life. This time, happily perhaps, the campaign is being carried on in Great Britain. If it were staged in Eire the bombers would be liable to the death penalty for treason. Unfortunately we have not adopted that law here, and those convicted are sentenced to terms of penal servitude. No doubt after a few years, when further appeasement is necessary for Irish rebels, the political prisoners will be released. Already in Ireland there is an outcry against the vindictive sentences passed, but hitherto, as the danger was too unpleasantly close to the people in this country, their appeal has not met with the usual response, but perhaps that will soon come.

Army Affairs

Mr. Brodrick was diverted from his work for Ireland by his appointment as Financial Secretary to the War Office, and he worked there for about twelve years in that capacity, and later as Under Secretary and finally Secretary of State. He evidently acquired a complete knowledge of the office and all its ways, and his account of some of the cliques and coteries that prevailed is not very edifying. However, it was largely due to his work under Stanhope and as Secretary of State that we were able to send the unprecedentedly large force of 300,000 men to the Cape of Good Hope in 1899-01, in spite of all the difficulties attendant upon such an improvisation. His Army Council was the basis of further reforms in which Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts co-operated. He suffered much from the machinations of brilliant outsiders who, after Brodrick left the War Office in September, 1901, were apparently responsible for the unpardonable discourtesy of dismissing that noble veteran Lord Roberts from the office of Commander-in-Chief by an open letter, announcing the abolition of the office, left on his table for him to read when he came to office! It is a curious fact that the same Government, which was responsible for getting rid of a Commander-in-Chief

in Great Britain in order to substitute a Chief of the Staff, later on agreed to make the Commander-in-Chief in India master in his own house—*i.e.*, practically not responsible to anyone in India. The Military Member of Council in a measure took the place there of the Secretary of State for War, but his powers were reduced to a nullity, and there can have been very little check left on military proposals in India thereafter. This might have worked under a strong man like Lord Kitchener, but it probably conduced to the terrible collapse of the Indian Army arrangements in Mesopotamia in 1915-16.

I was considered in 1915 too independent a man to be employed in the India Office as I might encourage the Secretary of State to start a policy of his own; so Sir Austen Chamberlain told me after he had asked me on appointment to go to help him there. I could certainly as a settlement officer of Peshawar have advised them to utilize the services of the Upper Indus boatmen, who held considerable revenue grants for services to be rendered anywhere. They and their boats did good service on the Nile. They could easily have been transported to the Gulf, as Nearchus found, in the calm weather in the autumn, and could have accompanied the force in its slow progress up the Tigris, and carried up stores and medicines with them. These did not arrive regularly or in time and serious sickness prevailed. The boats would have brought down the sick and wounded. The Army Staff in India, however, had decided against this old-fashioned method and wished to make this a model expedition, employing only steam and motor vessels. Unhappily these were not forthcoming, and the debacle was due to want of river carriage; eventually the very inferior Tigris boats had to be employed, and but few were available. If there had been an independent Secretary for War in the Viceroy's Council, or someone with competent knowledge of the conditions of the expedition on the Council of the Secretary of State, this most unhappy breakdown might have been avoided, and all Iraq safely occupied at the first intent.

Lord Midleton's account of his contacts with King Edward VII. and the German Kaiser Wilhelm are most interesting, and illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of having a ruler who wishes to deal himself with military matters, and often relies on unofficial sources of information, sometimes unreliable, and generally embarrassing.

(*To be continued.*)

INDIA

India's North-West Frontier. By Sir William Barton. (*John Murray.*) 10s. 6d.

(*Reviewed by* Sir Denys Bray.)

Sir William Barton performed a public duty when on the completion of his work on the Indian States he turned to the scene of his earlier experience on the North-West Frontier. For the frontier problem takes on fresh complexity with changing circumstances, and it was high time that it should come under a comprehensive survey now that the Frontier Province has undergone with internal India the momentous change to provincial autonomy.

This is a book that repays re-reading. On first reading the mind is apt to be distracted by details and repetitions and breezy criticisms of action taken in the past, which sometimes hold up the run of the argument. But with judicious skipping these obstacles disappear on a second reading. And if, as we may hope, a second edition is called for, a little compression here and a little rearrangement there will greatly enhance the value of the work. Supplied with an adequate index, it would serve as a very useful book of reference.

Nothing in Sir William's argument is more timely than his insistence on the need for taking public opinion in India, in the province, and in Afghanistan, into due account in the handling of the problem. Curiously enough, what he regards as essential today he usually condemns as weakness or worse when practised in the past. He argues, for instance, that after the Third Afghan War peace should have been signed, not in India, but in Kabul. The physical difficulties he brushes aside, though history has taught us their stubborn reality; the demobilization problem he hardly mentions, though it was one of the most pressing and ominous problems post-war England had to face; possible reactions on public opinion in India and the Muslim world and at home are not mentioned at all; nor is the risk (which must obviously have been uppermost in the minds of those with whom the decision rested) that at the end of a march to Kabul there might be no Amir —indeed, no united Afghanistan—to make peace with. As it was, peace was signed as soon as the repentant Amir asked for it, largely because permanent friendly relations with a united, independent Afghanistan are, as Sir William himself insists, one of the bases of a sound frontier policy.

For the frontier problem is essentially a political problem. Often enough it becomes for the time being a military problem, when tribal ebullitions grow beyond the scope of the politicals and their scouts and tribal levies to cope with. But this is the abnormal and not the normal condition. Taking a long-range view, we find ourselves confronted with difficulties which the apparently obvious military solution does little to remove and, if applied after the abnormal has given place to the normal, may do much to aggravate.

For the only real solution is the weaning of the transborder tribesmen from their primitive, predatory stage of society by the gradual infiltration of civilization. This is the policy today, and the policy Sir William himself

advocates. And the only thing in doubt is the means by which this policy can best be advanced.

Of the means employed by Sandeman on the Baluchistan frontier Sir William has little to say. Had Sandeman's policy really consisted in the bolstering up of the chiefs, as Sir William implies, there would have been no need for him to say anything at all. But this is a travesty of the life-work of that frontier genius, who combined intuitive insight into the minds of others with an unfortunate inability to put his own into words. A true appreciation of Sandeman's policy would have provided Sir William with historical evidence of success wherewith to point much of his moral. For no matter whether the tribe with which Sandeman was dealing was aristocratic or democratic in its political complexion, what he strove to vitalize was not some particular element in the tribal hierarchy, but the tribal system itself, in order that he might control the tribal country through the agency of the tribes themselves with a minimum of outside assistance. From the point of view of Government, the Sandeman policy meant the maintenance of the *pax Britannica* through the resolute enforcement of tribal responsibility. From the point of view of the tribesmen it meant *swadeshi swaraj* under British rule: not government by an alien army of occupation and a horde of alien officials and police enforcing the *lex Britannica*, which tribesmen cannot understand and heartily dislike, but self-government as far as may be by the tribesmen themselves along the lines of ancient tribal custom, which is as dear to them as our own law is to us. It was thus of the essence of the Sandeman policy to give the tribesmen the greatest possible stake in our administration of their country. After all, even frontier tribesmen can be made to appreciate peace if they reap its opportunities for betterment; they appreciate also—who doesn't?—playing a paid part, whether as *malik* or *khassadar* or what you will, in running their own country on the lines of their own institutions.

All very simple, very human, very tribal. And there is nothing in it that does not hold good today. The Sandeman system lends itself to manifold variation; it varied under his own hands in different tribes and in different conditions. But the essentials of his policy, grounded as it was in the common instincts of self-interest and self-respect, are immutable. And its spirit, though Sir William seems unconscious of it, inspires a good deal of the proposals he has expounded in this thought-provoking book.

THE EAST INTERPRETED TO THE WEST. (In the English translation of the Qoran.)* By Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, I.C.S. (retired).

(*Reviewed by* SIR ABDUL QADIR.)

Mr. Yusuf Ali has rendered a real service to Islam and to those interested in understanding the doctrines of the Islamic faith, by bringing out his fine translation and commentary of the Qoran. There are many English trans-

* Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, India, and available at Foyle's, Charing Cross Road, London.

lations of the Qoran, but this one has some distinguishing features which justify the addition of yet another volume to those already in existence. The earliest translations in English were by Western scholars of Arabic, but their interpretations of the text erred here and there, showing a certain lack of understanding of Oriental modes of thought and expression. There were also indications of a bias against Islam in some of the notes added to the translations. The need of a sympathetic translation by a Muslim, having a knowledge of English and Arabic, was, therefore, very much felt. The first book to supply this need was the translation published by Maulana Muhammad Ali, the head of the Ahmadia Society of Lahore, with the Arabic text, in parallel columns. His translation has gone through many editions and has been much appreciated. It has copious notes, which show a good deal of earnest research. This was followed by a translation by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, of the Colonial Civil Service. It is without the Arabic text. The last in the field, before the translation by Mr. Yusuf Ali, was the publication of the late Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, to which he gave the title of *The Meaning of the Glorious Qoran*. Mr. Pickthall had established for himself a reputation as a man of letters in England before he embraced Islam. He studied Arabic and acquired a good acquaintance with it. He was serving in the Education Department in Hyderabad (in South India) when he began his translation, and had adequate opportunities there to consult the best scholars of Qoranic literature whenever necessary. His translation may thus be regarded as a very valuable aid to the understanding of the Qoran by those who cannot read it in Arabic. Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali has the advantage of possessing all the qualifications possessed by his predecessors, along with a wide acquaintance with Western philosophy and a rich and varied experience of literary life. He has utilized all the resources of his wide learning in making the meaning of the Qoran clear to its students in the West, as well as to the Eastern Muslims influenced by Western culture and sharing a good deal of the Western outlook.

The book is neatly printed and got up, the Arabic text in its beautiful script appearing on the right, with the English translation on the left, on each page. The footnotes are full of useful information on points of historic as well as philosophic interest. Mr. Yusuf Ali has tried to be as literal as possible, but at the same time not too literal, in translating the text. In his notes he has not identified himself with any particular school of interpretation. He has consulted the best commentaries of the Qoran in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and where he has found more than one interpretation possible, he has given them all, leaving the reader to exercise his own choice as to what he finds more acceptable. By way of help to the reader, his own inclination as to the interpretation best favoured by him is also indicated.

In addition to the valuable and helpful notes which form his commentary, Mr. Yusuf Ali gives a running commentary in rhymed prose at the beginning of each section, giving in his own language the gist of the verses that are to follow, thus preparing the mind of the reader for what he is to find in the text. This special feature of the book has been much

appreciated, and I understand that some readers have suggested that this running commentary may be published in the form of a separate book, to show in a brief manner the beauty, the force and the variety of the themes dealt with in the Qoran. Perhaps Mr. Yusuf Ali may find it worth while to adopt this suggestion. In any case his experience as a seasoned man of letters and his excellent command of English have enabled him to bring out in his translation and through his commentary some of the beauties of the Qoran as literature, and it is a noteworthy coincidence that this book has come out about the same time as the very readable publication called *The Bible as Literature*. This translation, as Mr. Yusuf Ali tells us in his Preface, has been a dream of his for years and is the result of a prolonged study and research. It has taken years to complete, but the writer has the satisfaction of feeling that his labours have received a wide appreciation and that he will be long remembered by his work, which may be regarded as his *magnum opus*.

THE MAN BEHIND THE PLOUGH. By M. Azizul Huque, Speaker, Bengal Legislative Assembly, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. (Calcutta: *The Book Company, Ltd.*) Rs. 5.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

"The man behind the plough," of whose condition and welfare this book presents an exhaustive study, is the raiyat of Bengal. Its author, Mr. M. Azizul Huque, is well qualified to deal with his subject. He is both Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. He claims to have brought to his task both experience and knowledge gained in a wide range of administrative appointments, beginning as President of a Union Board and ending as Minister for Education in the Bengal Government before he assumed his present high offices. It is a sorry tale that he unfolds, but it is done temperately and without rhetoric. He leaves the facts, amply supported by official references, to speak for themselves.

The area of Bengal is nearly 75,000 square miles and the present population about 52½ millions, or an average of 700 to the square mile. In the Province there is considerable modern industrial activity, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and in the mining districts. It is served by an adequate railway system and supplemented by river transport in the Deltaic tracts of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. This industrial community is comparatively wealthy, but it forms only a small fraction of the people and will only expand so slowly as to afford a very meagre outlet for the surplus population of the exclusively rural areas.

Fifty-one per cent. of the land is actually under cultivation and another 9 per cent. is under fallows or is classified as *culturable waste*. From this 33½ million acres nearly 32 million people derive a livelihood, if such it can be called. The land is rack rented in the extreme, the cultivation is poor and the majority of the tenants are living on the margin of subsistence. The soil, formed mainly by alluvial deposits, is naturally fertile and enjoys

an average rainfall more than sufficient for the cultivator's normal needs, but it is not infrequently ill distributed by periods of drought or disastrous floods. Irrigation from canals exists only in two districts, and even there is on a comparatively small scale. There is a small amount of private irrigation from wells and tanks, but the sources of supply are somewhat precarious. Generally it may be said that Bengal depends upon its rainfall, and it is doubtful if much can be done to provide supplementary irrigation.

Seven-eighths of the land in Bengal is devoted to the cultivation of paddy, and the only other important crops are jute, sugar, oil seeds and tobacco. The people live on rice and are ill- or well-fed according to the abundance of the harvest. The annual yield averages about 8 million tons, and this, according to Mr. Azizul Huque, is only about two-thirds the quantity necessary to give the people an adequate amount of food. A net import of about half a million tons of rice indicates the existence of a deficiency in local supplies, and gives weight to the contention that the Province is unable to support its present population from its own resources.

From statistics furnished by Mr. Azizul Huque with a view to framing an estimate of the average income of the cultivator, it would appear that the value of the paddy crop is about three-fourths of the total value of all the agricultural produce raised. Two estimates of the total value of the crops are given: one on the basis of a normal yield amounting to Rs. 125 crores and the other on an average yield amounting to Rs. 80 crores. From these figures it would appear that, after deducting the value of the paddy crop, which is all consumed locally, the amount available to the cultivators of Bengal to meet all their expenditure varies from Rs. 27 crores to Rs. 36 crores. As the rent alone amounts to Rs. 17 crores, this leaves only from Rs. 10 to Rs. 17 crores to meet all other charges. That is to say, distributed among 32 million people these sums provide only from a little over Rs. 3 to a little over Rs. 5 for all the items which go to make up their annual personal expenditure. The sum seems incredibly small, and suggests at least considerable doubt as to the accuracy of the data on which it is based or neglect to take into account the infiltration into rural areas of very large sums accruing from the important industrial activities which have already been mentioned.

Mr. Azizul Huque states in his preface that he has "written this book in the hope that it may help all those engaged in devising measures for the economic reconstruction of rural Bengal." He has dealt with his subject mainly from a statistical point of view, and it would seem that they prove rather too much. Agricultural statistics in Bengal are notoriously unreliable, and it is quite evident from a careful examination of the 82 tables of figures that many of them do not furnish sufficiently reliable evidence on which to base measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people. There is no doubt that they are miserably poor, that many of them are undernourished, that they endure all the evils which inevitably arise when the population is greater than the land can support. Added to which they are the victims of the Permanent Settlement, which has fostered absentee landlordism and drained the rural areas of no inconsiderable proportion of its wealth. That this settlement has enhanced the poverty of the tenants

there can be no doubt; but would the condition of things have been much better under the raiyatwari system of land tenure? In many ways the answer is "Yes," but it is also possible that the population would have increased more rapidly and that the bulk of them, as now, would be living on the margin of existence. From the fact that Mr. Azizul Huque devotes more than one-third of his book to a discussion of the land system, it is evident that he considers that in the not very remote future, now that there is established in Bengal an Indian Government deriving its authority from a mainly agricultural community, the Permanent Settlement made by the British in 1793 will come under discussion with a view to its modification or revocation. It is a very thorny subject, quite beyond the scope of this review, and all we can say about it now is that it is treated with moderation and restraint. It is, however, fairly obvious that Mr. Azizul Huque does not consider that a system of land tenure, based upon an erroneous conception of the status of the revenue officers under the Mogul régime, is immutable under the changed conditions of the present time. Apparently he is no advocate for drastic measures, and advocates reforms to be granted whilst they are still acceptable. Today the demands of the rural masses are moderate—tomorrow they may be of a radical character, and who knows what may then happen?

What steps should be taken to improve the position of the raiyatwari of Bengal are to some extent adumbrated in the separate chapters which are devoted to the consideration of the economic details of their daily life. Apart from the disadvantages arising from the system of land tenure, the problems presented are little different from those of other parts of India where the pressure on the soil is great and tends to increase. The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has reviewed them at great length and with both understanding and deep sympathy. They made many suggestions and recommendations, but in the end they said that little would result from them "unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living and the capacity in terms of mental equipment and physical health to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration place at his disposal."

Nearly 150 years ago we made an attempt to achieve this result in the light of English experience. The results which it was hoped would follow the Permanent Settlement have not been realized. The difficulties today are greater—rural life has no attraction for the intelligentsia, and till they can be induced to settle on the land and train themselves so that they can take a useful practical interest in its working it is to be feared that little progress will be made. Japan has a similar problem, and by the practice of a very intensive system of cultivation the Japs have to a large extent overcome the difficulties arising from the demands of a large population on a very limited cultural area. It would seem that there is no other way out of it but that India must work on similar lines.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN ANCIENT AND LATER TIMES. By F. E. Keay, M.A., D.Lit. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I., C.B.E.)

His publishers did well to persuade Dr. Keay to bring out a revised edition of a book which first appeared twenty years ago. Much research has gone to its making, but its author wears his learning lightly and imparts it in pleasant fashion. No country in the world, except perhaps China, can boast of systems of education which have so long and continuous a history and have undergone so few modifications as some of the educational systems of India. Dr. Keay has ransacked Indian literature from its earliest ages in order to trace the beginnings and the development of Brahmanic, Buddhist and Muhammadan education. He is able to tell us not only the methods of teaching and discipline that were followed in the schools in ancient India, but also the punishments that were imposed, the length of the terms, the fees that were paid and even the clothes that the pupils wore. He brings the story down to comparatively recent times and, in his chapter on popular elementary education, gives an interesting account of the *pathsalas* and *maktabs* as they existed in the early part of the nineteenth century. India's educational record is not one of progress, for, as Dr. Keay says, the early vigour which manifested itself in the great contributions India made to the science of grammar, mathematics, philosophy and other subjects had long spent itself before the momentous changes brought about by the introduction of Western education. Dr. Keay has much that is valuable to say about the causes of decay and failure, but, in one respect at least, the relationship between master and pupil, Indian education throughout its history has set an example well worthy of imitation by the West. This unpretentious little book can be warmly commended as an introduction to more recondite works on the subject.

COURT POETS OF IRAN AND INDIA: AN ANTHOLOGY OF WIT AND VERSE. By R. P. Masani. (Bombay: *New Book Company.*) Rs. 5.

(*Reviewed by* J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

Biographies of Persian poets are numerous, and stories about these men are among the most entertaining in Persian literature: so much so that it is somewhat surprising that Mr. Masani's book has comparatively few forerunners.

His aim in compiling the present anthology is mainly to delight rather than to instruct, and he has certainly produced a very attractive volume. While confining himself to Court poets, he extends the scope of such old and famous works as Daulatshah's *Tazkirat al-Shu'arā* (from which, incidentally, he takes some of his material) up to modern Iran, and includes also many anecdotes and verses of the Mughal Court poets of India. Some of the latter are excellent and are not generally known.

All the quotations are given in Persian and translated into English, and are led up to by biographical and explanatory paragraphs, also in English.

It would be unfair to examine too minutely the accuracy of the ascriptions in a work of this nature, but surely the atrocious libel on the hospitality of Iran ascribed on page 186 to Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl is much later than that poet. "The courtesy of the people of Iran consists of two cups of coffee and one benediction" (Du finjān i qahva ast u yak āfirīn).

The book is introduced in a graceful Foreword by Agha Muhammad 'Alī Khan Foroughi, ex-Prime Minister of Iran.

THE AGA KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS. By Navraji M. Dumasia. With a Foreword by the Maharaja of Bikaner and a Dedication to the Ruler of Mewar. (Bombay: *The Times of India Press.*)

No one who has the privilege of the Aga Khan's acquaintance and some knowledge of his services to the Empire will dispute the eulogisms showered by Mr. Dumasia on His Highness, but a book of this nature which is exclusively laudatory is apt to pall on the general reader. His Highness, indeed, might with reason ask to be saved from his friends. But it should serve a very useful purpose if only because it will open the eyes of the ill-informed section of the public, who will learn from it that His Highness's great position does not rest exclusively on his outstanding successes on the English Turf. To many the most interesting part of the book will be the somewhat brief account of the first Aga Khan's career. Few of us probably realize how accidental and how recent his family's connection with India and England may be said to be. But for the hostility of Haji Mirza Aghasi, the Persian Prime Minister, which drove the Aga Khan from his homeland a hundred years ago, the social and political world of today would have lost one of its most prominent figures, while the man in the street would never have heard of Blenheim and Bahram. The history of the family for the last three generations is a striking refutation of the fallacy that a dynasty necessarily decays in exile. It also affords good evidence that lineage and training have the same importance for mankind as His Highness attaches to them in the management of his racing stud.

Though Mr. Dumasia's claim that "no creed is more in conformity with the progressive demand of humanity than the faith of the Prophet" may not meet with universal acceptance, His Highness's personal tolerance and adaptability admit of no doubt. His wide popularity in this country is principally due to his lack of all "side" and to his essentially human nature. In spite of its over-colouring, Mr. Dumasia has painted an attractive picture of him as a great Moslem, an imperial statesman, an Indian patriot, and, last if not least, a thoroughly good mixer. It was a happy thought that led him to dedicate his book to an Indian prince who holds a unique position in the Hindu world and to secure for it a foreword from another Hindu prince whose name is honoured wherever English is spoken.

R. C. T.

HYDERABAD ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT. (*Medical and Public Health Department.*)

(*Reviewed by* E. A. MACKENZIE-BELL.)

A record of progress in almost all spheres of activity is contained in the administrative report of the Medical and Public Health Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for the year ending October, 1937.

Considering, first, the medical section, it is learned that at the close of the year the staff consisted of 39 civil surgeons, 77 assistant surgeons, and 191 sub-assistant surgeons. The Hyderabad Nursing Service was reorganised during the year and worked efficiently in spite of the great strain imposed upon it by the very large attendance of patients. The Osmania Hospital Training School was for the first time recognized by the Madras Nurses' and Midwives' Council as an institution for the training of midwives and for their registration by the Council. The number of Government and aided dispensaries working during the year amounted to 150, compared with 148 in the preceding year.

There was a marked increase in the attendance of patients in all hospitals and dispensaries, and new patients treated during the year numbered 2,833,878 as against 2,618,112 in the previous year. The number of new in-patients admitted was 37,782 compared with 36,982 in 1936. The number of new out-patients registered increased by 214,966, or from 2,581,130 to 2,796,096. No less than 107,572 surgical operations were performed compared with 87,688 in the previous year. It is reported that out of 2,164 patients anæsthetized not a single death occurred.

Income from various sources during the year remained virtually unchanged—Rs. 60,242 against Rs. 60,463. The cost of the head office fell somewhat from Rs. 1,59,982 to Rs. 1,54,006. Expenditure in the civil medical institutions, on the other hand, advanced from Rs. 16,85,511 to Rs. 17,05,873. The Board of Survey passed bills in respect of the supply of drugs, instruments, and other hospital requirements amounting to Rs. 2,20,617.

In regard to the Osmania Hospital, although the accommodation provided was for 400 in-patients, the daily average number of such during the year was 634·68, and on one occasion the number reached 671. In the casualty department the number of cases amounted to 6,497. The income of the hospital amounted to Rs. 5,90,987 and the expenditure to Rs. 5,37,714. It is satisfactory to record that the working of the hospital elicited high praise from Major-General W. C. Bradfield, I.M.S., who stated:

> "The equipment and organization of the Osmania Hospital are as good as anything I have seen in India, and would compare very favourably with the best hospital in Europe. It was a great pleasure to have seen this fine institution, and the State is to be congratulated upon its great and obvious popularity and the splendid work of Colonel Norman Walker and his staff."

In the case of the Victoria Zenana Hospital, the number of out-patients treated showed a slight decrease, and the same applied in respect of in-

patients (6,340 against 6,638 in the previous year). Accordingly, the total number of operations performed fell from 2,306 to 1,814. The report also comprises records of the work of the City Police Hospital, of the Mental Hospital, and of the Leper Home and Hospital. The measures adopted for the prevention of epidemics throughout the State were satisfactory. The number of deaths from smallpox and plague during the year was 245 and 2,145 respectively, compared with 1,166 and 2,397 in the preceding year.

Turning to the Public Health section of the report, we learn that in 1913 a scheme for the establishment of the Public Health Department as a separate service was sanctioned by the Government. In 1934 the service was completely reorganized, and it is now in the hands of the Director, Medical and Public Health Department, who is also the Plague Commissioner for the city and suburbs of Hyderabad and adviser to the Government in all major schemes connected with sanitation and rural uplift. There is also in existence a very strong committee known as the City Improvement Board, which is active in arranging for the clearing of congested areas, the building of model dwellings, road-making, and in providing other civic amenities. This has greatly improved the health of Hyderabad City.

The activities of the Public Health Department include the prevention and control of epidemic diseases, constant observation of the health of the population, inspection and advice regarding sanitary conditions, submission to the Government of schemes for carrying on and improving sanitary administration, technical advice regarding town-planning, buildings, drainage and water supplies, and infant welfare work. Excellent results in all these directions are being obtained.

A conspicuous part of this section of the report is that consisting of a series of maps, charts, and statistical tables providing information in regard to the incidence of different diseases in the various areas of the State, interleaved with accounts of the methods being adopted to check their ravages, including inoculation, vaccination, and the constant war against rats. Particulars are then given of malaria surveys and anti-malaria campaigns, and of measures for combating other diseases in rural areas. Medical examination of school-children is now a regular feature of the Department's work, as is the use of travelling dispensaries, one for each district.

A new tuberculosis clinic and a new hospital for treatment of the same disease are now in course of construction, a site has been secured for a new sanatorium, to be commenced almost immediately, and a scheme for opening a new infant welfare centre has been sanctioned. The total expenditure of the Department during the year under review in respect of the activities mentioned, and others, amounted to Rs. 6,21,520 compared with Rs. 6,01,434 in the preceding year.

According to the figures relating to plague prevention, it is shown that 520 persons were attacked during the year, 259 fatally. It is nevertheless satisfactory to learn that, after eight years of vigorous and continuous work, the disease has been brought under control, and that it is now possible to prevent it from assuming epidemic proportions.

Other chapters of the report furnish interesting particulars in regard to the special malaria department, the fight against tuberculosis, and vaccina-

tion, while some fifty-odd pages are devoted to statistical tables supplying detailed particulars of the various activities and results of working of the Department, a summary of which has been given above.

In short, as will be clear from the foregoing, the many-sided endeavours of the Medical and Public Health Department have achieved very satisfactory results during the year under review, which indicate great promise of yet further advance in the future. The Government is therefore entitled to the greatest credit for its continued and successful efforts to secure and maintain the health and well-being of the people.

FRENCH BOOKS

SANCTUAIRES. By Edouard Herriot. (Paris: *Librairie Hachette.*)

(*Reviewed by* G. L. W. MACKENZIE.)

It is a pity that the author of this book did not provide it with a preface, for then he might have explained what his purpose was in writing it, and prepared his readers for the rather random and amorphous nature of its contents. Actually M. Herriot's work deals principally with antiquities in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, but there are two chapters interpolated—on the work of the scientists who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, and on the life of a French pioneer of the theory of aviation who lived in Cairo towards the end of the last century—which seem a little out of place in the archæological setting into which they are thrust. The last chapter, too, which discusses the political relations between France and Egypt, on the one hand, and between France and Syria, on the other, does not seem called for in a work of this character.

M. Herriot had the advantage of introductions to some of the most gifted European and Oriental archæologists when he visited Egypt and the Near East for the purposes of this book, and he quotes frequently from their works in commenting on the antiquities he was shown during his tour. He builds up his narrative from his own reading of ancient history and from these quotations, and he seasons the whole with occasional references to the present and the incidents of his own visit to these "sanctuaries."

It is very difficult to avoid the epithet "guide-bookish" in commenting on a work composed on these lines. It would have been possible, too, to have shown more enthusiasm for this book had the author planned it more carefully and made out some sort of case for its existence. The "interpolated" chapters are admirable: the life-story of Louis Mouillard, *le fou français*, who helped to provide the data which enabled the Wright brothers to construct their first aeroplane, is one that deserves to be better known; while the account of Napoleon's scientists is of considerable interest. On the other hand, the antiquities of the Near East—and especially of Egypt—have now been so frequently described that, if we are to be given further accounts of Memphis, Luxor, Karnak, Baalbak, and their historical background, some fresh approach is desirable in a work which does not claim to be a textbook.

VIEILLES BALLADES DU BENGALE. Translated into French by Madeleine Rolland. (Published by *C. A. Hogman*, Mouans Sartoux, near Cannes.)

(*Reviewed by* C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

The ballads collected in this most interesting volume were first gathered by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, who has devoted many years to the quest of popular Bengali folk-stories in verse. At one time they were on the lips of all Bengalis; but time, modern education, Musulman preachers, and Hindu priests have all conspired to destroy their popularity. Mr. Chandra Sen has done a great patriotic work in searching for the ballads and compiling them in book form. Hardly less praiseworthy is the achievement of Mme. Rolland, who has translated these Bengali ballads into the most lucid French prose. I had thought before reading her book that French was hardly the best medium for their translation, but Mme. Rolland has proved the contrary. I have never read an English rendering of an Indian poem that approaches hers. Indeed, her style equals that of Eugène Burnouf in its clarity and vigour.

It is impossible in a short review to examine each ballad separately, so I shall take one at random and give an abridged version of it.

KENARAM, THE BRIGAND CHIEF

Kenaram was the son of a Brahman couple called Kelaram and Yashodhara, who lived near Mymensing. They had long been denied children when in answer to their prayers a little boy was born to them. They called him Kenaram, or the treasure of Rama. A year or two later came a great famine. The boy's father and mother died, and his uncles, unable to feed him, sold him to the chief of a band of brigands. When Kenaram grew to manhood, he, too, became a robber, and, since he grew to be stronger and bigger than the other members of the band, he came in time to be their leader. Thenceforth his cruelties and crimes far exceeded those of his predecessors.

One day it happened that the saintly Bangshi Das, a minstrel devoted to the worship of the goddess Manasa Devi, passed through the district infested by Kenaram's brigands. They seized him and brought him before their chief. Of all so haled before Kenaram, Bangshi Das alone showed no fear. He answered the bandit's questions with questions of his own. At last, when Kenaram grew impatient and drew his sword to kill Bangshi Das, the minstrel broke into song. He sang the story of Savitri and told how she rescued her husband from the clutches of Yama. So touching was the story and so sweet the singer's voice that the robber, for all his wickedness, repented of his villainies and, throwing his hoards of stolen treasure into the Ganges, vowed that he would kill himself with the very sword with which he would have beheaded Bangshi Das. The saint, seeing how sincere was his contrition, had pity on him and accepted him as his disciple. Let me, however, finish in Mme. Rolland's own words:

"Kenaram avait une voix mélodieuse; avec le temps il devint disciple fervent de Bangshi et passa ses jours à chanter les hymnes consacrées à Manasa Devi.

" Bientôt fut reconnue la grandeur de son renoncement et la pureté de sa vie. Quand il chantait, souvent ses yeux étaient noyés de larmes, et il chantait et dansait comme un homme qui n'appartient plus à ce monde et qui est ravi en extase. . . .

" L'influence d'une vie sainte avait transformé un cœur de pierre en cœur plein de tendresse. Les arbres même semblaient être sensibles au charme de ses chants et verser des larmes de rosée."

Just as the perusal of Mahipati's Marathi poems and the novels of Hari Narayan Apte gives a foreigner a clearer idea of the Marathi people than years of office work, so a study of these ballads would give the reader a better idea of the Bengali people than any number of official gazetteers and similar works. To those who cannot read Bengali, Mme. Rolland has offered an admirable substitute.

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